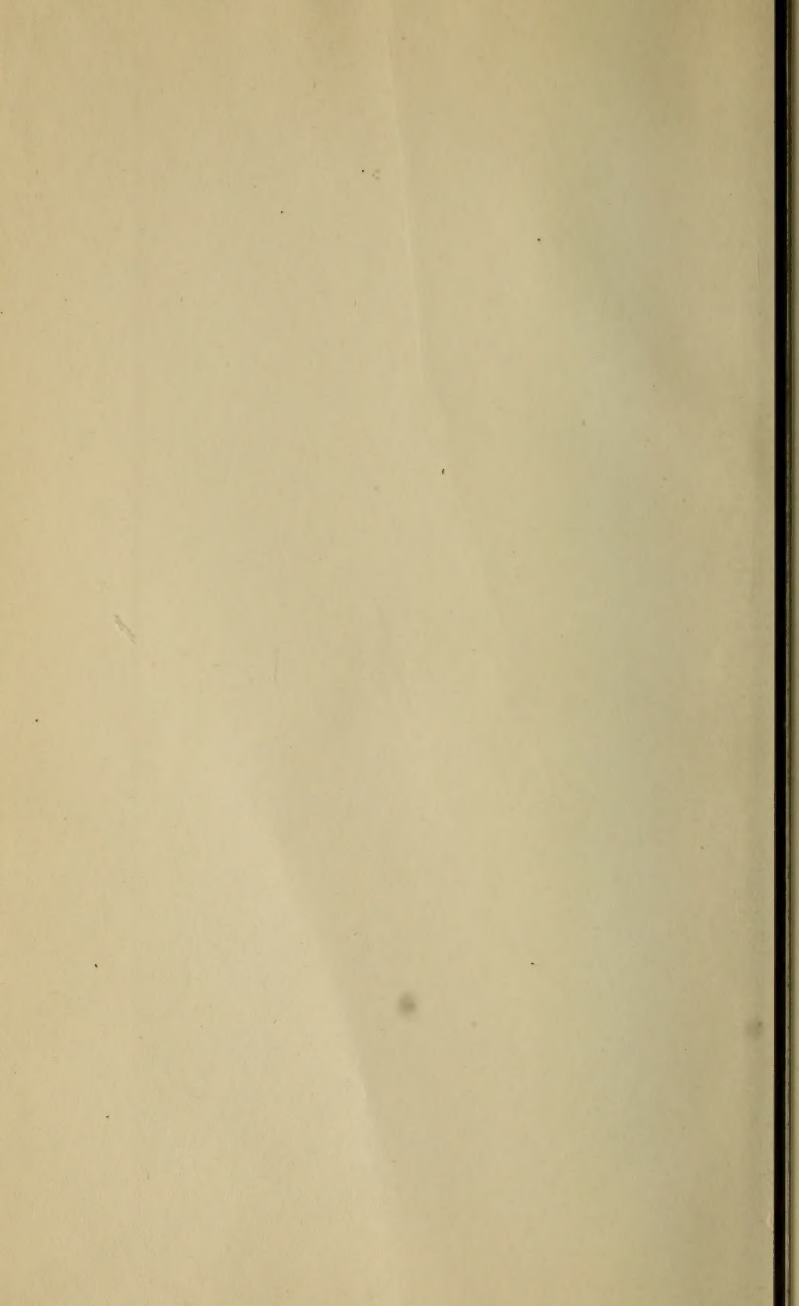
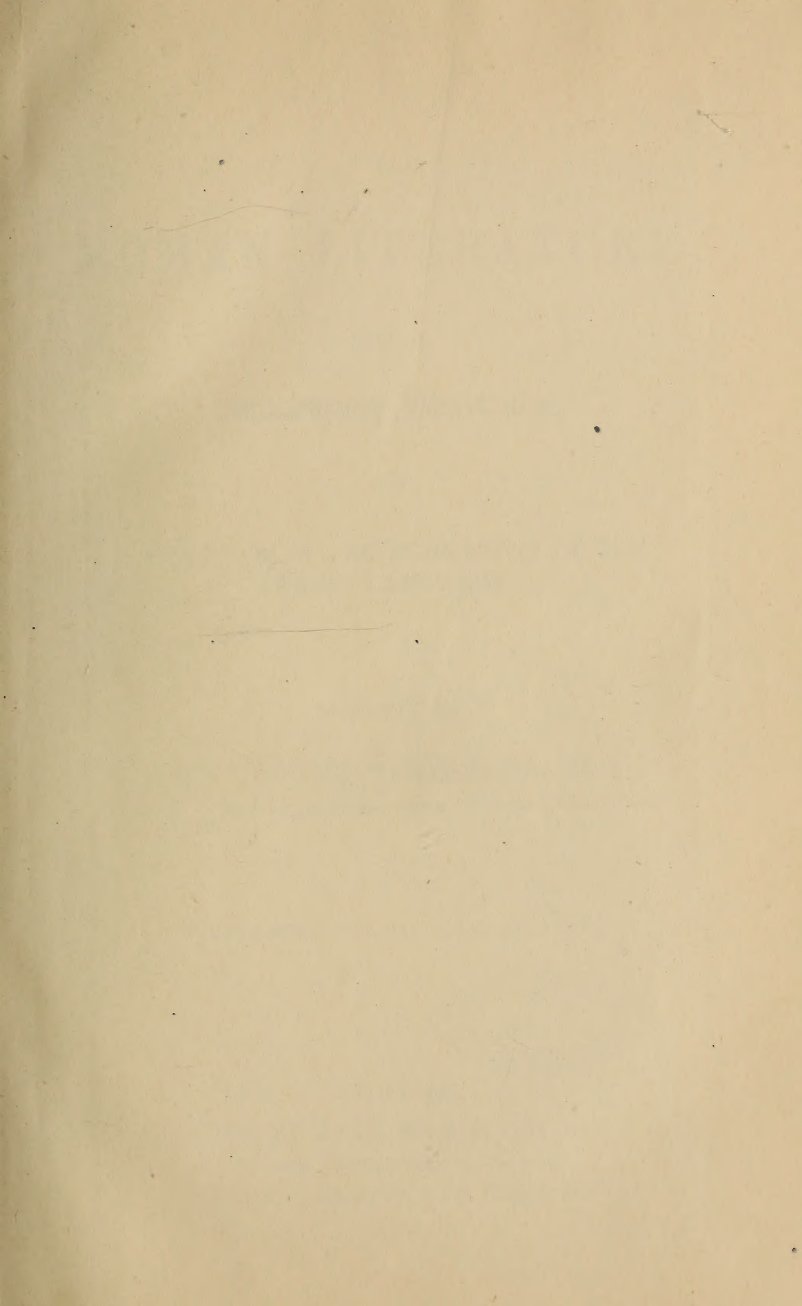


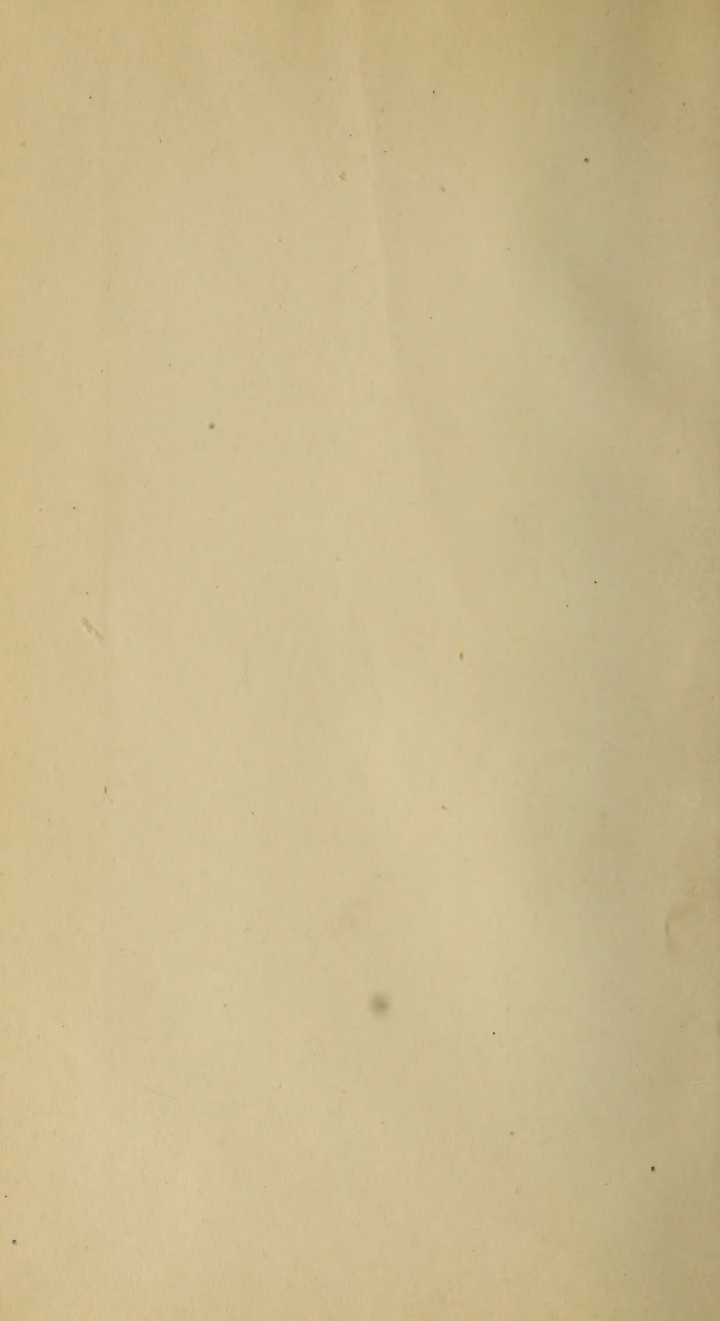
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Introductory Dissertation

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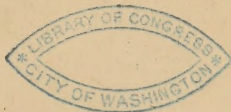
THE SOURCES AND FORMATION OF THE
LATIN LANGUAGE.

EDITED BY THE

✓
REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

Curate of Wrington, Somerset; formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.



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July 20, 1891

Very respectfully,

ROBERT C. BROWN

Secretary

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON, D. C.

HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE.

BY

THE REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

CURATE OF WRINGTON, SOMERSET;
FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE REV. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A.

WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE, EAST GRINSTEAD.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE LATE REV. EDWARD SMEDLEY, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE LATE THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.

HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL;

AND

THE REV. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

EDITED BY THE

REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

PREFACE.

IN the advertisement to the volume of this Encyclopædia which contains the History of Greek Literature it has been stated that the plan of that volume would be that of the others. That plan was, in brief, to make the subject complete, so far as an Encyclopædia could attain completeness, by adding to the articles in the former edition such as should appear necessary for the purpose; and to translate all passages requisite for giving the general reader an intelligible view of the subject.

The present editor has endeavoured to achieve this object by considerably enlarging and improving, from sources which have arisen in the interim, the papers on Latin Poetry which he contributed to the first edition; by adding another on the Latin prose writers, subsequent to the time of the Antonines, writers of whom no mention had been made in that work; and by prefixing a dissertation on the History of the Latin Language. He has also appended biographical notes to the valuable paper of Dr. Arnold on Roman History; added to each article bibliographical notices from approved authorities; and left, he believes, no passage untranslated which it was of importance to render into English. He has, however, assumed that the volume will be chiefly read by those who are not wholly unacquainted with Latin writers. The articles by Mr. Newman and Mr. Ottley have undergone revision and amplification by their authors. One important improvement, for which the editor confidently expects the gratitude of all readers, is the paper contributed by that eminent scholar, Mr. Neale, on Ecclesiastical Poetry. The time is happily gone by when no genius or excellence could be acknowledged in productions which were not cast in a certain arbitrary mould; when all

architectural beauty was limited to the "five orders," and all poetry to the writers "*melioris ævi et notæ*." The ecclesiastical poets are now acknowledged to be worthy the study of scholars; and perhaps there is no individual of our country who has been more instrumental in effecting this happy result than the distinguished author of the article on that subject which enriches this volume. To have treated the Latin prose writers on theology, jurisprudence, or other sciences, great as are the merits of some, and the archæological value of all, would have extended this volume beyond all proper limits: but the poets of the Church, as the authors of a new literature, having a life and spirit of its own, were entitled to a record in this history. And, although the article on this subject is purely literary, the theological student will find it interesting, as affording a view of the doctrinal purity of the ancient Catholic Church, and the contrasted character of late additions to the Faith.

The Illustrations to the present volume will, the editor believes, be deemed an important improvement. A list of them, with the authorities whence they are derived, is appended. A chronology, the result of a careful collation, is also added.

The editor, it will be seen, has ventured to continue his scepticism on the existence of *such* a ballad literature as has been claimed for the Romans by Niebuhr, and by his "popular expositor," Mr. Macaulay, whose magnificent *Lays of Ancient Rome* have given a world-wide interest to the subject. If the editor were at issue with these eminent scholars on any question of *fact*, he might well indeed distrust himself. But he has not been guilty of any such presumption. The facts are patent. The opinion he makes bold to entertain is only an *inference*. It is unquestionable that there *did* exist a rude narrative Latin minstrelsy: but was it of such an order as a Percy or a Scott would have preserved for its poetical merit?

Mr. Macaulay inclines to the affirmative, on the ground that every other nation has possessed a ballad literature—a fact admitted in this work.¹ But this supposes a certain amount of the imaginative faculty existing in every community. It is matter of fact that, in this faculty, the Romans were altogether

deficient. Had they possessed it, they would surely have welcomed the importation of Greek literature after a very different fashion. The old ballads might have been despised, but an original school would still have succeeded. In England, where there had been a noble ballad literature, the revival of learning, though it operated extensively, produced no such servility as resulted from the first intercourse of Latium with the Greek poets—Spenser and Sidney were kindled, not moulded, by the contact.¹ Moreover, the old ballads never lost their ground till the nation became influenced by France; and even then, the pulse of the cold and correct Addison quickened at “Chevy Chase,” and Percy’s “Relicks” were received with an enthusiasm that broke the chilling spell which French drawing-rooms had laid on the Muse of England. No country has owed more to Greece than Germany: and she has richly paid her debt; but not in Greek coinage. On the contrary, a more original literature than the German cannot exist; and the classical student, when he enters on it, seems transported to another world. The Italian literature had a powerful influence on that of Spain; yet it was but a new costume, not an internal and organic change; and the native school had its readers and its writers. But had not Homer sung, we should have had no *Æneid*, nor anything approaching one.

“*Nævius*,” says Mr. Macaulay, “seems to have been the last of the ancient line of poets.” If he were so, the ballad literature of Rome has been a serious loss to us. But surely this has not been demonstrated. *Nævius* wrote after the Greek literature began to operate on the Roman mind. His dramas appear to have been essentially Greek; and, if he adopted the Saturnian measure in his epic, it was moulded, rude as it was, on the principles of Greek prosody, not of Latin rhythm, as the Saturnians of the old balladists are said to have been. *Nævius* was probably as distinct from the balladists as *Pomponius* from the *Atellane* poets of old time. His great popu-

¹ Milton might seem an eminent instance of the originality compatible with a close adherence to classical models. But as he had for his poem sources, and those of the sublimest kind, which the ancients had not, his example is not here insisted on.

larity in the Augustan day is suggestive. Copies, it seems, were unnecessary to preserve what every Roman knew by heart.¹ If, therefore, Nævius was but one, though the last, of the balladists, how happened it that he was the only one remembered and cherished by a people so devoted to national renown as the Romans? As a matter of fact, the Greek literature did not universally induce a contempt of native antiquity. There was, in the most literary period of Rome, a school which almost made antiquity the criterion of excellence; which held that the Muses themselves had inspired the early documents of the city; and which praised, on account of their venerable age, verses which few, if any, could understand.

Either Nævius did not belong to the balladists, or, if he did, it will not be easy to solve the phenomenon that those who had preserved his poetry in their memories should have allowed that of his fellow-minstrels to perish. For, be it remembered, the philarchaic school was not a growth of the Augustan age: on the contrary, the spirit of that period sought its extinction; and, in a great measure, effectually.

The old ballads then, in all probability, perished from the mind of the people, because they had no inherent poetic vitality; as Nævius was treasured by the multitude, because, though rude, he had Greek life and energy. In truth, the poetic element was wanting in the Roman idiosyncrasy. Even the language had no word for the idea—word and idea were equally Greek, for *vates* properly signified *prophet*, not *poet*; and the latter meaning was secondary, inasmuch as the old prophets gave their predictions in verse.

While, then, the editor makes no doubt of the existence of Roman ballads, detailing in some instances narratives which, as Mr. Macaulay has manifested, were capable of high poetic development in the hands of imaginative writers, yet he sees no evidence that such ballads told their story in any other form than the baldest and driest—being metrical only for the convenience of memory: and he therefore adheres to the view which

¹ This seems the most natural reading and interpretation. See p. 17. But take the words how we will, the popularity of Nævius is necessarily their burden.

he expressed in the first edition of this work, long before the publication of Mr. Macaulay's book, of dating the true beginning of all Roman *literature* from intercourse with Greece.

Closely connected with the subject of early Roman poetry is that of the metre in which it is supposed to have been written. Much has been said by recent writers on the Saturnian verse; and the opinions of Niebuhr on this subject will be found discussed in the 44th and following pages of this work. The dictum of that great historian, on a question of this kind, would be entitled to an almost reverential regard; but when he adduces the authorities from which he derives his conclusion, that conclusion may be examined, without presumption, by scholars of the multitude. The editor will take this opportunity of amplifying a note to page 44, which appears to him to contain a large proportion of the controversy. The term *Saturnius*, then, like *Satura*, seems to have possessed two quite distinct applications. In both of these, however, it simply meant "as old as the days of Saturn;" and, like the Greek Ὠρύγιος, was a kind of proverbial expression for something antiquated. Hence, (1.) the rude rhythmical effusions which contained the early Roman story might be called Saturnian, not with reference to their metrical law, but to their *antiquity*; and, (2.) the term *Saturnius* was also applied to a definite measure, on the principles of Greek prosody, though rudely and loosely moulded—the measure employed by Nævius, which soon became *antiquated*, when Ennius introduced the hexameter; and which is the *metrum Saturnium* recognised by the grammarians. The editor regrets that it has been only since the preliminary dissertation was *written*, and since the rest of the volume was *printed*, that he became acquainted with Dr. Donaldson's learned work, *Varronianus*. He has, however, revised the dissertation since; and it will be seen, by references to Dr. Donaldson's work, where that eminent scholar has been consulted. He alludes to it now, however, for the purpose of shewing how vague and unsatisfactory are the attempts, even of the most accomplished scholars, to elicit a rhythmical verse from the old Latin remains. Dr. Donaldson *scans* all the epitaphs of the Scipios; and makes the following remarks on them:—

"The metre in which these inscriptions are composed is deserving of notice. That they are written in Saturnian verse has long been perceived; Niebuhr, indeed, thinks that they 'are nothing else than either complete nenias, or the beginning of them.' (H. R. i. p. 253.) It is not, however, so generally agreed how we ought to read and divide the verses. For instance, Niebuhr maintains that *patre* in *a*, 2,¹ is, 'beyond doubt, an interpolation;' to me it appears that it is necessary to the verse. He thinks that there is no ecthipsis in *apice*, c. 1;² I cannot scan the line without it. These are *only samples* of the *many* differences of opinion which might arise upon these *short* inscriptions."³

"Only samples!" and what samples! Is it conceivable that the word *patre* would have been *cut on the stone*, if it had been an interpolation? And what kind of verse can this be, which one critic finds it necessary to abridge by a word of two syllables, before he can scan it, while another cannot scan it unless those two syllables are present? Could there be "*many* differences of opinion" on "these *short* inscriptions," if they were really subject to a metrical law? Again, in the epitaph on L. Cornelius Scipio the Elder, Dr. Donaldson scans:—

Cònsúl, censór, aidílis | quí fúit apúd vos;

while, in that on the Younger Cornelius, he gives us—

Cònsól, censór, aidíles | híc fuét apúd vos:

Surely both cannot be right. Is either?

Dr. Donaldson gives "the old Latin translation of an

¹ The epitaph on L. Cornelius Scipio.

² Epitaph on the Flamen Dialis, P. Scipio. This inscription, it is true, is virtually called *Carmen* by Cicero (de Senect. xvii) who applies that term to the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus, similar in expression. But that very similarity shews that the word is to be rendered *formula*, as it frequently signifies. So Livy speaks of Duellius reciting the "*Carmen rogationis*," the legal formula, which was scarcely in verse. Indeed it is given by the historian, and nothing can appear less metrical. The formal differences between the epitaphs of the Flamen and Atilius are of themselves an argument that the inscriptions are not in verse.

³ Varronianus, vi., 20.

epigram, which was written, probably, by Leonidas of Tarentum, at the dedication of the spoils taken at the battles of Heraclea and Asculum (B. C. 280, 279); and which," he adds, "should be scanned as follows:—

Qui antedhac invicti | fúvere víri | páter óptime Olýmpi ||
 Hôs égo in púgna víci ||
 Victúsque súm ab ísdem ||

He then subjoins: "Niebuhr suggests (iii. note 341) that the first line is an attempt at an hexameter, and the last two an imitation of the shorter verse;¹ and this remark shows the discernment which is always so remarkable in this great scholar. The author of this translation, which was, probably, made soon after the original, could not write in hexameter verse; but he represented the hexameter of the original, by a lengthened form of the Saturnius, and indicated the two penthemimers of the pentameter, by writing their meaning in *two truncated Saturnians*,—taking care to indicate, by the anacrusis, that there was really a break in the rhythm of the original pentameter, although it might be called a single line, according to the Greek system of metres."

The first of these lines is, probably, a *corrupted* hexameter; for the removal of one word leaves it a *pure* one.² This word, *antedhac*, is, in all probability, an interpolation. It is just what a transcriber, ignorant of the law of the verse, would have interpolated, to make, as he might think, a better sense. Whether the rest be "two truncated Saturnians" or not, quite certain it is that it is a *pure hexameter*!

(Hos ego in pugna vici, victusque sum ab isdem)

for the absence of the synalœpha is not worth regarding at such an early period, especially with Greek authority in abun-

¹ The pentameter.

² A pure one, because the first syllable of *fúvere* for *fuere* is not only long, but, what is most important in the present controversy, the *v*, the representative of the digamma, is inserted, apparently, for the express purpose of making it so. (See *Digamma* in the volume on Greek Literature, p. 359, and Priscian's observations there quoted.) Were the line an accental Saturnian, it is manifest that there would be no necessity for departure from the ordinary form, as the accent would not thereby be affected.

dance. Surely, it must be evident to every reader unbeset by hypothesis, that, to say the least, if the first line is "an attempt at an hexameter," the last is no *less*. Dr. Donaldson inclines to press Mr. Macaulay into the controversy; but clearly on insufficient grounds: for Mr. Macaulay acknowledges no Latin Saturnians which are not prosodiacal.¹ All we possess from the pen of Nævius are plainly so.

While making these observations, the editor would gratefully express his deep respect for the talent and scholarship of Dr. Donaldson, and his high sense of the value of his philological writings. The *Varronianus* deserves the gratitude of all who are interested in these studies; and it has been a great satisfaction to the present writer, on revising his dissertation, to find his general views confirmed by so high an authority, especially on the subject of the Etruscan language; the affinity of which to the Indo-Germanic dialects will, he believes, one day be demonstrated. Mr. Pococke's remarkable work, *India in Greece*, after allowing for many things which are fanciful,—scarcely to be avoided by one who had established so much,—is yet conclusive for a very extensive prevalence of Sanscrit and its dialects on the shores of the Mediterranean; and the editor regrets that *The Early History of Rome*, promised by that author, should not have been available for these pages.

The editor hopes that the improvements of this portion of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* may not be unworthy the memory of the accomplished scholar, under whose auspices the original work was conducted, the late Rev. Edward Smedley. With this brief mention of one who, in no ordinary degree, blended "true religion" with "useful learning," deep, extensive, and varied scholarship with pure and practical Christianity, he commends this volume to the public.

H. T.

RECTORY, WRINGTON,
July 26, 1852.

¹ "That it" [the Saturnian] "is *the same* with a *Greek* measure used by Archilochus is *indisputable*."—Preface to "*Lays of Ancient Rome*," p. 19, ed. 1848.

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INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION

ON THE

SOURCES AND FORMATION OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

BY THE

REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
CURATE OF WEINGTON, SOMERSET.



INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION.

It would be foreign to the purposes of this work to enter in this volume largely upon ethnological questions; and those connected with Italy are singularly obscure and complicated. The subject has been treated with laborious and erudite research by a multitude of writers, who have come to the most discordant conclusions. It is here adverted to only because the intricacy which belongs to it is necessarily derived to the history of a language which resulted from a confluence of the various races of Italy in that central region termed Latium, or from the preponderating influence, within that region, of certain dominant communities existing without it. To define with certainty the several tributaries by which the mighty stream of Latin speech was supplied, and to trace with accuracy their several sources and channels, is absolutely impossible; and were this not evident from the scantiness of documents, it would be so from the extravagance or discordance of the hypotheses which learned men have devised for the solution of the problem. While, therefore, we refer the reader who desires to be acquainted with what has been advanced on the subject, to the principal writers who have treated it,¹ we prefer to wild and idle theorising a simple statement of such phenomena as are either historically ascertained, or reasonably probable.

It is quite obvious then that the Latin language consists of two elements at least—the more influential and prevalent being the Æolic dialect of the Greek. The Rev. F. E. J. Valpy, in his late very curious and interesting work, “*Virgilian Hours*,” professes to

¹ Niebuhr, in his *Roman History and Lectures*. Lanzi, *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*. Arnold, *Roman History*. Müller, *Etrusker*. Dunlop, *History of Roman Literature*. And Klenze, “zur Geschichte der altitalischen Volkstämme.”

derive every word in the *Æneid* from a Greek primitive. Few scholars, perhaps, will be *convinced* of his *universal* success, though many may be disposed to allow that there is more Greek in Latin than they imagined; and some may think his hypothesis even probable, while all will admire his acuteness and ingenuity, and gratefully acknowledge the light which he has cast on the principles which govern the more abstruse and secret laws of classic etymology. Could we indeed believe that every word in a long poem like the *Æneid* was actually of Greek derivation, there would be no difficulty in allowing the same of the whole substance of the language.¹ But without for the present either affirming or disputing this point, it is evident that the Latin language, in literature at least, contained three classes of words. Of these, I. some were simple transplantations from the Greek, apparently after an extensive intercourse subsisted with Magna Græcia, or even Greece itself: such are Greek proper names, altered only in inflections; and such substantives as *thesaurus*, *athleta*, *emblema*, *philosophia*, *ephippium*, *triclinium*, &c.; the coinage of Latin literary currency from Greek bullion being much encouraged and practised.² II. Some were obviously Greek, yet such as entered the language naturally, and were part of its essential elements: to these such proper names as *Ajax*, *Ulysses* (or *Ulixes*), *Æsculapius*, *Hercules*, &c., may be referred; together with such words as *fama*, *triumphus*, *anchora*, *vestis*, *machina*, *dexter*, *ago*, *lego*, &c., &c., which form a large proportion of the language. III. But there still remains a class of words, which, if really of Greek origin, are evidently derived by a very different process. The maternal likeness is completely obliterated; and the inquirer who would establish the relation must content himself with the indication of minute lineaments, in which few will be able to discover the parentage. Such are *meta*, *lorica*, *clypeus*, *infula*, &c., to which Mr. Valpy has assigned Greek primitives, but the derivation of which is evidently a very different matter from that of either of the former classes.

Triple
distribution
of Latin
words.

¹ Mr. Valpy has since published "a Manual of Latin Etymology," in which he has advocated the universal descent of Latin from Greek.

² "Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadant, parçè detorta."—*Hor. Art. Poët.* 52.

As the Latin literature arose out of the commerce of Latium with Greece, the first class of these words appears even in the earliest literary fragments which have reached us; no subsequent writers having drawn more unscrupulously on Greek sources than Ennius and Lucilius. But, in investigating the formation of the language, the consideration of this class may be altogether laid aside, as its origin and history are palpable. There will remain therefore only the two others for examination.

Only two
classes
challenge
inquiry.

Latium lay between the territories of races which we, in the popular phraseology of antiquity, may designate Greeks and barbarians. The countries to the south were principally Greek settlements, though the Oscan language was extensively spoken in that region; while the northern neighbours were of different descent. It is to these sources respectively, that the second and third classes of words composing the Latin language appear to be traceable. Of the Italian nations dwelling to the north of Latium, the most conspicuous are the Etrurians, Umbrians, and Oscans or Opicans; the two last of which were related, and are by some writers identified. The Sabines, too, who were early incorporated with the Romans, were of kindred origin with the Oscan people. Whether the Siculi, Itali, or Vituli, were subdued by the Casci or Prisci, an Oscan tribe, and whether there is any foundation for the well-known legend of Æneas and his Trojans, are investigations which belong rather to the history of the country than that of the language. It is sufficient to observe that Latium, situated as it was between the territories of the Greek and barbarian, or semi-barbarian tribes, over-run by both in turn,¹ and at last peopled by different races,² naturally acquired a language partaking the idiom of its neighbours. It is evident, also, that peace and its arts were chiefly cultivated by the Greek portion of the people, while the remainder were principally distinguished for military prowess. The terms of husbandry and rural and domestic occupation are mostly Greek: *aratrum, bos, ovis, agnus, sus, aper, equus, canis, sero, ager, sylva, vinum, lac, mel, sal, oleum, &c.*

¹ "Latium colonis sæpe mutatis tenere alii aliis temporibus, Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli."—*Plin. Hist. Nat.* iii. 5.

² "Quùm populus Romanus Etruscos, Latinos, Sabinosque miscuerit, et unum ex omnibus sanguinem ducat, corpus fecit ex membris, et in omnibus unus est."—*Flor.* iii.

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Those of warfare, on the contrary, cannot be convincingly deduced from the Greek, and possibly are not Greek at all: *arma, tela, cassis, ensis, hasta, gladius, arcus, sagitta, jaculum, balteus, ocrea, clypeus*, &c. Hence it has been concluded, that the *un-Greek* element (as the German writers call it) was introduced by victorious invaders. This view also is countenanced by the *un-Greek* terms, referring to government and laws: as *rex, civis, testis, jus, lis, vas*, &c. &c. It also appears that the Greek was the primitive constituent of the Latin. The simplest ideas are Greek: as *sum, sto, sedeo, cubo, salio, maneo, video, tango, ago, fero, volo, gigno, gnosco, memini*, &c. The parts of the body are sometimes, but not always, evidently Greek.¹ This general view is aptly elucidated by the English language, the agricultural and rural terms of which are Saxon, as *field, plough, ox, sheep*, &c.; while the legal are mostly Norman, as *court, judge, law, parliament*, &c. The conquerors, on this theory, did not come by sea, since maritime terms are usually Greek, as *navis, prora, remus*, &c.

It must, however, be admitted, that a portion at least of the Italian population which was not Greek, was yet of Greek connection. In one point of view, Mr. Valpy's etymologies are strikingly remarkable. That he should have been able to make out, with any degree of plausibility, the entire identity of the Latin language with the Greek, is at least proof that there must be a Greek element in *many* of the Latin words, which do not belong to what we should call the Greek division of the language. And, indeed, there is no eminent Italian tribe, to which a Greek origin has not been ascribed by some writer or other. The enigmatical Pelasgians were as rife in Italy as on the opposite coast; and Greek colonies swarmed along the maritime parts, whose influence on their more inland neighbours cannot but have been considerable. Olivieri is even of opinion that at one time the Greek language prevailed through the length and breadth of Italy.² If this was ever the case, it must have been such during Lanzi's "second epoch," "the mythological," or period when events belong to history, although

¹ Words relating to religion are commonly *un-Greek*. These *may* come from the Etruscans.

² "Essendo l'Italia da ogni lato piena di Greci, chi mai creder potrà che altra lingua si usasse in Italia fuor che la greca?"—*Oliv.*, *saggi dell' Accad. di Cort.*, II. 56 (*apud Lanzi, saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, I. i. 10).

mingled with fable: for his first is before any records exist; in his third, the Italian dialects, as migrations became fewer, and tribes more settled, began to assume the character of languages; so that in this period the Latin language became distinct, though it was not cultivated; and in his fourth it attained full development and cultivation, and, in literature at least, absorbed all the others.

On the manifestly Greek portion of the Latin language it is unnecessary to dilate. The two languages are sufficiently well known to all persons of literature to need any detailed proof of their substantial identity. The alphabet is essentially the same. ^{f Substantial identity of Latin with Greek.} Pliny tells us of a Delphic table of brass, extant in his time in the Palatine, dedicated to Minerva, with the inscription, in Roman letters, "Nausicrates Tisamenu Athenaios anethece."¹ The primitive alphabet of the Romans contained only sixteen letters, A B C D E I K L M N O P Q R S T. C was commonly used for G, agreeably to its position, which corresponded with that of Γ; B stood for V; P for F. According to Tacitus, Dionysius, and Hyginus,² this alphabet was brought from Arcadia by Evander.³ The declensions of substantives in both languages may be reduced to three; and their identity is obvious, from the facility with which any word of either language falls into its proper declension in the other. The genders in both are three; and the three declensions are in both repeated in the adjectives; the first declension serving to designate the feminine in both, and the second, the masculine and neuter. The third declension in both embraces the three genders. In both, all neuters plural, substantive and adjective, end in *a*; and all neuters are alike in the nominative, accusative, and vocative. In both, the pronouns are all but identical. *Is, ea, id*, is *ὁς, ἡ (ἐὺ), ὅ*; *o* being constantly Latinised by *i*, as in the genitive of the third declension, and the *d* being an old addition, as in *Cnaivod* for *Cnæo*. *Nos* and *vos* are found

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 58. The copies have the inscription in Greek letters; but this manifestly renders the passage unmeaning; the purport of which is to show that Greek was formerly written in what was nearly the Roman character in Pliny's time.

² Pliny says: "In Latium eas attulerunt *Pelasgi*."—*Hist. Nat.* vii. 56. Dionysius says: Λέγονται (Ἀρκάδες) δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων ἑλληνικῶν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρῶτοι διακομίσαι.—I. 36. See Tac. Ann. ix. 14; Hyg. Fab. 277.

³ See the nature of the Roman alphabet discussed by Dr. Donaldson, Varro-nianus, ch. vii.

in the Greek duals $\nu\omega\tilde{\iota}$ and $\sigma\phi\omega\tilde{\iota}$. The irregular formations coincide. Thus in both languages *ego* gives *me*; and, although *tu* ($\tau\tilde{\upsilon}$, Æol.) gives *te*, not *se*, the difference is trifling; while the τ actually goes as far as the dative in the Æolic Greek. The auxiliary verb *sum*, however apparently differing, is really identical with $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\iota}$. The prefixed *s* is a characteristic variety of the language, as in $\iota\pi\epsilon\rho$, *super*; $\epsilon\tilde{\xi}$, *sex*; and numerous instances.¹ The *u*, which letter is peculiar to the Latin, is substituted for all manner of Greek vowels. Thus *unus* comes from $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ ($\xi\epsilon\nu\varsigma$, whence the German *ein*); and hence we should have $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\iota}$, *sumi*, or, by aphæresis, *sum*; as $\epsilon\tilde{\sigma}\tau\tilde{\iota}$, *est*. By applying this principle to the present tense of the verb, the identity is palpable.

$\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\iota}$,	<i>sum.</i>	$\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, (Æol.)	<i>sumus.</i>
$\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$,	<i>es.</i>	$\epsilon\tilde{\sigma}\tau\epsilon$,	<i>estis.</i>
$\epsilon\tilde{\sigma}\tau\tilde{\iota}$,	<i>est.</i>	$\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\iota$, (Æol.)	<i>sunt.</i>

Ero is the Æolic form for $\epsilon\tilde{\sigma}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ($\xi\sigma\omega$). So the Æolians said $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\iota}\rho$ for $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, whence the Latin *puer*. The other forms in this verb not derivable from $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\iota}$, come from $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\omega$; as *fui*, *fuera*, &c. The Latin regular verbs resemble the Greek more in their roots than their inflexion; yet the substantial identity may still be traced. The aphæresis explains many forms; as *legit*, $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\text{-}\alpha\iota$; *legunt*, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\text{-}\iota$ (Æol.) or $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. So, too, the dialectical insertion of *r*; as $\sigma\tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\eta\varsigma$, *stares*; $\sigma\tilde{\eta}\eta\nu\alpha\iota$, *stare*. *Stans* for $\sigma\tau\alpha\tilde{\varsigma}$ is no variation, as is evident from the genitive $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. The reduplication of the perfect is often found, as *pungo*, *pupugi*; *tundo*, *tutudi*; and although usually dropped, like the Saxon *ge* in the English, a trace of its existence is perceptible in the lengthened syllable, as in *lēgi* from $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota$; *vēni* from $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\iota$. The prepositions and numerals are almost the same in both languages.

But the substantial identity of the two tongues does not merely rest here. Beside the *s*, which is so commonly prefixed to Greek words, particularly as a substitute for the aspirate, the digamma, which was especially characteristic of the Æolic dialect, greatly influenced Latin words. Thus *ovis* is from $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (Æol. $\omicron\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$); *vinum* from $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (Æol. $\omicron\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$); *ver* from $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\alpha\rho$, $\eta\rho$ (Æol. $F\eta\rho$). Again, as the Æolians changed $\theta\eta\rho$ into $\phi\eta\rho$, the Latins made it *fera*; and as

¹ Mostly, it is true, in the place of the aspirate; but not always; as in $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\pi\omicron\varsigma$, ($\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, Æol.), *succus*.

the Æolians changed δ into β and λ , so from $\delta\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha$, the Latins made *bis* and *lacruma* or *lacrima*. H being changed by the Æolians into *a*, from $\phi\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$, $\vartheta\lambda\eta$ (Æol. $\vartheta\lambda\alpha$), we have *fama*, (*sulva*) *sylva*; which last word contains three of the peculiarities of Latin derivation. Transposition, a well-known property of the Æolic dialect (as in $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $\text{Σδ}\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; $\zeta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\lambda\eta$, $\sigma\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\lambda\alpha$), is common in Latin; as from $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$, *forma*; from $\vartheta\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Æol. $\text{F}\acute{o}\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), *vulgus*. Neither is the Latin language exceptional to the general etymological rule, that in derivations vowels may be neglected; for, though some vowels answer to others, as ϵ to *u*, and \omicron to *i*, yet often the transition takes place where there is no established affinity; as $\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\eta$, *lancea*.

From these particulars the mode of derivation from Greek into Latin may be generally understood and applied. Where these principles of exposition will not avail us, we must look to the supposed un-Greek element of the Latin language. One argument for the existence of such an element has been not merely the number of words which cannot be conveniently reduced to a Greek form, but also the consonantal sounds, F and J, which have no existence in the Greek. The former of these seems to have been especially Sabine. It will be found, however, that, even in this portion of the language, the Greek maintains a considerable influence. In examining the structure of the Etruscan, Umbrian, and Oscan languages, we shall virtually investigate all that is not directly Greek in the Latin. It is our imperfect acquaintance with these languages which alone leaves the question of an un-Greek element a problem.

In our review of Latin poetry, remarks will be found on the supposed influence of Etruscan *literature* on that of Rome.¹ Meantime we may observe that the *language* of Etruria could not possibly be other than influential. The Etruscans, in the early times of Roman history, were the most powerful and extensive of the Italian races; they even had given a royal line to Rome. The regal insignia, the early constitution, the religious discipline, were Etruscan. The education of the Roman aristocracy in Etruria must have still more extensively augmented the effect of the Etruscan language on that of Latium. It will be important, then, to examine, so far as that is possible, what the language of Etruria was.

Of this we have numerous specimens; they are, however,

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generally very brief, being merely contained on coins, gems, pateræ, sepulchres, &c.; in which last case the Etruscans present an honourable though unfortunate contrast to the prolixity of modern mourners. The most conspicuous and important monument of the language is a stone pillar discovered at Perugia in 1822, bearing an inscription, of which we append a copy :—¹

Broad side.

Eulat. tanna. larexul
amefachr. lautn. felthinas. e
st. la. aphunas, slel. eth. caru.
texan. phusleri. tesns. teis.
rasnes. ipa. ama. hen. naper
XII. felthina. thuras aras pe
ras. cemumlescul. xuoi. en
esci epl. tularu
aulesi felthinas arxnal cl
ensi. thii thils cuna cenu e
plc. phelic larthals aphunes
clen thunchulthe
phalas ohiem phusle felthina
hintha cape municlet masu
naper sranexl thii phalsti f
elthina hut naper penexs
masu acnina clel aphuna fel
thinam lerxinia intemame
r cnl felthina xias atene
tesne eca felthina thuras th
aura helu tesne rasne cei
tesns teis rasnes chimths p
cl thutas cuna aphunam ena
hen naper cicnl harcutuse.

Narrow side.

felthinas
atena xuc
i enesci ip
a spelane
thi² phulumch
fa spelthi
renethi est
ac felthina
ac ilune
turunesc
unexea xuc
i enesci ath
umics aphu
nas penthn
a ama felth
ina aphun
thuruni ein
xeriunac ch
a thil thunch
ulthl ich ca
cechaxi chuch
e

¹ From Müller's Etrusker. But the inscription as given by Dr. Donaldson, after Micali and Vermiglioli, differs in two particulars. 1. The words are differently divided. This is a question of criticism; for, as we shall presently observe, the apparent divisions of words in Etruscan are nearly arbitrary. 2. V is written for F, Z for X, K for C. This is from the different value assigned by different scholars to the Etruscan characters.

² *This*, Donaldson.

It is obvious, at first sight, that the words are divided at the end of the lines, without any regard to syllabication; and, it may be added, it is a well-known peculiarity of ancient Italian inscriptions that the breaks do not correspond always with the divisions of the words;—a circumstance which greatly increases the difficulty of decyphering. Nothing can seem more entirely removed from Greek or Latin. Whether the Etruscan language be really alien from both we proceed to inquire.

Herodotus is express for the derivation of the Etruscans, or Tyrrhenians, as the Greeks called them, from Lydia. In this opinion he is supported by the Etruscan traditions,¹ and by all antiquity, till we come to the times of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who disputes the tradition, on the ground of its non-appearance in the work of Xanthus, the Lydian chronicler. How far this negative evidence should be permitted to weigh is a question rather for the political than the literary historian. Niebuhr accepts it, on account of “the complete difference of the two nations in *language*, usages, and religion,”² mentioned by Dionysius. But such a distinction might well have existed so many ages after the migration, and after both nations had experienced so many vicissitudes. Moreover, the distinction itself is questionable. Neither will Dionysius allow the Etruscans to have been Pelasgians, but considers them aboriginal Italians. The testimony of Greeks on questions of language is very dubious. They studied no tongue but their own; and nothing but the splendour and influence of the Roman empire, the necessity of acquiring its language, and the profound deference which its literature exhibited to the models of Greece, preserved the Latin itself from being pronounced *wholly* barbarous, instead of *partly*; from which latter imputation even all these considerations failed to rescue it.³ When, therefore, Herodotus informs us that the Pelasgian language was “barbarous,” we are not obliged to believe him further than that the Greeks did not understand that language in his time; which would have

¹ See Tac. Ann. xiv. 14.

² Lectures on Rom. Hist. See Dion. Hal. Roman. Antiqq. i. 30.

³ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φωνὴν μὲν οὐτ’ ἄκραν βάρβαρον, οὐτ’ ἀπηρτισμένως Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μικτὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείων Αἰολίς.—Dion. Hal. A. R. i. 90.

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applied equally to the Latin. Neither does he speak confidently.¹ Certain it is that when Dionysius affirms that the Etruscan language differed from every other, he is not borne out by the little that can be interpreted of its remains. It is true that it recedes far more widely from the Latin than the other dialects; nor does the Perugian inscription exhibit the smallest similarity to Latin or Greek in the form of its words; but there is scarcely an Etruscan word, of which the meaning is ascertained, which is not traceable to one of those languages; while even the Perugian stone exhibits the Greek and Latin peculiarity of *cases* (*felthina*, *felthinas*, *felthinam*; *aphunas*, *aphunam*), and several of the words closely resemble Umbrian words, which have an acknowledged affinity with the Latin. Niebuhr mentions *avil ril*, which he translates *vixit annos*, as an instance of the entire difference of the Etruscan from the Latin and Greek. These words are found sometimes together, sometimes singly, on funeral monuments, and always before a number, the compass and variety of which leaves no doubt that it indicates the age of the deceased. But there is no necessity of translating these words in the precise terms of Niebuhr. Both are probably abridged,² like the *Æt.* and *Ob.* on modern tombstones, and the *vix.* and *ann.* on ancient. Moreover, it is acknowledged that no abbreviation was more common in Etruscan than the omission of vowels; and Lanzi's 452nd example is marked in full, *avil. ril*,³ where the former word is manifestly a compound of *aiFwv*, or *ævum* (anciently *aivom*), and might have stood for *ævilis* (as *juvenilis*, *senilis*, &c.), or somewhat analogous. As regards *Ril*, "it is true that this word does not resemble any synonym in the Indo-Germanic languages; but then, as has been justly observed by Lepsius, there is no connection between *annus*, *ἔτος*, and *iâr*, and yet the connection between Greek, Latin, and German is universally admitted."⁴ Dionysius, doubtless, would not have recognised in the word *Aecse*, which is inscribed over the representation of a horse, the Greek *ἵππος* or Latin *equus*; and, probably,

¹ Ἡντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἰέσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπειν· εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ τεκμαίρομενον λέγειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοί βάρβαροι γλῶσσαν ἰέντες.—*Herodot. Clío*, 57.

² *Avi* occurs occasionally, which of course, a further abbreviation.

³ Lanzi, *Saggio*, iii. 19.

⁴ Donalds. *Varron.* v. 3.

the most expert of modern philologists would have been equally unsuccessful in investigating the meaning of that word, had not the undoubted key existed on the gem. Yet the derivation is agreeable to every rule of analogy. The π is changed into κ , and the aspirate dropped, in the Æolic dialect. Hence Ἰκκος . The vowel, as all etymologists acknowledge, is unimportant in derivation. The vowels a e , therefore, in the place of i , present no difficulty. All the rest is strictly agreeable to the clearly-ascertained rules of Etruscan word-building. A double consonant was never used by the Etruscans, at least in writing; and the terminations os in Greek, and us in Latin, were regularly by them exchanged for e . Hence *aece* would be a regular Etruscan conversion of the Greek ἱππος . But the s still remains to be accounted for. The insertion of this letter, however, is strictly analogical. The Etruscans wrote *Lusna*, *Asna*, *Thasna*, *Aspa*, for *Luna*, *Annia*, *Thannia*, *Appia*.¹ Nor is the word *equus*, unlike as it is to the Greek and Etruscan, of any other parentage. Ἰκκος would become *icus* or *ecus* in early Latin; for the Romans, like the Etruscans, did not anciently double their consonants. The change of c into qu is scarcely to be accounted any at all. At all events, it was most frequent; as *Quirites* from *Cures*, *Quirinus* from *Curis*, &c. &c. The position of the Etruscan towards the other languages of Italy, and towards the Greek, was, probably, not unlike that of the French² towards the other languages of Latin parentage, and towards the Latin itself; far less resembling the mother than did the other daughters, and therefore retaining far less of the common family expression. A Frenchman is fully as unintelligible to an Italian as he is to a Russian; yet the French and Italian languages have scarcely a word which is not of common derivation. And thus the Etruscan language may have been, as indeed it would appear, of Greek descent,³ and Latin kindred, though not so appearing to a Greek or Roman who had not studied it.

¹ So *ahesnes* in the Umbrian for *ahenea*. In old Latin *casmœnæ* was used for *camœnæ*, *osmen* for *omen*, &c.—*Varro*, vi. 76.

² *Aecse* differs not more from *equus* than *jour* from *dies*. Yet the latter relation is demonstrable beyond a doubt. From *dies* we have *diurnum* [spatium]; hence, *diorno*, *giorno*, *journée*, *jour*.

³ We may observe that the Etruscan works of art bear a close resemblance to

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That the Romans regarded the Etruscans as barbarians¹ arose, no doubt, from the dissimilarity of the languages; as, in other respects, the Etruscans could boast of an earlier cultivation, and were to Rome, at one period, so far as that was possible, what Greece itself was at another.²

We will now endeavour briefly to trace the character, so far as the limits of this work allow, of this mysterious language. According to Tacitus, the Etruscans derived their alphabet from Demaratus of Corinth;³ but, whencesoever they received it, it is unquestionably of Greek derivation. They appear, however, to have had fewer sounds than the Greeks. They had but eighteen letters (for the K and C we consider equivalent). They rejected the hard mutes, B, G, D, for which they substituted P, K, T. Z and O were also rejected.⁴ They retained the digamma. They wrote commonly *βουστροφῆδον*, beginning from the right to the left. All the letters were reversed when the writing ran from left to right. Vowels were frequently, but not always, omitted in writing; and there was no settled orthography;—two circumstances which have greatly contributed to the difficulty of investigating the language. When words ran into each other in popular pronunciation, they were often written as one—a practice familiar also to the Latin.

The Etruscan article appears to have been *Tus* (or *Tu*), *Ta*, *Tu*; these before vowels became simply *t*; or, where the vowel was aspirated, sometimes *th*. Over a representation of Mercury we find *Turns*; evidently *Tu Herms*, or perhaps *Tu Hermes*, as the latter vowel is probably omitted. Were the Greek masculine article τὸ, τὸ *Ἑρμης* would assuredly, if contracted at all, become *θοῦρμης*. *Thana*

the Greek, and that Greek persons and legends are represented on them. The following inscription, found on a vase at Cervetri, the ancient Agylla, is manifestly in hexameter verse:

Mi ni kethuma, mi mathu maram lisi ai thipurenai :
Ethe erai sie epana mi methu nastav helephu.

We give Dr. Donaldson's arrangement of the words, but the rhythm does not depend on it.

¹ "Fite causâ meâ, Lydi barbari."—*Plaut. Curcul.* 1. ii. 63.

"An vos, Tusci ac barbari, auspiciorum Pop. Rom. jus tenetis, et interpretes esse comitiorum potestis?"—*Tib. Gracch. apud Cic. de Div.* ii. 4.

² See under "Etrurian Literature" in *Ante-Augustan Poetry*, p. 12 of this volume.

³ *Ann.* xi. 14.

⁴ Some critics, however, as we have seen, consider the letter commonly taken

stands for *Ta Ana*, the name written by the Romans *Annia*; the *i* ^{Etruscan language.} was possibly pronounced in Etruscan, though not written. *Tular* stands for *Tu Ular* (*ollar*, locus ollarum; as *Bostar*, locus bovium). Hence possibly *Rasena* (the name by which the Etruscans called themselves¹) may be identical with ΤΥΡΣΗΝοι, the Greek name: (ΤΥ *Rasēna*).

The principal masculine terminations appear to have been *a* and *e*; the latter very frequent in proper names, and, as we have remarked, corresponding to the Greek *os*, or Latin *us*. *I* and *u* are sometimes found;² and *th*, as *Larth*, *Arnth*; if these be not abbreviations. The feminine termination was probably *a*, but is rarely written; thus *Elinei*, *Phasti*, *Rauntu*, may be rendered *Helenea* (Ἑλενεία, or Ἑλένη), *Faustia*, *Rantua*. So *Capv* for *Capua*. A common neuter termination was *u*. The genitive of *e* was *es*, *us*, *u* or *ei*; that of *a* appears to have been *as* (purely Greek), *ai* (old Latin), or *e* (new Latin; the Etruscans rarely using diphthongs. The dative of *e*

for *X* to be a *Z*. We give the Etruscan alphabet, in which all the languages of Italy, with slight variation, except (as it would seem) the Latin, were originally written.

Lat.	Etr.	Lat.	Etr.
A	Λ A	N	γ n
C	> O X O	P	ϕ
E	Ξ ρ θ	R	ϙ ϛ ϛ
V	Ϝ ϝ Ϟ	S	M ϝ Ϟ
PH	Ϙ ϙ Ϛ ϛ Ϝ ϝ Ϟ ϟ	T	τ ϑ ϑ
H	Ϡ ϡ	U	ϕ ϕ
TH	ϣ ϣ	X	ϥ ϥ
I	I	CH	↓
L	↓ √	B	ϧ
M	ϡ ϡ m	Z	ϛ

} Not pure
Etruscan.

¹ Dion. Hal. i. 30.

² Probably contracted forms: as *Marcani* for *Marcanie*. The Latin vocative in *i*, as *Antoni*, is a contracted form for *ie*.

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was *u* added; answering to the Latin *o*, which the Etruscans had not. Also *si* is sometimes apparently a dative termination, like the $\phi\iota$ of the Greek. We find the accusative *puiam* ($\Phi\upsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, *filiam*, or *puellam*¹). The ablative is thought to have been formed by the addition of *ac*, *me*, or *sa*. But it is more probable that at least the two latter of these were prepositions affixed, as *mecum*, *tecum*, &c. So *nomneper* in the Umbrian, which termination is also found in the Etruscan *naper*. The plural nominative ended in *ai*, like the old Latin; contracted, perhaps, occasionally, into *a*; unless this be an instance of the vowel omitted. So *Rasena*. The genitive was probably *um*. *Idibus* was in Etruscan *Itipes*, and on a patera we find *chusais*, probably a dative plural from *chusa*, a libation. This is as much as can be said with any probability of the Etruscan declensions. Lanzi confuses this part of his subject by mingling with it Umbrian inflexions, which, however, closely resemble the Etruscan, as we shall presently have occasion to observe.

The following are some specimens of proper names: a gem, with a figure holding a *harpe*, or crooked sword, in one hand, and a head in the other, is marked *Pherse*, manifestly for Perseus; on another, five chiefs in council have their names circumscribed *Tute*, *Phulnices*, *Amphitiare*, *Atresthe*, *Parthanapae*; who are, no doubt, five of the seven anti-Thebans, Tydeus, Polynices, Amphiaraus, Adrastus, and Parthenopæus. We find *Pele* for Peleus; *Atre* for Atreus, *Menle* for Menelaus; *Achmiem* for Agamemnon; *Elchsntre* for Alexander (Paris); *Achile*, *Achele*, and *Aciles* for Achilles; *Uluxe* for Ulysses (where we have the same deviation from the original Ὀδυσσεὺς as in Latin); *Aivas* ($A\dot{\iota}Fas$) for Ajax (where the Greek type is retained); *Theses* and *These* for Theseus. The names of divinities are mostly of Greek or Latin character: Jupiter was *Titta* (Dis, Ditis), or *Tina*, probably for *Tinia*, as sometimes

¹ This interpretation is rejected by Müller, Etrusk. Beileg. zu. B. ii. k. 4. 16. There is little doubt, however, that Lanzi's 191st inscription, "Mi Kalairu phuius," is to be rendered "Sum Calairi filii." Dr. Donaldson gives Εἰμὶ Καλαίρου Φυῖος.* But the termination *us* is genitive in Etruscan: besides, in inscriptions of this kind, the genitive seems more commonly used, as *Mi Larthias*. See *infra*. Nor is Lanzi's interpretation of *thui* by *filia* to be rejected merely because it sometimes stands at the beginning of words, as by Müller, *ubi supra*.

* Varronianus, ch. v.

found (Ζεὺς, Ζηνός); Venus, *Thalna*¹ (Ta Halna, or, perhaps, Halina, the vowel being omitted in writing, ἡ ἀλινά), or *Turan* (Ta Uran, ἡ οὐρανία); Diana, *Thana* (Thiana, i omitted as before, or Theana, from θεός, as Diana from Dius); Vulcan, *Sethlans*; Apollo, *Aplu*, *Epul*, *Epure*, or *Apulu*; Bacchus, *Phuyluns*;² Minerva, *Menerfa*, *Menirva*, or *Menerve*; Mercury, *Mircurios*,³ or *Turms* (Tu Herms, ὁ Ἑρμης); Hercules, *Herkle*, or *Herkole*; Neptune, *Nethuns*; Pluto, *Mantus*; Proserpine, *Mania*; the two last manifestly Latinised, but exhibiting the same root as *Manes*; which is also found in the Etruscan *Summanus* (*sub Manibus*), the god of the night. As this treatise is purely philological, we do not enter on those parts of Etruscan divinity which present no comparative etymologies. The terminations *al*, *isa*, *ena*, about which much has been written, but nothing decided, appear to be patronymics,

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¹ Dr. Donaldson makes *Thalna* Juno, whom he also designates, after Strabo, Kupra. *Cuprus* meant *good* in the Sabine language,* whence Cupra should seem to be Dea bona, as indeed Dr. Donaldson acknowledges; and therefore Cybele or Proserpine. On a patera † representing the birth of Minerva, the word *Thalna* is inscribed against a goddess whose symbols are the dove and myrtle-branch. *Thana* may possibly have been used for Juno, the derivation favouring it.

² See Donalds. Varron., v. 10. Lanzi makes Bacchus *Tinia*; but the juvenile figure with a thunderbolt, which he takes for Bacchus, may be Vejovis. In the patera representing the birth of Bacchus, the word *Tinia*, which Lanzi there refers to Bacchus, is clearly inscribed over Jupiter, while Bacchus himself has no inscription. The worship of this deity was imported from Greece; (see Livy, xxxix. 8) and, though extensive, was “superficial” ‡ in Etruria. Vertumnus, the god of the changes of the year, and its productions, consequently of wine, seems to have anciently supplied the place of Bacchus to the Etruscans. The Latinised Etruscan termination *tumnus*, *tumna*, we may here observe, may possibly be identical with *dominus*, *domina*; as Vertumnus, *vertendi dominus*; Voltumna, *volgi domina*. But it is generally supposed that *umnus* is equivalent to *όμενος*, or *έμενος*. It is remarkable, however, that, in proper names of divinities, the *t* generally precedes. Another etymology is suggested by the lines of Propertius,—

At mihi, quod formas *unus* vertebat in omnes,

Nomen ab eventu *patria lingua* dedit:

as though the derivation were from *verto* and *unus*. If so, *umne*, or *une* was probably *one*.

³ Words containing the *o* are late, or not pure Etruscan.

* Varro de Ling. Lat. v. 159.

† Lanzi, Tav. x. 1.

‡ Oberflächlich, Müller, Etrusk. III. iii. 12.

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metronymics, or derivatives. Thus as *aivil* (*ad ævum pertinens*) seems to have the same character as *juvenilis*, *senilis*, &c., (*ad juventutem*, *senectutem pertinens*), so *Larthal* or *Larthial* (*ad Lartem*, or *Larthiam*, *pertinens*) appears to have the form of *Martialis* (*ad Martem pertinens*). The Latin terms *cervical*, *tribunal* have a like substantive reference to other substantives. *Isa* and *ena* may correspond to the *ισσα* and *ωνη* of the Greeks in signification, as they undoubtedly do in form—*Tarchisa* seems the feminine of *Tarchun* (Tu Archun, ὁ ἄρχων),¹ as βασιλίσσα from βασιλεύς. Of numerals, it seems likely that *clan* or *clen* stood for *primus*; *eter* (ἔτερος) is almost certainly *alter* or *secundus*; and other numerals appear to have answered to the Latin words. Festus, on the word *Quinquatrus*, observes, that the Tusculans called the 3rd, 6th, and 7th days from the Ides, *Triatrus*, *Sexatrus*, and *Septimatrus*, and the Faliscans called the 10th *Decimatrus*.² But the words are, doubtless, Latinised.

We have but slight means of ascertaining the character of the Etruscan verb. Under statues, the form *mi Larthias*, or *mi cana Larthias*, is found. εἰμί, with the genitive of the person represented, was a common inscription on Greek statues: so that *mi Larthias* may be rendered εἰμί Λαρθίας, *sum Lartiae*. *Cana* is equivalent to χάνω, interpreted by Hesychius κόσμησις, a word synonymous with ἄγαλμα, which is often used by the Greeks for an image. *Tece*, on the statue of Metellus, appears equivalent to θῆκε (ἔθηκε, for ἀνέθηκε, a form common in Greek votive inscriptions). *Turce* seems used for *donavit*, the first portion of the word being equivalent to the Greek δωρ, in a language which used *t* for *d*, and *u* for *o*.³

¹ Tarchon, according to antiquity, was a son or brother of Tyrrhenus, the founder of the Etruscan nation. But it is remarkable that Verrius Flaccus and Cæcina call him Archon, in passages which Müller corrects into Tarchon.* The correction, however, was not needed. The reading results from the omission of the Etruscan article. It is, however, right to state that Tarchun, according to Müller, is the Etruscan form of Τυρρηνός. Yet in Flaccus and Cæcina the two names are distinguished.

² Fest. in voc. See Varro de L. L. vi. 14.

³ Niebuhr would have *Turce* to mean *Tuscus*; a good derivation as to analogy, but scarcely applicable to the context.

The following Etruscan words, gleaned from ancient authors, gems, ^{Etruscan language.} pateræ, funeral monuments, &c., will sufficiently show how far the authority of Dionysius is to be respected in regard to the "barbarism" of the language: and serve to qualify the bold assertion of Niebuhr, that this authority is "but too strongly confirmed by all our inscriptions, in the words of which no analogy with the Greek language, or with the kindred branch of the Latin, can be detected, even by the most violent etymological artifices;"¹ and elsewhere: "We may say with certainty that the Etruscan has not the slightest resemblance to Latin or Greek, nay, not to any one of the languages known to us, as was justly remarked by Dionysius."² True indeed it is that the Etruscan, as viewed in the gross, appears to bear little relation to other languages; but wherever it has been possible to detect its meaning, its connection with Latin and Greek is commonly apparent.

Aecse—equus, (ἵκκος).	Esar—Deus; and Nesar.
Agalletor—puer, (ἀγάλλομαι).	Eter—secundus, alter, (ἔτερος).
Andas—Boreas.	Eth, etfe—ivi.
Antar—aquila, (ἄερος).	Falandum—cælum.
Aracos—accipiter, (ἰέραξ, ἰέρακος).	Februum—purificatio.
Arimoi—simiæ.	Fis, fia—filius, filia.
Arse—ignem, (ardeo).	Gapos—currus.
Ateson—arbustum.	Hister—histrio, (ἵστωρ).
Atentu—habeto, (teneto).	Ituo—divido.
Aukelós—aurora. ³	Itus—idus.
Cana—decus, imago, (χάνα).	Lanista—carnifex, (lanio).
Canthce—deposuit, (κατέθηκε).	Lar—Dominus.
Capra—capra.	Leine, line. (An inscription on
Capys—falco, (κάμπτω).	sepulchres, possibly <i>leniter</i> , sc.
Carescara—χαριστήρια.	<i>ingredere</i> , or it may be <i>loculus</i> :
Cassis—cassis.	ληνός).
Cehen, probably ἔνεκεν.	Lupu—loculus, (λοπάς).
Cfer—puer. (<i>p</i> and <i>q</i> are constantly	Lusna—luna.
interchanged; <i>cf</i> is the Etruscan	Mantisa—additamentum.
<i>q</i> . So Cfenle—Quintus. The	Mi—sum, (ἐμι).
derivation may be from κφόρος;	Nanos—erro.
or from κόϊρ for πόϊρ, Æol. for	Nepos—prodigus, (nepos).
παϊς.)	Peithesa—fides, (πέιθω, whence too
Chausais—inferiis, (χόσαις, Æol.)	<i>fido</i>).

¹ Rom. Hist., Tuscans or Etruscans.

² Lectures on Rom. Hist. v.

³ This word is evidently Grecised. The authority is Hesychius.

Etruscan
language.

Phanu—fanum.

Phlere }
Phlfres } Votum. (No satisfac-
Phlexr } tory Gr. or Lat. etymo-
logy. Lanzi's ὀφλησις is
very forced.)

Phruntac—fulguriator.

Puia—filia (Lanzi), (*Fuid*).Ril. (Apparently a contracted form
of some word signifying *years*.

Etym. uncertain.)

Subulo—tibicen.

Suthil }
Suthur } σωτήριον.

Tapi—sepultura, (*ταφή*).Tece—posuit, (*ἔθηκε*).

Tunur—honor, (Tu unur, τῷ honori).

Turses—mcenia, (turris).

Tuthines—quicunque, (οἱ [τοῖ] τινες).

Threce—τέθεικε.

Thui, or thuia—filia, (θυιὰ, ἡ [τὰ] νιά).

Thupitaisece—ὑποτέθεικε.

Verse—verte. (Propertius, who gives
a long account of Vertumnus
(iv. ii.) and the various occasions
from which his name was popu-
larly derived, makes no doubt of
the etymology à *vertendo*, or of
the root being Etruscan.)

Oscan
language.

The Opican or Oscan language was extensively spoken over the middle and southern portions of Italy; Latium itself was included in Opica by Aristotle.¹ It was the language of the Samnites, Campanians, Lucanians, Bruttians: it was spoken by the Mamertines of Messina; and the Sabine language, though not the same, had mingled with it:² and the Samnites, who were of Sabine

¹ Τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ὀπίκης, ὃς καλεῖται Λάτιον.—*Aristot. apud Dionys. Halic. Rom. Antiq. i. 72.*

² “Sabina usque radices in Oscam linguam egit.” The following Sabine words, collected from various authorities, will show the affinity of the language to the Latin, and (partially) to the Greek:—

Alpus	albus.	Herna	saxa.
Ausum	aurum.	Idus	idus.
Cascus	antiquus.	Lepesta	vas vinarium.
Catus	acutus.	Lixula	circulus.
Ciprus (or cuprus)	bonus.	Nar	sulfur.
Creperus	dubius.	Salus	salus.
Cumba	lectica.	Scesna	cœna.
Cupencus	sacerdos.	Strena	sanitas.
Curis	hasta.	Tebæ	colles.
Embratur (a Latin word corrupted).	imperator	Terenus (τέρην)	tener.
Fasena	arena.	Tesqua	locasentibus repleta.
Februum	purgamentum.	Trabea	trabea.
Fædus	hædus.	Trafo	traho.
Fircus	hircus.	Vefo	veho.
		Verna	verna.

From the above examples it is evident that an *h* for an *f*, or an *r* for an *s*, would often convert a Sabine word into Latin, and the forms and character of the words suggest a dialectical Latin.

descent, spoke it.¹ It was thus brought into immediate contact with Rome. The Atellane plays, of which notice will be found in our chapters on Latin poetry, were acted in this language; and, being intended for popular amusement, could scarcely have been very unintelligible at Rome. Some German scholars, as Munk² and Klenze,³ have contended that the Atellane plays were always in Latin; contrary to the express testimony of Strabo, who, as we shall see when we come to that part of our subject, speaks of Oscan plays acted in his time periodically at Rome. To this competent witness it is not sufficient to reply, as Munk has done, that the Oscan language was unintelligible at Rome in the time of Augustus, on the ground that, as Horace and Quintilian⁴ attest, even the learned were unable to interpret the old Latin; and that the Bantine table contains a Latin translation of the Oscan, for the use of the Romans, who did not understand the latter. True enough it may be that the Oscan language was unintelligible to the learned of the Augustan day; but this is anything but an *à fortiori* argument for its unintelligibility to the vulgar. The literary and conversational Latin was quite an artificial language, and probably differed more from the Latin of the common people than did the Oscan itself. As to the Bantine table, the argument from that altogether fails, as the Latin and Oscan are *not* antigraphs, as is shown by Klenze himself. The main difference between the Oscan and the Latin was dialectical; a difference, however, progressively enlarged by the great opposition in the habits of the races by whom they were respectively spoken. The Oscan language comprises the larger portion of the un-Greek element, as it is called, of the Latin; and, whether this term be just or otherwise, certain it is that the Oscan receded considerably from the Greek. This was natural in a people whose minds and occupations appear to have been as opposite as possible, even to a proverb, to the intellectual character of the Greeks; for the term *Opicus* was used emphatically for ignorance of Greek, and antipathy to it.⁵ The Oscans were dull,

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language.

¹ Liv. x. 20.

² De Fabb. Atell.

³ Zur Geschichte der Altitalischen Volkstämme.

⁴ Hor. Epist. II. i. 56. Quint. I. vi. 40.

⁵ Aul. Gell. xi. 16; xiii. 9. So Juv. iii. 206:—

Jamque vetus *Græcos* servabat cista libellos,
Et divina *Opici* rodebant carmina mures.

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language.

sensual, and, emphatically, *barbarous*. Indeed the word *Opicus* in Latin implies something more than *barbarus*. “Nos quoque Græci barbaros, et *spurciūs* nos quàm alios, *Opicos* [al. *Opicorum*] appellatione *fedant*,” says Cato.¹ Festus derives the name of the nation *ab oris feditate*; a ludicrous etymology, but exhibiting the common idea of contempt and disgust with which the Oscans were regarded by educated Romans. With such sentiments, and with the profoundest veneration for Greek taste and literature, which the Oscans did not care to understand, the Romans, as matter of refinement, continually receded further from Oscan forms.

The principal monuments of this language now remaining to us are, some vases from Nola in the museum at Berlin; an inscription found at Messana, in *Greek* letters; another found in Campania; several at Herculaneum and Pompeii; a stone table in the ruins of Abella, in Oscan letters; and one of brass at Oppidum, in Latin letters. This last is the most important, and is commonly known by the name of the Bantine table.

The Oscan alphabet did not materially differ from the Etruscan in form, nor from the Latin in amplitude, when the Latin alphabet was employed, as was often the case, in writing this language.² But, in the latter instance, the Q was wanting. Vowels, as in Etruscan, were sometimes omitted; but the writing, when in Latin or Greek Letters, was commonly from left to right; and the orthography, if we may apply the term, was coarser and more careless than the Etruscan; as might be expected from an illiterate

¹ Ap. Plin. N. H. xxix. 27.

² The principal differences were as follow:—

Lat.	Osc.	Lat.	Osc.
A	𐌆	P	𐌖
PH	𐌗 𐌘	R	𐌔 𐌕
TH	𐌛	Z	𐌧
I	𐌄 𐌅		
N	𐌎		

nation. The words were even strangely run into each other, as is frequent in the writings of uneducated people: hence arise difficulties in the interpretation. Nevertheless, by the light of the Latin, some idea may be formed of the language.

The Bantine table is, perhaps, the least unintelligible of the Oscan documents. As a specimen, we give a part of the 3rd chapter, as it is called by Grotefend, with his version: those of other scholars, as Klenze and Dr. Donaldson, differ, as might be expected. Some of these variations we shall notice.

Pr. svæ profucus,¹ pod post exac Bansæ fust, svæ pis
 Porro si prætexuerit, quod posthac Bantiæ fuerit, si quis
 op eizois com atrud[iac]ud acum herest, avti pru
 ob hæc cum fraudulentum homine² agere volet, atque pro
 medicatū manimasepū eizazūne egmazū, pas exaiscen
 compensato mancipium idem exquirere, cujus ex istis
 (ἐκμάζειν)

ligis scriptas set, nep him pruhpid mais zicolois X.³
 legis scriptæ sit, neque eum repetat magis (quàm) iudicii X.
 nesimois. Svæ pis contrud exeic pruhipust, molto etanio
 continuatis. Si quis contra in isto repetierit, multa justa
 estud n. ① in svæ pis ionc meddis moltaum herest, licitud;
 esto n. M. et si quis eum magistratus multare volet, liceto;
 ampert mistreis⁴ alteis eituas multas moltaum licitud.
 una cum magistris altis ærarii multæ multare liceto.

From this passage it will be seen that there is considerable obscurity in the remains of the Oscan tongue which antiquity has spared to us. The principles of this language, so far as they are known, we shall consider in conjunction with those of the Umbrian, to which it bears a close affinity. A vocabulary would almost

¹ Klenze renders *Prætor sive præfectus*. Grotefend takes *præfucus* for *præfucust*, *prætexuerit*, from *fuco*, to disguise.

² *Com atrudiacud* should perhaps be rendered *fraudulenter*; so *com preivatud*, *privatim*; but Dr. Donaldson gives *atrud ud*, and renders *atro o*, concluding, apparently, that a whole word is lost. The letters *iac* are less distinct, indeed, but seem quite unmistakable.

³ Klenze renders *ne quem prohibeat magis sicutis decem*.

⁴ Klenze renders *ampert mistreis* by *per ministros*.

Oscan
language.
Umbrian
language.

require the transcription of the Oscan remains; a task equally unsuited to our objects and our dimensions.

One of the most ancient and genuine races of Italy was the Umbrian.¹ Their city Ameria dates 381 years before Rome. Their territory extended at one time over a part of Etruria. Their language, therefore, must be regarded as one of the constituents of the Latin. We have larger means of investigating the nature of this tongue than we possess in regard to the Etruscan and Oscan. In the year 1444, nine brazen tables were discovered in a subterranean vault in the neighbourhood of the ancient theatre at Gubbio, the ancient Eugubium or Iguvium. Two of these were conveyed, in the year 1540, to Venice, and have never been recovered; the remaining seven are still in existence. Of this number, two are in Latin characters; the remainder in Umbrian, which do not differ importantly from the Etruscan alphabet. These last are earlier than the others, and are referred by Lepsius to about the end of the fourth century *U.C.*; the others he places about the middle of the sixth century. In this period the language had undergone alteration, owing, doubtless, in part, to the advancing influence of the Latin; we may, therefore, consider it under the designation of Old and New Umbrian.

The declensions of substantives and adjectives are tolerably well ascertained. The First contains the feminine nouns, and is as follows:

¹ "Umbrosum gens antiquissima Italiae existimatur, ut quos Ombrios a Græcis putent dictos, quod inundatione terrarum imbribus superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Tusci debellasse reperiuntur."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* iii. 19.

UMBRIAN.		New		OSCAN.	
Old.		SINGULAR.		SINGULAR.	
Nom.	} }	tuta (or tutu) Ijuvina (the whole ¹ Eugubian territory)	toto Ijovina (or Jovina)	Old.	New.
Gen.		tutas Ijuvinas	totar Ijovinar (or Jovinar)	tutvu	tovto
Dat.		tute Ijuvine	tote Ijovine (or Ijoveine)	tutvas	
Acc.		tutam Ijuvinam (this <i>m</i> is sometimes rejected)	totam Ijovinam	tutvai	tovtæ
Abl.		tuta Ijuvina	tota Ijovina	tutvam	
				tutvad	
		PLURAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	} }	tutas	totar	tutvas	tovtazum
Voc.					
Gen.		tutarum	totarum		
Dat.		tutes	toter		
Abl.		tutaf ²	totaf.	tutvais	
Acc.					

¹ Or, the Eugubian city; for *Meddia tuticus* is *præfectus urbis*.
² The character 8 (ph) is represented on the tables in the Latin character by *f*.

Umbrian
language.

The identity of this declension with the first of the Latin, and with the corresponding declension of the Greek, is palpable. Where it differs from the former, it falls back upon the latter. The genitive is purely Greek. The *ai* of the Oscan dative singular, and the *e* of the Umbrian, are the original *ai* and *η* of the Greek, afterwards contracted into *a* and *η*. The *a*s of the Oscan dative plural, and the *es* of the Umbrian, are the Greek *a*is and *ης* by similar analogy. The *v* in the Oscan form is the Greek digamma.

The Second declension corresponds to that of the Latin in *us* and Greek in *os* for masculines, and Latin in *um* and Greek in *ov* for neuters. The masculines sometimes undergo a change in the nominative, as by the rejection of the penultimate *u*: as *Ikuvinus* for *Ikuvinus*, an Eugubian. When, after this process, *t* and *s* concur, they coalesce in *z*. So *pihatus*, *pihats*, *pihaz*. In the later Umbrian, this *az* becomes *os*. When *t* and *l* or *r* concur, the termination *us* is rejected, and an *e* is interposed. *Katlus* (catulus), *katl*, *katel*. So in the Oscan, *Bantins* for *Bantinus*, *Pumpaia*ns for *Pumpaianus* (Pompejanus), *hurz* for *hurtus*, &c. Thus from ἀγρός the Latin *agrus*, *agr*, *ager*. The neuter declension (in *um*, *om*, *im*) only differs from the masculine in having the nominative, accusative, and vocative alike in both numbers, and forming those cases in the plural in *a* or *u*.

UMBRIAN.			OSCAN.
	Old.	New.	Terminations.
	SINGULAR.		
Nom.	pupel? Ikuvinus (the Eugubian people)	popel?	{ el, m. (Famel) us, m. (Ziculus) Bantins (for <i>Bantinus</i>) um, n. (sakaraklum)
Gen.	puples Ikuvinus	popler	eis (Abellaneis)
Dat.	puple	pople	ui (Abellanui)
Voc.	puple?	pople?	
Acc.	puplum	poplom	om (dolom)
Abl.	puplu	poplu	ud (Abellanud)

UMBRIAN			OSCAN.	Umbrian language.
Old.		New.	Terminations.	
			PLURAL.	
Nom. } puplus		poplor?	{ us, <i>m.</i> (Abellanus)	
Voc. }			{ u, <i>n.</i> (teremenniu)	
Gen. puplum		poplom	um (Abellanium)	
Dat. }			{ eis (mistreis)	
Abl. }		popl-er, -ir, -eir	{ uis (Abellanus), or	
			{ ois (in more modern forms)	
Acc. pupluf		poplof?	{ uf (tribarakkiuf. <i>Gro- tefend</i>)	

The characteristic termination of the Third declension is *i*; but there are many rules which dispense with it, unnecessary to introduce here, when we are merely investigating the sources of the Latin language. This declension comprehends all the genders: the neuter nominative, accusative, and vocative are alike, as in Greek and Latin. The other nouns are thus declined:

UMBRIAN.			OSCAN.
Old.		New.	Terminations.
			SINGULAR.
Nom. { ukar (for ukri), a hill.		ocar	
Voc. ? { The Lat. <i>arx</i> , Gr. <i>ἄκρα</i>			
Gen. ukres		ocrer	eis
Dat. ukre		ocre	ei
Acc. ukrem		ocre ^m	im
Abl. ukri		ocr-i, -e, -ei.	id
			PLURAL.
Nom. } <i>m. f.</i> ukres		{ ocrer	
Voc. ? }		{ arvio	
Gen.		term. <i>om</i> (peracniom)	
Dat. }			
Abl. }			
Acc. ukref		ocr-ef, -if, -eif	eis

The Fourth Umbrian declension corresponds to the fourth of the Latin. It contains the three genders. The nominative ends in *u*. There is no example of this case, however, in the word here selected. *Manu* (?) signifies *hand*.

Umbrian
language.

UMBRIAN.

	Old.	New.
	SINGULAR.	
Nom.		
Gen.	manus	manor
Dat.	manu	mano
Acc.	manum	manom
Abl.	mani	mani

There are two other forms, *manve* and *manf*, the reference of which is uncertain ; but they are probably dative and accusative.

	PLURAL.	OSCAN.
Dat. } term. <i>us</i> , as <i>berus</i>		Feihoss. <i>Grotef</i> .
Abl. }		
Acc. <i>m.</i> „ <i>uf</i> , as <i>kastruvuf</i>		
„ <i>n.</i> „ <i>a</i> , as <i>berva</i> ; term. <i>o</i> , as <i>pequo</i> .		

The following, in the form of the Fifth and last Umbrian declension, embraces all the genders :—

	UMBRIAN.		OSCAN.
	Old.	New.	
	SINGULAR.		
Nom. } kvestur (<i>questor</i>)		questur	kvaistur, medix, med-
Voc. ? }			dix, meddiss
			(<i>magistratus</i>)
			Terminations.
Gen.	kvestures	questurer	eis (<i>medikeis</i>)
Dat.	kvesture	questure	ei (<i>medikei</i>)
Acc.	kvesturu	questuru	im (<i>medicim</i> , N. O.)
Abl.	kvesture	questure	id (<i>præsenti</i> d, N. O.)

PLURAL.

(We are here obliged to collect examples from different nouns.)

Nom.		tuderor (from <i>tuder</i>)
Gen.	fratrum	fratrom (from <i>frater</i>)
Dat. }		
Abl. }	fratrus	fratrus

Beside these forms, there are, in Umbrian, two *locative* cases, as they are called, which are the same in all declensions : but they rather seem to have affinity with the Greek postfixes *θη* or *σι*, as

οὐρανόθι, Ἰλιόθι, Ἀθήνησι; and δε or ζε, as οἶκονδε, Μαραθώναδε, χάμαζε, Umbrian
 Αθήναζε: so *tutemem Ijovinemem*, "in the whole of the Eugubian
 territory," or, "in the city of Eugubium," as before; *tutamem Ijovina-*
mem, "to," or "into," &c. The termination *fem* is used in the plural,
 and in the sense of *rest* only. The *m* is sometimes rejected; but
 the laws of its rejection are unimportant here.

The numerals, as far as known, are *unu*, one; *dur*, two; thus
 declined:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	dur (N. U.)		tuva?
Dat.	duir „		tuves?
Acc.	duf „	tuf	tuva
Abl.		tuve	tuves

Tri, three, thus declined:

	Masc. and Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	tri	trija?
Acc.	tref, tre, trif, treif	trija
Abl.		tris

Four is *petur* (πέτορες for τέσσαρες, Æol.¹); six, *se*; nine, *nurpier*;
 ten, *desen*.² Of the personal pronouns (Umbrian and Oscan), we
 have *mehe* (N. U.), *mihi*; *tiom*, or *tio* (N. U.), *tiu* (O. U.), *te*;
tefe, *tibi*; *sese*, *sese*; *tuer*, *tuus*; *vestra*, *vestra*. The demonstrative
 pronouns are *erek*, *ere* (O. U.), *erec*, *ere*, *eront* (N. U.), *idik* (O. O.),
izic (N. O.), answering to the Latin *is*; *esto*, to *iste*; *eso* (N. U.),
ezum (N. O.), to *hic*; *ero*, to *ille*; *eno* and *ho*, only found in
 conjunctive and adverbial forms; *poe*, *poi*, or *poei* (N. U.), *qui*;
 the *p*, both in Umbrian and Oscan, answering to the Latin *q*; (so
pisipumpe, quicunque). In the Greek dialects, in like manner,
 π and κ are interchanged: so πῆ, πόσος, ποῖος, κᾶ, κόσος, κοῖος.
 Hence, too, λύκος, lupus, σκύλον, spoliū, &c. In this respect the
 Oscan was often nearer than the Latin to the Greek.

The auxiliary verb *es* (esse, εἶναι) is thus conjugated, as far as
 we have examples:

¹ Hence *petorritum*.

² Hence, *Dsen*, *Zen*, *Zehn*, Germ.

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language

UMBRIAN.

	Old.	New.
PRES. IND.	3rd. sing. est	3rd. sing. est
		3rd. pl. sent, sont, isunt
PRES. POT.	3rd. sing. si	2nd. sing. sir, si, sei
		3rd. pl. sins
INF.	eru	erom

The auxiliary verb *fu* (fuisse, *φῦvai*) is thus found :

PRES. POT.	3rd. sing. fuia	
FUT. IND.	3rd. sing. fuiest	(Lanzi refers to this tense the forms <i>eront, erihont, erahunt, erefont, erarunt, ererunt</i> . The German philologists regard them as pronouns.)
FUT. PERF. IND.	3rd. sing. fust	fust, fus
	3rd. pl. furent	2nd. sing. futu
IMP.	3rd. sing. futu	2nd. pl. fututu

The following fragments of verbs give some, though an imperfect, idea of their conjugation. They are arranged according to the analogous conjugations in Latin. The active and passive are distinguished by the corresponding Latin affixed :

I.			II.		III.	
			INDICATIVE.—PRESENT.			
Pers.	Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.
1.	subocau (<i>subvoco</i>)	armamu, O. U. arsmahamo, N. U.	stahu, N. U. (<i>sto</i>)		sestu, O. U. (<i>sisto</i>)	herter, O. U.
2.			habe (<i>habet</i>)		heris, O. U. (<i>vis</i>)	herte, O. U.
3.					hert, O. U. (<i>vult</i>)	herti, N. U.
1. pihavi, O. U. (<i>piavi</i>)			PERFECT.		rere, O. U. (<i>dedit</i>)	benuso, N. U.
2.					orto est } N. U.	(<i>venerunt</i>)
3.					ortom est } N. U.	screiptor sent, N. U.
					(<i>ortum est</i>)	(<i>scripti sunt</i>)
1.			FUTURE PERFECT.		benus, O. U. }	benurent, O. & N. U.
2.			habus, N. U.	haburent, N. U.	benust, N. U. }	(<i>venerint</i>)
3.	portust, N. U.		(<i>habuerit</i>)	(<i>habuerint</i>)	(<i>venerit</i>)	

In the perfect *fefacust* of the Oscan (*fecerit*) we find the reduplication preserved.
 The passive of this tense is formed by the auxiliary verb, as *pihas* or *pihos fust* (piatum fuerit).

PART. PERF. PASS.

kuratu (*curatum*) | purtetu

| | *scripto (scriptum)*

(There is, however, a great variety of terminations to this participle, for which we must refer our readers to the valuable philological treatise of Kirchhoff and Aufrecht.)

INF. PRES. ACT. afero, N. U. (*circumferre*); PERF. PASS. kuratu eru, O. U. (*curatum esse*).

PART. FUT. PASS. anferener, N. U. (*circumferendi*)

The *active* supine in Latin ends in *u* or *o* in Umbrian.

I.

	Pers.	Sing.
1. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
2. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
3. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
4. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
5. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
6. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
7. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
8. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
9. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
10. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
11. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
12. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
13. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
14. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
15. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
16. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
17. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
18. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
19. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
20. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
21. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
22. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
23. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
24. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
25. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
26. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
27. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
28. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
29. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
30. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
31. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
32. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
33. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
34. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
35. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
36. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
37. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
38. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
39. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
40. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
41. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
42. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
43. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
44. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
45. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
46. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
47. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
48. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
49. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
50. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
51. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
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99. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		
100. <i>Phyllanthus</i>		

2. pihatu, N. U. (*piato*)

3. pehatu, O. U. (*piato*)

Plural.

Sing.

habetu, O. U. (*habeto*)

Plural.

habetutu, O.U.

Sing.

prevendu. N. U.

sest. O. U. (*sistito*)

Plural.

etutu, O. U. } (eunto)
etuto, N. U. }

etuto, N. U.

PASS. 3rd. *p. sing.* persnimu, pesnimu, persnihimu; *plural*, persnimumo, &c.

II.

IMPERATIVE.

PRESENT POTENTIAL.

1. aseriaia, N.U. (*observem*)

24.

3. portaia, N.U. (*portet*) etaiaia } N.U. (*itent*)
etaiaia

etaiaz

... and ...

(adhibent)

mugatu, N. U.

(mugiantur)

diras } N. U.

Macmillan

ementur]

emanantibus

(emanatur)

INFIN. Osc. moltaum (*multare*).

The Umbrian prepositions (which the Oscan closely resemble) are, Umbrian language.
with their Latin exponents, as follows: O is old Umbrian; N, new.

Ar (O.), <i>ad</i>	Pustin, pusti (O.), posti (N.), <i>pro</i>
Ehe, eh, eso, sese, tefe (N.), <i>e, ex</i>	Pre, <i>ante, pro</i> (<i>præ</i> in composition)
Eine, eno, <i>in</i>	Sei (N.), <i>ab</i> (the <i>se</i> of composition, as in <i>segrego</i>)
Eis, <i>eis</i>	Subra (N.), <i>surur, supra</i>
Hutra (O.), hondra (N.), <i>infra</i>	Sopa, <i>sub</i>
Karu (O.), <i>coram</i>	Tra (O.), traf, trahaf, traha (N.), <i>trans</i>
Kum, ku (O.) } <i>cum</i>	Tu (O.), to (N.), <i>ab</i> . (It seems the word which enters <i>penitus, divi-</i>
Com, co (N.) }	nitus, <i>cœlitus</i> , &c., which words are compounded quite after the Umbrian fashion.)
Per, <i>pro</i> . (Generally post-fixed, as pupluper, <i>pro populo</i> .)	Upetu, <i>ob, propter</i>
Perse, persei, persi (N.), <i>περι?</i>	
Pune (O.), ponne, poni (N.), <i>pone?</i>	
Pus (O.) }	
Post (N.) }	

The *compositional* prepositions are *an* (O.), *àvâ* or *in*; *amb, ampr* (O.), *ambr* (N.), *ambi, ἀμφί*; *ah* (O.), *a, aha*, (N.), *a, ab*; *anter* (O.), *ander* (N.), *inter*; *en, in*; *up, us* (O.), *os* (N.), *ob, obs, os*; *pru* (O.), *pro*; *pur, por* (as in *porricio*); *re, re*; *sub, sub*; *vem, ven, ve*, perhaps as *ve* in *vecors*.

An Umbrian vocabulary would involve the transcription of the Eugubian tables; a task altogether irrelevant to the object of a treatise on the history and sources of the Latin language. By extracts from those tables, we shall, perhaps, give a better idea of the Umbrian language, and its connection with Latin and Greek. The interpretation is, in great measure, conjectural. It must be remembered that *Tota Ijovina* may be rendered *civitas Iguvina*.

From the Vth table (O. U.):

Jupater Sabe tephe estu vitlu vuphru sestu: purti
Jupiter Sabe! tibi istum vitulum rubrum sisto: vitulum
(πρόπρακα)

phele trijuper teitu trijuper vuphru naratu: pheiu
lactentem: pro tribus dictis(?) pro tribus rubris dic: facio
(fellantem) (narrato)

Juve patre vubijaper Natina Fratri Atieriu.
Jovi patri pro vubiâ Arnatinâ Fratrum Ateriatium.

Umbrian
language.

From the VIth table (N. U.) :

Di Grabovie tiom esu bue peracrei pihaclu ocreper

Di Grabovi! macte esto bove opimo piaculo pro arce

(τιόμενος ἔσο) peracrῶ (pro sacrificio, *Lanzi*)

Fisiu totaper Ijovina erer nomneper erar

Fisio pro tota Iguvina (terra) *pro* marium nomine *pro* fœminarum

(eorum) (earum)

nomneper.

nomine.

Di Grabovie salvom seritu ocerer Fisier totar Ijovinar

Di Grabovi! salvam servato arcis Fisii [et] totius Iguvinæ

(terræ)

nome nerf arsmo veiro pequo castruo frif salva seritu

regionem opes . . arma¹ viros pecus oppida * salva servato :

(νομόν) (nervos) (castra)

futu fons paser pase tua ocri Fisi tote Ijovine erer

sis bonus, favens pace tuâ arcis Fisio toti Iguvinæ marium

(φνέτω) (pacificus)

nomne erar nomne.

nomini fœminarum nomini.²

From this investigation it would appear that, from the Alps to the Strait of Messina, the languages spoken when Rome arose were either purely Greek or of kindred origin and form. The roots are discoverable in Greek or Sanscrit, in which latter tongue philologists have traced unquestionable analogy, both in substance and form, to the old Italian dialects. Latium, as a point where the territories of several races met, would naturally exhibit a compounded language; and, if the universal tradition be true which represents Rome in its infancy as the asylum of fugitives from all parts, the language of that city might be expected to prove more miscellaneous even than

¹ According to Dr. Donaldson, however, *arsmus* is *sacerdos*.

² *i. e.* maribus et feminis. So *nomen* Latinum, &c. Dr. Donaldson renders *illius nomini*, *hujus nomini*, the meaning of which is not very clear. But *er* and *ar*, as we have seen, are the terminations of the gen. sing. of the 2nd and 1st declensions respectively, and answering therefore to the masculine and feminine. We should have used the pronoun *ille* in *both* places, if the genitive singular had admitted the distinction of genders.

that of the province. But, as all the elements were kindred, it easily subsided into a compact and uniform texture, particularly when it became refined, enriched, and polished by an ampler infusion of Greek.

Umbrian
language.

In investigating the early Latin, we are met by several difficulties. The orthography is altogether unsettled; the specimens, when transcribed, have suffered in the process; the language itself, as might be expected, is fluctuating. The earliest specimen we possess is the Hymn of the Fratres Arvales, dug up at Rome in the year 1778. This poem was attributed to the times of Romulus. Though of the highest antiquity, it was not, probably, inscribed on the stone which contains it till the time of Heliogabalus; it is scarcely possible, therefore, that it should not be much corrupted. The reader will perceive in it several letters which did not belong to the primitive alphabet. There is no division in the words; the division which we give, however, is that which is generally received:—

Latin
language.

ENOS . LASES . IVVATE
NEVE . LVERVE . MARMAR . SINS . INCVRRERE IN PLEURES .
SATVR . FVFFERE . MARS . LIMEN . SALI . STA . BERBER .
SEMVNES . ALTERNEI . ADVOCAPIT . CONCTOS
ENOS . MARMOR . IVVATO .
TRIVMPE . TRIVMPE . TRIVMPE . TRIVMPE . TRIVMPE .

Each of these lines is repeated thrice; and the uncertainty of the orthography is manifested in the repetition. For LVERVE is substituted LUÆ; for MARMAR, MARMA; for SINS, SENS; for PLEORES, PLEORIS and PLEORUS; for FVFFERE, FURERE; for SEMVNES, SIMUNIS; for LIMEN, LUMEN; for SALI, SALE; for MARMOR, MAMOR. The interpretation is very uncertain. Perhaps no two scholars are actually agreed on it. We subjoin that of Klauser:—

AGE, NOS, LARES, JUVATE,
NEVE LUEM, MARS, SINAS INCURRERE IN PLURES.
SATUR FURERE, MARS. PEDE-PULSA LIMEN.¹ STA VERBERE.
SEMONES ALTERNI ADVOCABITE CUNCTOS.
AGE NOS, MAMURI,² JUVATO.

¹ Better perhaps, *limini insili*. Dr. Donaldson gives, *lumen solis sta*: “put a stop to the scorching heat of the sun.”

² There is no question that Mamurius was celebrated in the end of the *Salian* Hymn: but perhaps, both there and here, the name signified Mars; when,

Latin
language.

Lanzi renders *pleores* by *flores*, and *satur fufere* by *ador feri*; *Limen sali sta* he makes *pestem* (λύμην) *salis siste*. But the whole is necessarily very uncertain and obscure. The Salian Hymn, which dates nearly up to the same period, and a few words of which have been preserved by Varro,¹ was extant in the time of Quinctilian, who informs us that it was scarcely understood by the priests who sung it;² and Horace declares it was unintelligible to him, and ridicules the antiquaries of his day who affected to praise what they could not understand.³ It is nothing wonderful, therefore, that correct interpretations of these early and corrupt remains should be absolutely impossible.

Royal laws.

The next example is given by Festus, under the verb *plorassit*. It is taken from the royal laws, and perhaps is as old as the second

however, it became less understood, a legend was contrived to explain it. According to this, Mamurius was the artificer of the shields made to imitate the *ancile*, that it might not be stolen from the temple;

“Cui Numa munificus, ‘Facti pete præmia,’ dixit:

‘Si mea nota fides, irrita nulla petes.’

(Jam dederat Saliis—a saltu nomina ducunt—

Armaque, et ad certos verba canenda modos.)

Tum sic Mamurius: ‘Merces mihi gloria detur,

Nominaque *extremo carmine* nostra sonent.’

Inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto

Præmia persolvunt, Mamuriumque vocant.”—*Ov. Fast.* iii. 383.

To whom thus generous Numa: “Ask of me

Thy meed; my word was never pledg’d in vain.”

(The bard had given the Salian company

Their arms, and language of their sacred strain.)

Spake then Mamurius: “Guerdon me with fame,

And let my name conclude your solemn lays.”

The priests assent, and ratify the claim,

And still their songs resound Mamurius’ praise.

¹ De Ling. Lat. vi. 1 & 3. “Romanorum prima verba poetica.”—vii. 26, 27. The longest fragment is the following, which scholars have attempted to explain, but with so much obscurity and uncertainty, that we shall not endeavour to follow them; especially as the passage has no doubt suffered greatly by transcription: “Cozenlodoizeso omina vero ad patula coemis jam cusianes dionusceruses dunzianus vevet.”

² “Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta.”—*Quinct.* I. iii. 4.

³ Ep. ad Aug. 86.

century of Rome. We give it, with an interlinear modern version, Latin
language.
where requisite :—

Sei parentem puer verberit, ast oloe plorasit, puer diveis
Si verberaverit, ille ploraverit diis
parentum sacer esto : si nurus, sacra diveis parentum esto.
diis

Here we possess at once what is evidently Latin, and intelligible. The form *plorasit* belongs to the analogy of the Umbrian *fust*, i. e. *fusit*, for *fuerit*. But it may be doubted whether this passage has not been considerably modernised, especially as a treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, of much later date, was with difficulty intelligible by the learned in the time of Polybius.¹ Several other specimens of very early Roman laws exist, but their very intelligibility sufficiently proves that they have been modernised by those who have quoted them ; and they are consequently of little value for the purpose of philological illustration.

The laws of the Twelve Tables, which have been amply quoted, The Twelve
Tables.
have been left for the most part more in their original words, and consequently are more illustrative of the progress of the language. They belong to the beginning of the fourth century of Rome. The passages, though not lengthy, are numerous, and some portion of each table is extant. We subjoin a law from the Xth table :—

Qui coronam parit ipse pecuniæve² ejus virtutis ergo
ipsi (?)
arduitor et ipsi mortuo parentibusquejus, dum intus positus escit
addatur parentibusque ejus erit,
forisque fertur sefraudesto, neve aurum adito. Ast sicui auro
sine fraude esto addito sicubi
dentes vincti escint, im cum ilo sepelire ureve sefraudesto.
erint, eum illo urereve sine fraude esto.

¹ Polyb. iii. 22.

² “ Who gains a crown to himself or to his property ; ” i. e. as Lanzi explains it, who gains a crown by any meritorious act of his own, or by means of his property, e. g. of his horses at the public games.

³ s for r, as usual in the Italian languages, and the c added.

Latin
language.

The next authority, but more important, because uncorrupted by transcription, is a *Senatus consultum*, assuring the Tiburtines that the Senate did not distrust, and had not distrusted, their loyalty. It was found inscribed on a bronze table at Tivoli, in the XVIth century. It is now lost, but has been transcribed by Niebuhr from Gruter's copy, as follows :

1. L. Cornelius Cn. F. Prætor Senatum consuluit A.D. III. nonas
Maías sub æde Kastorus ;
2. Scribendo adfuerunt A. Manlius A. F. Sex. Julius, Lucius Post-
humius S. F.
3. Quod Teiburtes verba fecerunt, quibusque de rebus vos purga-
vistis, ea Senatus
4. Animum advortit, ita ut ei æquom fuit ; nosque ea ita audi-
veramus
5. Ut vos deixsistis vobeis nontiata esse ; ea nos animum nostrum
6. Non indoucebamus ita facta esse propter ea quod scibamus
7. Ea vos merito nostro facere non potuisse ; neque vos dignos
esse,
8. Qui ea faceretis, neque id vobeis neque rei poplicæ vostræ
9. Oitile esse facere ; et postquam vostra verba senatus audivit,
Utile
10. Tanto magis animum nostrum indoucimus, ita ut ei ante
11. Arbitrabamur de eieis rebus af vobis peccatum non esse
12. Quonque de eieis rebus Senatuei purgatei estis, credimus vosque
Quùmque
13. Animum vostrum indoucere oportet, item vos populo
14. Romano purgatos fore.

This is an extraordinary advance, being indeed far less archaic in its form than some later specimens.

We come next to the inscription on the column of Duillius in the Capitol. The original monument was erected to commemorate his naval victory over the Carthaginians, U.C. 494 ; but that which at present exists is a restoration, probably of the time of Claudius. It seems, however, to have been carefully done, and presents perhaps a better specimen of archaic Latin than any we have

adduced. It is imperfect, and the italics show the parts supplied by Lipsius :—

Latin
language.

Lecioneis maximosque macestratos . . . casteris exfociunt
Legiones magistratus castris effugiunt
(i. e., effugant,
effugere faciunt)

Macellam pugnandod cepet; enque eodem macestratod *prosper*
pugnando cepit; inque magistratu

rem navebos marid consol primos *ceset*, clasesque navales
navibus mari consul primus gessit, classesque

primos ornavet cumque eis navebous clases Pœnicas omnes
primus ornavit iis navibus classes Punicas

paratissimas copias Cartaciniensis præsentod maxumod
paratissimas Carthaginienses præsentod maximo

Dictatored olorum in altod marid pugnandod *vicet*
Dictatore illorum alto mari pugnando *vicit*

naveis cepet cum socciis septemr¹ triresmosque naveis
naves cepit sociis septiremes tñresmosque naves

X X *depresset*. *Aurom captom* numei ○ ○ ○ D C C.

depressit. Aurum captum nummi M M M D C C.

Our next authorities are more valuable, as being inscriptions of the time. The mausoleum of the Scipios was discovered in 1780. The first of these inscriptions dates rather earlier than the original inscription on the Duillian column, and it is the earliest original Roman philological antiquity of assignable date which we possess. But the other epitaphs on the Scipios advance to a later period, and it is more convenient to arrange them all together. The earliest of these inscriptions then runs thus :—

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Cnaivod patre prognatus,
Cnæo

fortis vir sapiensque; quojus forma virtutei parissima fuit. Consol
cujus virtuti parissima Consul

¹ We supply *esmos*.

Latin
language

Censor Aidilis quei fuit apud vos. Taurasia, Cisauna, Samnio
Ædilis qui Taurasiam, Cisaunam, Samnium
cepit; subicit omne Loucana opsidesque abdoucit.
subegit omnem Lucaniam obsidesque abduxit.

The next inscription, which dates about u. c. 500, is more archaic than the foregoing :—

Honc oino plourume cosentiont R¹ duonoro optumo
Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romani bonorum optimum
fuisse viro, Luciom Scipione. Filios Barbatì Consul Censor
fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem. Filius Consul
Aidilis hic fuet a² Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe.
Ædilis fuit Hic Corsicam Aleriamque urbem.
Dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto.
Dedit Tempestatibus ædem meritò.

We come next to the end of the sixth century of Rome. The epitaph is that of the son of Scipio Asiaticus.

L. Corneli L. F. P. n. Scipio. Quaist.
Lucius Cornelius Lucii Filius Publii nepos Quæstor
Tr. Mil. annos gnatus XXIII. mortuus. Pater
Tribunus Militum natus
regem Antioco subegit.
Antiochum

The epitaph on the younger Cornelius is as follows :

L. Cornelius Gn. F. Gn. N. Scipio magna sapientia
Cnæi Filius Cnæi Nepos
multasque virtutes ætate quom parva posidet hoc
quùm possidet
(i. e. quamquam) (or possedit)
saxsum. Quoiei vita defecit non honos honore. Is hic situs
saxum. Cui honestè.
quei nuncquam victus est virtutei. Annos gnatus XX is
qui nunquam virtute. natus

t . . eis mandatus. Ne quairatis honore quei minus sit ^{Latin}
 terris. quæratís honorem qui ^{language.}
 manda . . .¹

There is a difficulty in the grammatical construction, owing, perhaps, to the unsettled condition of the language. Lanzi construes *sapientia* as the archaic accusative governed by *posidet*, which the undoubted accusative *virtutes* appears to sanction. But how, then, are we to construe *hoc saxsum*, which would appear to be the accusative after *posidet*?

The remaining epitaphs of the Scipios are in clear, intelligible Latin. That of Cn. Scipio Hispanus concludes with four elegiac verses.

The Lex Silia de publicis ponderibus, passed v.c. 510, and the Lex Papiria de Sacramento, belonging to the following year, cited by Festus, are almost Augustan Latin; but they have, no doubt, been modernised.

The Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, passed in v.c. 568, and found at Terra di Teriolo, in Calabria, in 1640, is quite in its original state. It is, however, perfectly intelligible, and can scarcely be said to differ from classical Latin, except in orthography. We subjoin it entire, as it is a very complete and important specimen of the language.

SCTUM DE BACCHANALIBUS.

Line 1. [Q.] Marcius L. F. S. Postumius L. F. Cos. senatum consol-
 uerunt N: Octob. apud aedem
 nonis

2. Duelonai. Sc. arf. M. Claudi M. F. L. Valeri
 Bellonæ. Scribendo adfuerunt

P. F. Q. Minuci C. F. de Bacanalibus quei foideratei

3. esent ita exdeicendum censuere: neiquis eorum Sacanal
 Bacchanal

habuise velet; sei ques
 qui

¹ Mandatus.

Latin
language.

4. esent quei sibi deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, eeis
necessum
utei ad pr. urbanum
5. Romam venirent, deque eeis rebus ubi eorum v tr a
verba
audita esent utei senatus
6. noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C. adesent
[quom e] a res cosoleretur.
7. Bacas vir ne quis adiese velit ceivis Romanus neve
Bacchas adiisse
nominus Latin [i] neve socium
sociorum
8. quisquam nisei pr. urbanum adiesent, isque de senatuos
sententiad dum ne
9. minus senatoribus C. adesent quom ea res cosoleretur jou-
sisent. Censuere
10. sacerdos ne quis vir eset magister neque vir neque mulier
quisquam eset,
11. neve pecuniam quisquam eorum comoinem habuise velet
neve magistratum,
12. neve pro magistratuo neque virum neque mulierem
quiquam fecise velet,
quisquam
13. neve post hac inter sed conjourase neve comvovise neve
se
conspondise
14. neve compromesise velet, neve quisquam fidem inter sed
dedise velet;
15. sacra in oquoltod ne quisquam fecise velet, neve in poplicod
occulto
neve in
16. preivatod neve extrad urbem sacra quisquam fecise velet,
nisei
17. pr. urbanum adieset isque de senatuos sententiad dum
ne minus
18. senatoribus C. adesent quom ea res cosoleretur iousisent.
censuere

19. Homines plous V. oinversei virei atque mulieres sacra ne ^{Latin}
universi ^{language.}

quisquam

20. fecise velet neve interibei virei plous duobus mulieribus
interea

plous tribus

21. arfuisse velent nisei de pr. urbani senatuosque sententiad
adfuisse

utei suprad

22. scriptum est haice utei in coventionid exdeicatis ne minus
conventione

trinum

23. noundinum senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis eorum

24. sententia ita fuit: sei ques esent quei arvorsum ead fuisent
qui adversum

quam suprad

25. scriptum est eeis rem capitalem faciendam censuere,
atque utei

26. hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis; ita senatus aiqum
censuit;

27. uteique eam figier joubeatis ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit
facillimè possit

atque

28. utei ea Bacanalia sei qua sunt exstrad quam sei quid ibei
sacri est

29. ita utei suprad scriptum est in diebus X quibus vobeis
tabelai datai

30. erunt faciatis utei dismota sient in agro Teurano.
Tauriano.

The Latin Bantine inscription is attributed by Klenze,¹ with sufficient historical grounds, to the middle of the seventh century of Rome.

We present what he calls the two first chapters, with the conjectural supplements in italics.

Line 1. . . . e . in poplico joudicio nesep

¹ Philologische Abhandlungen, Das Altrömische Gesetz.

Latin
language.

2. . . . o . neve quis mag. testimonium poplice eidem *sinito*
denontari

3. . . . dato neve is in poplico luuci¹ prætexam neve soleas
habeto neve quis

4. *mag. prove mag. prove quo imperio potestateve erit* queiquomque
comitia conciliumve habebit eum sufragium ferre nei sinito

5. *sei quis joudex queiquomque ex hac lege* plebeive scito factus
erit senatorve fecerit gesseritve quo ex hac lege

6. *minus fiant quæ fieri oportet quæve fieri oportuerit* oportebitque
non fecerit sciens d. m.² seive advorsus hanc legem fecerit

7. *gesseritve sciens d. m. ei multa esto eamque pecuniam* quei
volet magistratus exsigit; sei postulabit quei petet pr. recuperatores

8. *dato facitoque* eum sei ita pareat condemnari popul.
facitoque joudicetur sei condemnatus

9. *fuert ut pecunia redigatur* ad Q³ urban. aut bona ejus
poplice possideantur facito. Seiquis mag.⁴ multam inrogare volet

10. *apud populum dum minoris* partus⁵ familias taxsat liceto
eique omnium rerum siremps⁶ lexs esto quasei sei is hacce lege

11. *condemnatus fuerit.*

We have thus traced the monuments of ancient Rome into the times of literature. The principal difference which they present from the cultivated Latin are the Oscan ablative in *id*, *od*, *ed*, and an accusative, which afterwards became the regular ablative. This latter peculiarity has been thought to have been perpetuated in the colloquial language, and to have re-appeared in the Italian. Of the Latin language, considered apart from its literature, we have slight means of judging during the Augustan period, and for some centuries after. The African writers produced a distinctive dialect; but this is no more to be regarded a natural phase of the language than the Latinisms of our Caroline writers are a specimen of the current English of their day. The *agminatim*, *diutule*, *longule*, *mundule*, *postremissimus*, *pœnissime*, *cachinnabilis*, *famigerabilis*, of

¹ Luci, luce, *interdiu*.

² dolo malo.

³ Quæstorem.

⁴ magistratus.

⁵ partis.

⁶ Eadem.

Apuleius, and his affected use of nouns of multitude (*totum ejus* ^{Latin language.} *servitium hilares sunt*, &c.) are, perhaps, to be compared with the *indocile, conducible*, &c., of our own Isaac Barrow. But the abundant use of the termination *alis*, the substitution of *de* or *a* with the ablative for the genitive, the formation of verbs in *are*, as *gypsare, mediare*, &c., may be regarded as invasions of the vulgar tongue on the literary, or as indications of a degenerating language. Ordinarily, a literature would be the best criterion of its language; but this rule is by no means applicable to the Latin, which was altogether an artificial tongue, cultivated by literary men on the model of the Greek, and very different from the colloquial dialect. There was a "*lingua nobilis, classica, urbana*," and a "*lingua plebeia, vulgaris, rustica*." The latter, corrupted by the Gothic invasions, and by the native languages of the other parts of the empire, which it only partially supplanted, became eventually distinguished from the *Lingua Latina* (which was now cultivated, even by the learned, only in writing) by the name of "*Lingua Romana*." It accordingly differed in different countries. The purest specimens of the *old* *Lingua Romana* are supposed to exist in the mountains of Sardinia and in the country of the Grisons.

Some examples of the corrupted language shall conclude this portion of our subject.

The following inscription of the Vth century is not dissimilar in style from those which remain to us from the infancy of the language :

Hic requiescit in pace domna Bonusa	quix	ann. XXXXXX et
domina	quæ vixit	
Domno Menna quixitannos	Eabeat	anatema a Juda
Dominus qui vixit annos	Habeat	anathema
si quis alterum	omine sup.	me posuerit. Anatema
hominem	super	Anathema
abeas da trecenti decem et octo	patriarche	qui chanones
habeas de trecentis	patriarchis	canones
esposuerunt et da sca	Xpi	quatuor Eugvangelia.
exposuerunt de sanctis	Christi	Evangeliiis.

We have next an instrument written in Spain, under the govern-

Latin
language.

ment of the Moors, in the year 742, a fragment of which we take from Lanzi. The whole is given by P. Du Mesnil, in his work on the Doctrine of the Church.

Non faciant suas missas nisi portis cerratis; sin peiter
seratis; sin (minus), solvant
decem pesantes argenti. Monasterie quæ sunt in eo
nummos Monasteriæ
mando . . . faciunt Saracenis bona acolhensa sine vexatione
faciant vectigalia?
neque forcia; vendant sine pecho tali pacto quod non
aut vi tributo
vadant foras de nostras terras.
nostris terris.

The following is the oath of fealty taken by Lewis, King of Germany, in A.D. 842:

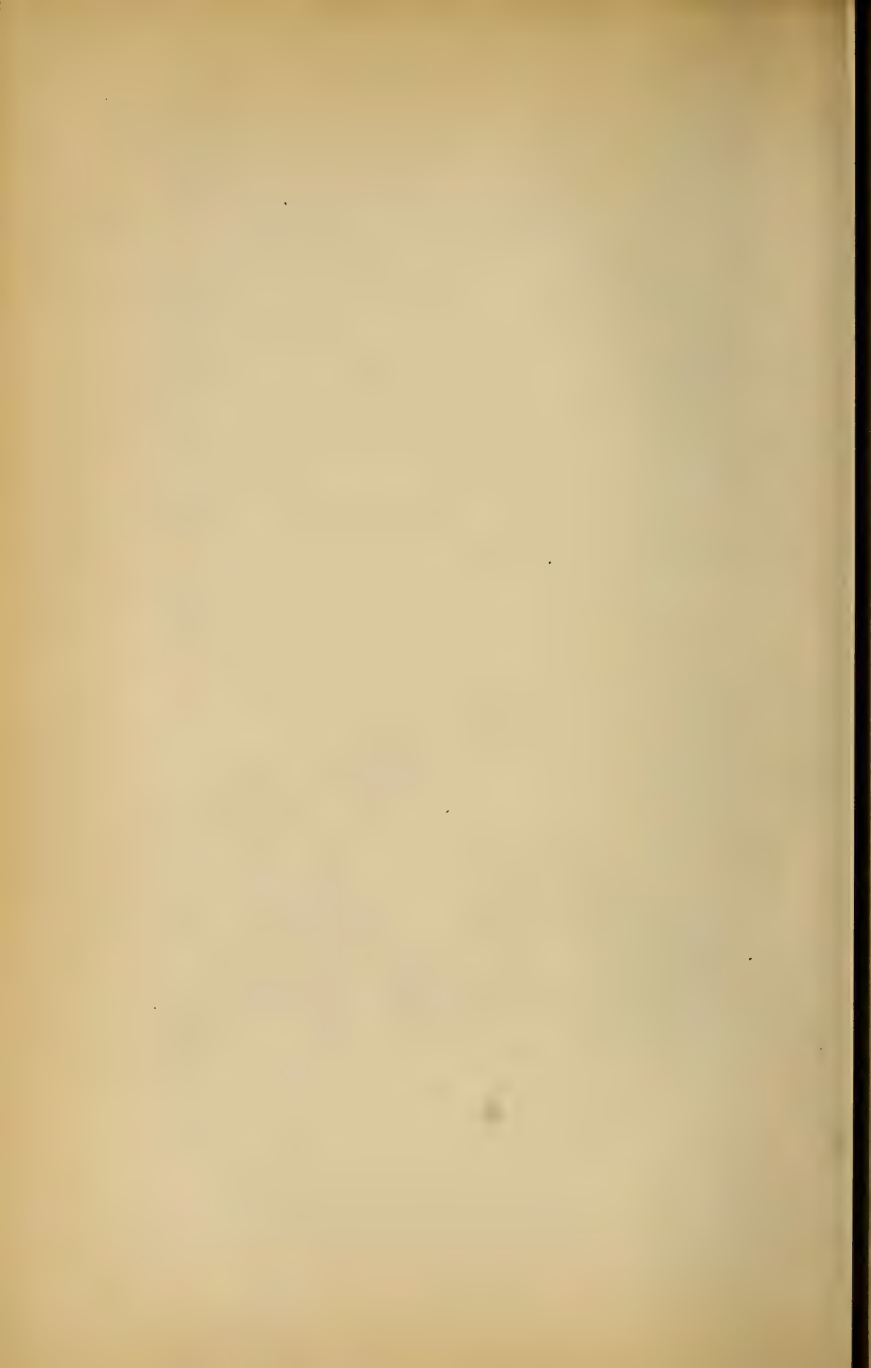
Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro comun
Dei amore Christiano populo nostrâ communi
salvament dist di enavant in quant Dis saver et podir
salute de isto die in posterum quantum Deus scire posse
me dunat; si salverat eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in
donat; sic (me) servet; ei, isti meo fratri Carolo,
adjuaha et in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit
adjumento qualicunque causa sic quomodo homo per rectum
(i. e. jure)
son fradra salvar distino; quid il mi altre si
suo fratri salvare destino; quod ille mihi ex alterâ (parte) sic
fazet; et abludher nul plaid nunquam prendrai, qui
faciet; ab Lothario nullum consilium unquam accipiam, quod
meon vol cist meon fradre Karlo in damno sit.
meâ voluntate isti meo fratri Carolo damnum

We have already stepped beyond the limits of what is strictly the Latin tongue, and especially of the Latin literature.

We have, however, afforded a continuous, though necessarily ^{Latin} cursory, view of the subject. After this period the separate language. languages of Europe developed themselves gradually, and the Latin, though grievously corrupted, became exclusively the language of learning, as it remained at the revival of letters, and as, in renovated purity, it has since continued. So long as it remained a complete and distinct language, it was in part Æolic Greek, and in part appears to have been supplied from languages of kindred origin; though whether these idioms were filially or collaterally related to the Greek, it would be impossible to affirm; more probably, however, they were the latter. This view sufficiently accounts for those resemblances which have enabled Mr. Valpy to trace every Latin word with more or less of plausibility to a Greek primitive; and for those diversities which are the natural result of a long suspended intercourse between portions of the same race.



The Tiber, from a Statue in the Vatican



LATIN POETRY.

BY THE

REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; CURATE OF WILMINGTON, SOMERSET.

ANTE-AUGUSTAN LATIN POETS.

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS	.	FLOURISHED ABOUT	U.C.	} 515.
NÆVIVS	.		U.C.	
ENNIVS	.	LIVED	U.C.	515—585.
PLAVTVS	.	FLOURISHED ABOUT	U.C.	550.
CÆCILIVS	.		U.C.	} 580.
AFRANIVS	.		U.C.	
TERENCE	.		U.C.	
PACVIVS	.	LIVED	U.C.	534—624.
ATTIVS	.	FLOURISHED ABOUT	U.C.	600.
LVCILIVS	.		U.C.	630.
LVCRETIVS	.		U.C.	} 670.
CATVLLVS	.		U.C.	

LATIN POETRY.

PART I.

THE EARLIER POETIC LITERATURE OF THE ROMANS.

THE history of Latin Poetry presents a phenomenon in literature wholly without parallel. The Romans were, from their origin, a people of activity and intelligence, of strong passions, and romantic patriotism; and their history and early fictions are so crowded with poetical incident, that some writers have not scrupled to assert that the great historian who records them assumed heroic ballads for the basis of his history. Yet, unlike many nations less favourably circumstanced, they remained for five centuries without a poet of eminence. Even when the Muse of Greece had unveiled to them her awful and dazzling beauties, they seemed less to catch the *flame* of poetry than to learn the *art*, and to consider their compositions excellent, only in proportion as they were excellent imitations. In their admiration of the beautiful picture which the Grecian genius had produced, they lost sight of the great original, Nature; and their compositions, accordingly, present, in general, correctness and precision, but are destitute of that life, light, and colouring which the presence of Nature alone can awaken on the canvas. The most original of all their poets himself recommends, as indispensable to the poet, the unremitted study of the Greek writers, as of perfect and infallible models;¹ and his own practice abundantly evinces the sincerity of his respect for the precept. Overlooking the real peculiarities of his own original genius, Horace himself entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece: and affected on this ground to despise, as a servile herd of imitators, those who only copied for the second or third time.² Indeed, an imitator, as

¹ Hor. De Art. Poët. 268.

² 1 Ep. xix. 19, seqq.

the Romans understood the word, only implied one who imitated Latin authors; the imitation of Greek in no way detracting, in their ideas, from the originality of a composition, but rather being, in some respect at least, implied in its excellence. The history of Latin Poetry, accordingly, is the history of the action of the Greek mind on the Roman: every production anterior to that contact having been either lost, or evidencing the poetical incapability of Roman intellect unkindled by the torch of Greece.

The beginnings of the Roman State were unfavourable to literary pursuits of any kind. Plutarch¹ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,² indeed, tell us that Romulus was educated at Gabii in Greek literature and science; but, even allowing this prince a historical existence, most certain it is that nothing resembling the effects of education in a sovereign appears either in his own conduct or in the character of his subjects. On the contrary, we learn from Dionysius³ that he committed the cultivation of sedentary and (what he called) *illiberal* arts to slaves and foreigners; and "such employments," adds the historian, "were long held in contempt by the Romans, whose only occupations were agriculture and war." Yet a specimen of the poetry, if it deserve the name, attributed to his day, has descended to us in the hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*; of which, and of the Salian hymn which succeeded it, we have already spoken: and of both which productions it is only necessary to observe in this place that, so far as they can be comprehended, they appear meagre in the extreme.

Hymn of the
Fratres
Arvales.

Other
Hymns.

The triumphal songs, of which frequent mention is made by Livy,⁴ appear to have been merely the rude, extemporaneous effusions of military licence amidst the hilarity of a triumph, and never to have been considered in the light of compositions; the examples of them given by Suetonius,⁵ at a time when the language was highly cultivated, give us no reason to regret the loss of earlier specimens; and, even in these, Dionysius of Halicarnassus discovers a resemblance to Grecian practices;⁶ and the style and nature of the sacred hymns may be sufficiently gathered from what has just been said concerning those of Romulus and Numa.⁷ Cicero informs us,⁸ out of Cato's "*Origines*," that it was the custom of the Romans, many ages before the time even of that philosopher, to commemorate the valiant or virtuous achievements of their

¹ In Romulo.

² Antiq. Rom. i. 84.

³ Antiq. Rom. ii. 28.

⁴ Liv. iii. 29; iv. 20, 53; v. 49; vi. 10.

⁵ Suet. Jul. 49, 51. These rude carols not infrequently rather reflected on the triumphant general than celebrated the triumph, as in this reference.

⁶ Antiq. Rom. vii. 72.

⁷ See *infra*, Livy's description of a hymn by Livius Andronicus, sung to Juno five hundred years later.

⁸ Tusc. Quæst. i. 2, and iv. 2. Cf. Val. Max. ii. 1, 60; Cic. Brut. 19.; Varro apud Non. Marcell. ii. 70; Hor. iv. od. 15.

countrymen in songs, accompanied on the flute, in their entertainments: and on one occasion he regrets the loss of these ballads.¹ Ballads. But how far there was any real cause of regret, we may tolerably well estimate from what is actually known of the state of Roman Poetry when it first had any sensible existence, and when it was sufficiently bald, though formed on the perfect models of Greece. So little groundwork is there for the theory of Niebuhr,² that the exploits of the Roman worthies were contained in a series of rhapsodies, and much less that they formed, as he conjectures, the subject of a regular Epic poem. The "Lays of Ancient Rome" represent with great exactness what the primitive poetry of Rome would have been, had she possessed a Macaulay. But there is no evidence that the sentiment of her early ballads was better than their mechanism; though the subjects, taken from a rude and unformed state of society, doubtless possessed that character of wild poetry which belongs to such a period, and which we recognise in the early books of Livy. It was, most probably, a rude kind of ballad, sung at harvest homes and other rustic festivals, which gave rise to that law of the twelve tables, to which Cicero alludes in order to show that the early ages of Rome were not so totally destitute of cultivation as was generally believed:³ "*Si quis pipulo occentasis, carmenve condisit, quod infamiam faxit flagitiumve alteri, fuste feritor.*" The following is Horace's account of the rise and progress of this species of poetry:⁴

Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
 Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
 Corpus, et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
 Cum sociis operum, pueris, et conjuge fidâ,
 Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant,
 Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis ævi.
 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
 Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;
 Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
 Lusit amabiliter, donec jam sævus apertam
 In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, et per honestas
 Ire domos, impunè minax: doluere cruento
 Dente laccessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura

Fescennine
 Carols.

¹ Brut. 19. These were the "laudationes," as the "næniæ" (poems of a similar character, and sometimes, perhaps, perpetuated as "laudationes") were the lays sung at the funerals of eminent men. Niebuhr supposes the epitaphs of the Scipios to belong to this class. That these inscriptions are metrical, he argues from the inequality of the lines. Yet he presently observes, when it suits his purpose to alter the arrangement, "Stone-cutters are inaccurate in everything, but most of all in dividing their lines." There is nothing resembling metre in the inscriptions themselves. We shall, however, return to this subject presently.

² Nieb. Römisch. Gesch. i. pp. 178—354, &c.

³ Tusc. Quæst. iv. 2. Cf. Hor. ii. sat. i. 82.

⁴ Ep. ad Aug. 139. Cf. Virg. Georg. ii. 385, seqq.; Tibull. I. vii. 35—40; II. i. 55, seqq.

Conditione super communi : quinetiam lex
 Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
 Describi. Vertere modum, formidine fustis
 Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.

With little rich and blest, our hardy hinds
 Refreshed their toilworn frames and patient minds
 At harvest homes; and with their consorts true,
 Their children, and their mates in order due,
 Offered to Sylvan milk, to Earth a swine,
 To life's indulgent Genius flowers and wine.
 Hence born, Fescennine liberty exprest
 In verse alternate coarse and rustic jest :
 For many a circling year the rugged sport
 Play'd harmlessly; at length the hard retort
 Began with furious and unbridled rage
 War with illustrious families to wage :
 Then writhed the bitten 'neath the bloody fang :
 Then winced the unhurt who feared the impending pang :
 Then law and penalty forbad to claim
 Poetic licence with a neighbour's fame.
 Awed by the rod, they grew to change their tone,
 Content to rally and amuse alone.

Ludi
 Scenici.

In the three hundred and ninety-second year of the city, and in the consulship of C. Sulpitius Peticus and C. Licinius Stolo, a pestilence raged in Rome.¹ The Senate, after exhausting their whole ritual of superstitions without success, had recourse to that nation from which they obtained almost all their sacred rites, and all their arts of divination;—Etruria. It was then that scenic entertainments (*ludi scenici*), for dramatic they could not be called, were first exhibited in Rome. Poetry had so little connexion with these, that they did not so much as embrace dumb show, but consisted merely of dances to the flute. The Roman youth were pleased with these exhibitions, and imitated them, accompanying the action with raillery. The Fescennine carols (so called from *Fescennium*, a town of Etruria²), which were, for the most part, as scurrilous and obscene as they were rude and inharmonious, and which seem to have borne great analogy to the Greek phallics, sank into disrepute, or were only retained as part of nuptial ceremonies, on which they long remained faithful attendants. Frequent repetition advanced the scenic exercises of the Romans to their first essay towards a regular production, which was called a *Satura*, and was accompanied with appropriate music.

Derivation
 of *Satura*.

The derivation of this word has been a point of controversy with the learned. Not to mention any other authors who have treated

¹ Liv. vii. 2.

² Of the Faliscans, says Niebuhr, not the Etruscans: he appeals to Virg. *Æn.* vii. 695, where, however, the Faliscans are distinctly classed among the Etruscan people.

it, the Scaligers are divided on it. The word is written variously in MSS. of authority: *Satura, satyra, satira*. Some derive it from the "*lanx satura*," a dish of various kinds of fruit, and suppose it to mean an olio; and in proof of their etymology they adduce the "*leges saturæ*,"¹ which treated on several subjects; *satira*, as they say, being only a more modern orthography of *satura*, as "*maximus*" for the more ancient form "*maxumus*."² Others, who contend that the true orthography is *satyra*, derive it from *σάρυπος*, and make it somewhat analogous to the early *satyric* drama of Greece. If this be the right etymology, the early form would still have been, most probably, *satura*, which orthography we shall accordingly adopt.

Whatever be the derivation of the *name*, the analogy of the *thing* to the Greek *satyrics* does not admit of doubt. We are ready to allow, with the great critics who have treated this subject at more extended length than we can do, that its resemblance to such a drama as the "*Cyclops*" of Euripides must have been very slender: but it seems to have borne a close analogy to the *satyric* exhibitions of Thespis, and a still nearer to the comic *σάρυπος* of the Greeks. According to Livy, the *saturæ* were dances mingled with raillery, which only differed from the old Fescennine carols in being determinate in respect both of music and verse. Let us compare with this account what Horace says of the *satyri* of Thespis: ³

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum
Mox etiam agrestes satyros nudavit, et asper,
Incolumi gravitate *jocum* tentavit, eo quòd
Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus, et exlex.

He who in tragic contests wont to try
For a poor goat, next to the public eye
Exposed the rustic satyrs, and retain'd,
Jesting, his tragic dignity unstain'd,
Fresh from the feast, and by the wine-cup fired,
His lawless audience such new charms required.

The old scholiast certainly considered these *satyri* to be the same as the *saturæ*; for, in explaining this passage, he observes: "*Ostendit Saturnam natam esse è Tragædiis*." One distinction between the *satyri* and *saturæ* is particularly insisted on; that, in the latter, Satyrs were never introduced; but this has not been proved; while we have the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that dances of Satyrs were at least common in the Roman processions.⁴ Neither is

¹ Harris, *Philosophical Arrangements*, ch. 18.

² "*Medius est quidam U et I litteræ sonus*."—*Quinct.* i. iv.

³ De Art. Poët. v. 220.

⁴ *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 72.

the point of much consequence, as Satyrs were not always introduced in the Greek *satyri*; the resemblance between which and the Roman *satura* is acknowledged by Eichstädt, although that author denies their connection, misled by the testimonies of Horace and Quintilian,¹ which refer to a poetry altogether different, the satire; while Dionysius speaks of the identity of the Roman and Greek satyric choruses as an acknowledged fact, which it would be wasting words to prove.² It is true that he is treating of what can scarcely be called dramatic; yet his language is general. The "satyrick comedies" written by Sylla³ were, in all probability, only the early *satura* in a more artificial form.

After the introduction of the regular drama by Livius Andronicus, the Roman youth, leaving the newly discovered art to its professors, continued their *saturæ*, connected with the Atellane plays, under the name of *exodia*. 'Εξόδιον or ξόδος was the name given by the Greeks to the part which followed the last μέλος of a tragedy;⁴ whence these *saturæ* were named *exodia*, from their being brought on the stage after the play. A most striking point of resemblance existed between the *exodia* and the Greek satyric drama. Dacier,⁵ who contends *against* their identity, observes that the actors performed in the same masks and dresses as in the play, and continued their characters; and cites, in proof, the following passage from Juvenal:

Exodia.

Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanæ
Gestibus Autonoeis.

Where it is evident that a serious character was burlesqued. Similarly, when Suetonius says of Domitian,⁶ "*Occidit et Elvidium filium, quod quasi scenico exodio sub personâ Paridis et Œnones divortium suum cum uxore tractasset,*" (or, *taxasset,*) he evidently refers, by Dacier's admission, to a serious play, in the *exodium* of which the satire alluded to appeared. Now this was precisely the case with the Greek satyric. Even after tragedy had attained its zenith, it was customary for the poet to complete his τετραλογία with a satyric drama, in which the characters of the previous play were preserved. To this custom Horace alludes in his precepts to the satyric poet:

¹ Hor. I. sat. x. 66. Quint. x. 1.

² "Οτι δὲ οὔτε Λιγυῶν, οὔτ' Ὀμβρικῶν, οὔτ' ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων εὐρημα ἢ σατυρικῇ παιδιᾷ καὶ ὄρχησις ἦν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων, δέδοικα, μὴ καὶ ὁχληρὸς εἶναί τισι δόξω, λόγοις πλείοσι πιστοῦσθαι ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑ βουλόμενος.—vii. 72.

³ Plut. Syll. xxxvi.

⁴ Arist. Poët. 24. ξόδος δὲ, μέρος ὅλον τραγωδίας μεθ' οὗ οὐκ ἐστὶ χόρου μέλος. *De vocc.* ξόδος et ἐξόδιον, *videantur* Lexica, præsertim Stephani.

⁵ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. ii.

⁶ Suet. Domit. ix.

Ne quicunque Deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro *nuper* et ostro,
Migret in obscuras humili sermone *tabernas*,
Aut dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.¹

Horace on
the satyric
drama.

Let not your god or hero, seen of late
In regal gold and purple pall of state,
With mean discourse descend to tavern crowds,
Nor, while he spurns the earth, affect the clouds.

And it is obvious that he is here writing to Romans, on a Roman subject; for, independently of the testimony of the scholiast above, he alludes to the *Tabernaria*, a species of *Roman* comedy, and makes a distinction between the *knights* and the plebeians:

Offenduntur enim quibus est *equus*, et pater, et res;
Nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emtor,
Æquis accipiunt animis, donantve coronâ.²

Those who can boast a horse, estate, and sire,
Recoil; nor what nut-munching clowns admire
Receive with favour, or with honour crown.

It is hardly possible to bring stronger proof that the Romans had a satyric drama, and that it was taken from the satyric drama of the Greeks; and if this were not the *exodium*, we have no account of what it really was. And thus we should have the paradox, that the Romans, who imitated every other species of Greek poetry, except the dithyrambus, to which the language would not rise, had left this untouched, substituting in its place a composition perfectly original, and with a name perfectly Roman, although almost the same with the Greek appellation of this same neglected species of poetry.³

We have already alluded to the *Atellane Fabulæ*, or Atellane plays. These entertainments had, doubtless, a great affinity to the

Fabulæ
Atellanæ.

¹ De Art. Poët. 227.

² De Art. Poët. 248.

³ We subjoin the titles of the principal works in which the history and nature of the Roman *satura* are investigated or illustrated: Isaaci Casauboni de Satyricâ Græcorum poësi et Romanorum Satirâ, Lib. ii. Dissertation sur les Césars de Julien, et en général sur les ouvrages satyriques des Anciens, prefixed to Spanheim's French translation. Dacier's Discours sur la Satire, in the second volume of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Josephi Scaligeri Castigationes ad Manilium. Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri de Arte Poeticâ, lib. i. cap. ii. Danielis Heinsii de Satyrâ Horatianâ tractatio. Vulpius de Satyræ Latinæ naturâ, etc. Dryden's Essay on Satire. Brumoy, Discours sur le Cyclope d'Euripide et sur le spectacle satyrique des Grecs. Robertelli liber de Satyrâ. Heyne de Satyricâ poesi Græcorum et Satirâ Romanorum. Eichstädt de dramate Græcorum comico-satyrico. Conz über die Satyre der Römer und über Juvenal. Flögel's Geschichte der komischen Litteratur. Rupertus de Satirâ Romanorum, prefixed to his Juvenal. See further references in Paehr, Geschichte Römisch. Litteratur. ii. 121.

satura,¹ and were acted, like those, as *exodia*, or afterpieces. They were, however, in the Oscan language,² from a town of which people, Atella, they had been originally introduced; professional actors were not permitted to take part in them; and the performers were not, like common players, degraded from their tribe, or excluded from military service. They were also permitted to use masks; and, when the permission had been extended to other actors, the Atellane players could not be called on to unmask, as was the custom in other cases. But the style and matter of these pieces was coarse, though in this respect exceeded by the *mime*, the consideration of which we defer to a later period of our narration. The Atellane plays contained certain essential characters, like our pantomimes, and still more like the modern Italian “Commedie dell’ arte:” Maccus, a heavy stupid old man, the victim of innumerable tricks and accidents, like our Pantaloon, and the Italian Arlecchino; Bucco, a voracious parasite and buffoon, resembling our Clown, and the Italian Brighella (these two characters were called *sanniones*, as the Italians call the corresponding parties *zanni*); Pappus, an old, silly, avaricious man, resembling the Italian Pantalone; and Dossennus, a cheat, and “cunning-man,” answering to the Italian “il Dottore.” These seem to have been permanent; but, beside these, Manducus, Pytho-Gorgonius, Lamia, and Mania, ogres, ogresses, and bugbears, were occasionally introduced. The plots were rude; the incidents, preposterous.

In the history of these productions and of the *satura*, in order to preserve method, we have been obliged to advance very much beyond the time when the Romans first began to have poets of their own. Before the time of Livius Andronicus, however, the *satura* was below criticism, and the *Atellana*, if poetry at all, was unwritten, and not Latin. Until the end of their fifth century, therefore, the Romans may be said to have been without a poet; none of the compositions then extant entitling their authors to that lofty name. Cicero, who

¹ Their resemblance to the *satyri* is noticed by Diomedes (iii. p. 487. Ed. Putsch.) “Atellanæ—argumentis dictisque jocularibus similes satyricis fabulis Græcis.” The only difference was in the *stock* characters. “Latina Atellana a Græcâ satyricâ differt, quòd in satyricâ ferè satyrorum personæ inducuntur, aut si quæ sunt ridiculæ similes satyris, Autolycus, Burris: in Atellanâ, Oscæ personæ, ut Maccus. (iii. p. 438, Putsch.) A resemblance of the Atellanes to the Greek satyricks is noted by Marius Victorinus (De iamb. metr. ii.) “Superest satyricum; hæc apud Græcos metri species frequens est quod genus nostri in Atellanis habent.”

² Munk (de Fabulis Atellanis) contends that they were always Latin. They were undoubtedly so, when they became *compositions*; but this was much later. At this time they were extemporaneous. From the testimony of Strabo it appears distinctly that Oscan plays were occasionally acted at Rome in his time: *Τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ὀσκῶν ἐκλελοιπότες ἢ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινὰ ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μμολογεῖσθαι.—v. 6.* The old Oscan Atellane was probably carried on contemporaneously with the more regular Latin composition which bore its name.

is as tenacious of the literary excellence of his country as any author can be, will not believe that the refined ears of Romans could have been closed so long against the witcheries of the Pythagorean Philosophy;¹ and mentions in evidence a poem of Appius Claudius the Blind, which appears to have had some affinity with the famous "Golden Verses." But, with this exception, he brings no better proofs of his position than what we have already mentioned concerning the early lyric poetry of Latium.² Indeed, he admits that the Romans *received*³ the art of poetry late; an expression, which, though certainly not intended disrespectfully to the poetical genius of his countrymen, sufficiently shows how differently the Greeks and Romans considered a poet; for, were the passage to be literally interpreted, it would run, "It was somewhat late when we were *instructed* in the art of *original invention*." (ποιητικήν.) Cicero accounts for this dearth of poets, from the repugnance which the people manifested towards them; and tells us that even those minstrels above alluded to, who, according to Cato, sang the warlike achievements of their ancestors to the flute, could not have been approved by that stern magistrate, who rebuked Marcus Nobilior for taking poets (meaning only Ennius) with him to Ætolia. This testimony is generally supported by antiquity: poets were regarded sometimes in the rank of mechanical transcribers, sometimes as intrusive parasites (*grassatores*), sometimes as vagabonds or loungers (*spatiatores*).⁴ But the question really is, what was the cause which excited this feeling against poetry? The only answer is, the unimaginative character of the people. A neglect of other literature might be accounted for from the political situation of the Romans; but contempt of poetry is explicable upon no other hypothesis. The Celts and Scandinavians, the tribes of the Arabian deserts, even the Indians of North America, and the savage hordes of New Zealand, although without other literature, still possessed even regular poetry. War alone was the art in which the Romans excelled; and the fact of their inferiority in the arts of civilisation and literature is conspicuous through the dazzling veil of poetic light which Virgil has cast around it, in pourtraying their military glory:⁵

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatûs
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:

¹ Tusc. Quæst. iv. 2.

² Tusc. Quæst. i. 1, 2.

³ "*Seriùs Poëticam nos accepimus.*" Similarly Horace, "*Serius enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis,*" &c.

⁴ Festus, *voc. scribe*. Cato ap. Gell. xi. 2. Fest. *voc. spatiator*. The word *grassator* can scarcely be taken in the sense of *violence*. The poet, the same passage informs us, was classed with him, "*qui sese ad convivia applicabat.*"

⁵ Æn. vi. 848.

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;
Hæ tibi erunt artes : Pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

Others shall mould the brass with livelier grace,
And from the marble draw the living face ;
More ably plead, more apt the circling skies
Describe, and when the constellations rise :
But these, O Roman, be thy arts : to sway,
To bend the struggling nations to obey ;
The terms of peace victorious to impose,
Spare subjugated realms, and crush disdainful foes.

Etrurian
Literature.

The subjection of Etruria to the Roman arms is considered by many as the primary cause of the civilisation which dawned on the Romans at the beginning of their sixth century. But it does not appear that this event at all familiarised the victors with Etrurian literature, with which, such as it was, even before this conquest, they were tolerably well acquainted. Their commerce with the Etruscans was considerable ; from them, as we before observed, they derived their sacred rites, and their knowledge of the pretended art of divination ; and this, if it were not the only literature which the Etruscans studiously cultivated, seems to have been all for which the Romans valued an Etruscan education. "*Habeo auctores,*" says Livy, speaking of the 444th year of Rome, "*vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos.*"¹ Cicero² and Valerius Maximus³ tell us that the Senate sent youths⁴ of the principal families in Rome to each nation of Etruria, to be instructed in their prophetic discipline. The poetry of the Etruscans, as far as we can learn, was contemptible to the last degree ; their ignorance of the drama, in particular, is sufficiently evident from what has already been said about Etruscan players in Rome. From them, therefore, the Romans certainly never derived their poetry ; and, had they done so, the opportunities were so great and so numerous before the final conquest of Etruria, that it is most improbable that they would not long before have availed themselves of them.

Greek
Literature.

Horace indicates the real cause :

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*⁵

It was Greece, and Greece alone, that was equal to the miracle ; she wound her chains around her barbarous conqueror, and held him in a slavery more glorious than his boasted freedom and universal

¹ Liv. ix. 36.

² De Div. i. 41.

³ Val. Max. i. 1.

⁴ There is a controversy about their number. The copies of Cicero generally state six ; those of Valerius, ten. Commentators, however, are generally agreed that Valerius meant to follow Cicero, although it is difficult to decide which text is corrupted, if indeed both are not. The number of the Etrurian nations was twelve.

⁵ Ep. ad Aug. 156.

mastery. But by *Græcia* we are not here to understand Greece Proper, but *Græcia Magna* and Sicily; which, being inhabited by Greeks, first brought, by their subjugation, the Greek writers to the notice of the Romans. That, from a very early period, the Italian nations had been acquainted with Greek poetical traditions, is certain. The Greek heroic names had undergone *translation*; ¹ a proof of familiarity; and Greek myths were represented on works of art. Munk, who rejects the connection of *σάτυρος* with *satura*, nevertheless supposes that the latter was derived to the Romans from their intercourse with Sicily.

The boundaries of *Magna Græcia* are not accurately ascertained, nor does it belong to us to attempt settling them here. But the south of Italy had for many centuries been peopled with settlers from Greece, who retained and cultivated the arts and literature of the mother country. In the 487th year of the city, the Romans obtained complete possession of this interesting country by the conquest of Tarentum; and the intercourse established between the two nations necessarily introduced literary pursuits at Rome. The study of poetry, in particular, had not been neglected by the Italian Greeks. Pythagoras and his school gave their philosophic precepts in verse: Orpheus of Crotona wrote a poem on the Argonautic expedition; Ibycus of Rhegium composed odes; Alexis of Thurium wrote two hundred and forty-five comedies; Stephanus, his son, was a comedian. Dunlop² says that this Stephanus (whom he calls Stefano, apparently taking this part of his work from Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* lib. i. pt 2. c. 2,) was, according to Suidas, the uncle of Menander. The words of Tiraboschi are certainly ambiguous; but Suidas, in the edition which Tiraboschi himself cites, makes Alexis, and not Stephanus, the uncle of Menander. *Ἀλεξίς Θούριος. Γέγονε δὲ πάτρως Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ.*³ Tiraboschi and Dunlop make Stephanus a tragedian on the authority of Suidas; but the lexicographer adds, *ἔσχε δὲ υἱὸν Στέφανον, καὶ αὐτὸν ΚΩΜΙΚΟΝ.* Xenocritus of Locris wrote dithyrambs. Theano, of the same place, composed lyric poetry; and Nossis, also of Locris, wrote epigrams.

The conquest of *Magna Græcia* was succeeded by an event which contributed in a still greater degree to advance the cause of literature among the Romans. Two years only after the capture of Tarentum, arose the first Punic war. The scene of this contest was not, like that of earlier struggles, in the neighbourhood of their own territory; and this circumstance gave them leisure to contemplate the charms of the Grecian Muse at home, while they were every day unveiling new beauties in the theatre of the war, Sicily. In that country the

¹ e. g. Odysseus, Ulixes; Aias, Ajax; Ganymedes, Catamitus; &c. See Niebuhr, iii. p. 310, iv. lect. xix.

² Hist. of Rom. Lit. i. p. 63.

³ Suid. *voc.* Ἀλεξίς.

flowers of Grecian poësy had blossomed with much greater luxuriance than even on the neighbouring continent, and here was the cradle of the pastoral and comic Muses. It was here that Stesichorus is supposed to have invented Bucolic Poetry, and certainly did reduce lyrical compositions to the regular division of strophe, antistrophe, and epode. It was here that Empedocles "married to immortal verse" the "illustrious discoveries" of his "divine mind;"¹ that Epicharmus invented Comedy, which was cultivated by Philemon, Apollodorus, Carcinus, Sophron, and various others: and that Tragedy found successful votaries in Empedocles, Sosicles, and Achæus. It was in Sicily that the Mime was invented, or, at least, perfected; Pindar, Æschylus, and Simonides, had resided at the court of Hiero I., and Theognis of Megara committed his precepts to elegiacs in Sicily. The Dionysii also were authors, as well as patrons of literary men. At the time when the Romans were in Sicily, it is not improbable that Theocritus was living. On the conclusion of the peace with Carthage, in the year of the city 512,² a part of Sicily was ceded by treaty to the Romans, who had now leisure and tranquillity to enable them to inquire

Quid Sophocles, et Thespis, et Æschylus utile ferrent.

Early
Drama.

Many of the inhabitants of the conquered provinces came to reside at Rome, and imported their arts and cultivation; and from this period the history of Roman poetry assumes a regular and connected form.

Livius
Andronicus.

In the consulship of C. Claudius Cento, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, the 514th year of Rome,³ Livius Andronicus first advanced the dramatic art from the *saturn* to a regular plot. His surname evidently proves that he was a Greek; but whether of Greece Proper, Italy, or Sicily, is not known. His Roman name seems also to intimate that he was the freedman of a certain Livius; it being the custom of freedmen at Rome, to assume, on liberation, the name of their former master. It is most probable that he fell into the hands of the Romans in their wars in *Magna Græcia* or Sicily, as the Romans, at that time, had no regular intercourse with Greece. He is generally asserted to have been the slave of Livius Salinator, but Tiraboschi can find no better authority for this statement than the *Chronicle* of Eusebius; and as Salinator was not consul until U. C. 534, he concludes that the master of Andronicus was another of the same family. Attius, the annalist, according

¹ See Lucret. i. 733, 734.

² Punico bello secundo Musa pennato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam Romuli in gentem feram.

Porcius Licinius ap. Aul. Gell. xvii. 21.

³ Cic. Brut. xviii. *Cf. ejusd. Tusc. Disp. i. 1; De Senect. xiv.; Aul. Gell. xvii. 21.*

to Cicero,¹ said that Livius was made captive at Tarentum, thirty years after the date usually assigned to his first play; but Cicero treats this as a gross error. The account which Livy gives of the introduction of the Drama is curious.² "Livius," says he, "being, as was then the case with all, the actor of his own productions, and having weakened his voice by being frequently recalled on the stage, is said to have obtained leave to introduce a boy to sing his part before the flute-player, and was thus enabled to perform his compositions with more spirited action, because he was no longer impeded by the use of his voice. From this circumstance," adds the historian, "arose the custom of actors performing to the singing of others, and only employing their voices in dialogue." The works of Andronicus have perished, except a few disjointed fragments; but if we are to judge by the opinions of Cicero and Horace, Time might have been more injurious to us. Cicero says his plays were not worth a second perusal;³ and Horace, in whose time the poems of Livius were regularly taught in the schools, reproves the indiscriminating antiquaries of his day, who exalted them above the refined productions of a more polished age:—⁴

Non equidem insector, delendaque carmina Livii
Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare: sed emendata videri,
Pulchraque, et exactis minimùm distantia, miror.
Inter quæ verbum enicuit si fortè decorum, et
Si versus paulò concinnior unus et alter,
Injustè totum ducit venditque poemà.

I would not Livius' poetry destroy,
Which sharp Orbilius, when I was a boy,
Flogged into me; but why men call it fine,
Exquisite, perfect, ne'er could I divine.
If here and there a happy phrase and terse,
Or now and then, perhaps, a well-turned verse
Occur, forthwith the critic puffs the whole.

The names of the plays ascribed to Andronicus are *Achilles*, *Adon*, *Egisthus*, *Ajax*, *Andromeda*, *Antiopa*, *Centauri*, *Equus Trojanus*, *Gladiolus*,⁵ *Helena*, *Hermione*, *Ino*, *Lydius*,⁵ *Protesilaodamia*, (forte *Protesilaus et Laodamia*) *Seranus*, *Tereus*, *Teucer*, *Teuthras*, *Virgo*.⁵ Beside his dramatic works, he made a translation of the *Odyssey* in Saturnian metre; and Livy tells us that a hymn composed by him in honour of Juno was sung through the city by twenty-seven virgins in the year 545 (A.C. 207), of which the historian gives no very favourable account: "*Illà tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si*

¹ Brut. xviii.² Liv. vii. 2.³ Brut. xviii.⁴ Epist. ad Ag. 69, seqq.⁵ These were comedies.

referatur."¹ Some, on the authority of Diomedes,² the Grammarian, make Livius the first Latin epic poet; but for "*Livius*" we should read "*Ennius*," or "*is*," as is found in the best editions. Livius, according to Suetonius,³ taught Greek at Rome; that is, translated Greek words and authors for such as were desirous to obtain a knowledge of the language; for the art of grammar was then unknown to the Romans. He lived till Cato was a "youth;"⁴ that is, till he had reached his seventeenth year; and therefore could not have died before u.c. 535. But it is evident that there is no certainty of his having lived until 545; as the hymn sung in that year might have been composed on some previous occasion.

Comedy.

Such were the beginnings of the first epoch of Roman poetry. We shall now proceed to discuss, separately, the progress of its different departments during that period, which lasted about two centuries, and was succeeded by the splendid æra of Augustus.

Nævius.

Cnæus Nævius, a Campanian, or, as some rather suppose, a native of Rome, six years after the representation of Livius' first play,⁵ became a candidate for dramatic fame, and wrote, as well as Livius, comedies and tragedies. The names of the former preserved to us are, *Acontizomenos*, *Agitatoria*, *Agrypnantes*, *Apella*, *Assitogiola*, *Carbonaria*, *Clastidium*, *Colax*, *Corollaria*, *Cosmetria*, *Demetrius*, *Diobolarii*, *Figulus*, *Glaruma*, *Gymnasticus*, *Hariolus*, *Leon*, *Lupus*, *Nautæ*, *Pacilius*, *Pellex*, *Philemporus*, *Projectus*, *Pulli*, *Quadrigemini*, *Sanniones*, *Stalagnus*, *Stigmatius*, *Tarentilla*, *Testicularia*, *Triphallus*, *Tunicularia*. His tragedies were entitled, *Ægisthus*, *Alcestis*, *Danaë*, *Dulorestes*, *Equus Trojanus*, *Hesiona*, *Hector*, *Iphigenia*, *Lycurgus*, *Phænissæ*, *Protesilaodamia*, *Telephus*, and *Tereus*. His comic humour seems to have partaken much of the old satyric spirit, and, like that of the early comic poets of Greece, to have been fearlessly and liberally directed against the leading characters of the state. The following lines, preserved to us by Aulus Gellius,⁶ were applied, by common scandal, to the elder Africanus:—

Etiam qui res magnas sæpè gessit gloriosè,
Cujus facta viva nunc vigent, qui apud gentes solus
Præstat, eum suus pater, cum pallio uno, ab amicâ abduxit !

He had also, in a comprehensive line, insinuated that the family of the Metelli did not enjoy the consulship on account of their own deserts, but in consequence of the evil destiny of Rome:—

Fato Metelli Romæ fiunt Consules.

¹ Liv. xxvii. 37.

² Diom. Gram. iii.

³ De Illustr. Gram. i. 1.

⁴ Cic. Cato Maj. xiv.

⁵ Aul. Gell. xvii. 21.

⁶ Noct. Att. vi. 18.

This the Metelli retaliated with a threat, which was afterwards Nævius executed on the poet :

Dabunt malum Metelli Nævio Poëtæ.

Nævius was imprisoned, and composed in confinement two of his comedies, the *Harriolus* and the *Leon*;¹ and, for the sake of these, which were a sort of recantation of his former lampoons, he was set at liberty by the tribunes of the commons. Gellius, in the passage from whence this information is taken, tells us that the satire of Nævius resembled that of the Greek poets; and Horace informs us that the popularity of the poet was so great, and that his works were so well known, that copies of them were neglected, as useless to perpetuate what was in every man's memory :—

Nævius in manibus non est; at mentibus hæret
Pænè recens.²

The readings and interpretations, however, of this passage are various. Nævius died at Utica, whither he had been banished for continuing his invectives against the Roman aristocracy, about Nævius' epitaph. *U.C.* 550.³ He wrote his own epitaph, haughty and defiant as his life :—

Mortales immortales flere si foret fas,
Flerent Divæ Camœnæ Nævium poetam;
Itaque, postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
Obliti sunt Romæ loquier Latinâ linguâ.

If e'er o'er beings mortal might sorrow those divine,
Then o'er the poet Nævius would weep the heavenly Nine;
For since the bard was treasured old Orcus' stores among,
At Rome they have forgotten to speak the Latin tongue.

The lawless and unsparing satire of the Old Comedy, intolerable even in the licentious democracy of Athens, was little likely to maintain a permanent ascendancy at Rome. The example of Nævius had not been lost; and his successor, Marcus Attius (or Maccius) Plautus, carefully evaded the misfortunes which it appeared would too surely attend ridiculing the public characters of the day. Some of his productions seem imitated from the later plays of Aristophanes, or what is generally called the Middle Comedy of the Greeks; and in these, probably, public characters were covertly satirized. Others, again, are formed on the model of Philemon, Diphilus, and Menander, or the New Comedy. Plautus.

¹ Aul. Gell. i. 24.

² Ep. ad Aug. 53.

³ His consulibus (M. Corn. Cethego et P. Sempronio Tuditano, *U. C.* 550) ut in veteribus commentariis scriptum est, Nævius est mortuus; quanquam Varro noster, diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis, putat in hoc erratum, vitamque Nævii producit longius.—*Cic. Brut.* xv. The Eusebian Chronicle places the event *U. C.* 553.

Plautus.

Plautus, as we learn from Horace,¹ was an imitator of Epicharmus; but we have no means of ascertaining the merits or success of his model. There is, however, a Roman freshness about his plays, which, notwithstanding their Grecian garb and origin, convinces the reader that they are, to a great extent, original. And, indeed, they are highly valuable as illustrative of the private and public life of the Roman people. When we read the plays of Plautus, and learn from all antiquity how highly they were admired, we cannot but feel surprise at finding Horace treating them as works agreeable indeed to their rustic forefathers,² but perfectly antiquated in his own more polite and fastidious age. Perhaps, however, this is more than ought, in fairness, to be deduced from the words of the poet :—

At nostri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam, stultè, mirati; si modo ego et vos
Scimus inurbanum lepidò seponere dictum,
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus, et aure.

Our forefathers old Plautus' wit would praise,
And the rude measures of his scenic lays;
Too tolerant in their favours: if the word
Be pardon'd me, I ev'n would say, absurd:
At least, if you and I know dull from bright,
And count and hear poetic tones aright.

This criticism, although it is generally understood to imply the most unqualified censure on Plautus, in reality only charges his metres with ruggedness, and his jests with coarseness; the truth of which charges will hardly be denied by his most devoted admirers. And yet the great critic-poet, in this instance, as in some others, may have been too contemptuous. The rudeness of Plautus's versification is not merely the result of an uncultivated period; it is the effect of intention and art, as is evident from the epitaph composed by the poet for himself :—

Postquam morte datu' st Plautus, Comœdia luget,
Scena est deserta; dein Risus, Ludu', Jocusque,
Et *numeri innumeri* simul omnes collacrumarunt.³

Since Plautus died, Thalia beats her breast:
The stage is empty: Laughter, Sport, and Jest,
And all the *tuneless measures*, weep distrest.

Plautus was probably acquainted with the niceties of the senarius, as Horace doubtless was with those of the heroic hexameter; both poets adopted an artificial negligence, as best suited to the objects they contemplated. The comedies of Plautus are written

¹ Ep. ad Aug. 58. ² De Art. Poët. 270, *seqq.*

³ Aul. Gell. i. 24.

in a style much too unfettered by the Aristotelian rules of composition, to command the entire approbation of critics of that school; but though he is greatly inferior to Terence in felicity of expression and purity of language, his dramatic flights, not unfrequently, surpass the loftiest of that most elegant writer. At the same time it is necessary to observe that the plays of Plautus have apparently been much corrupted, not only in frequent transcription, but by actors' readings, and other causes. We have reason to believe that we possess them all, except the *Vidularia*; although great numbers of others have been attributed to him. His "elegance" is highly commended by Gellius,¹ and Ælius Stilo said that the Muses, if they spoke Latin, would speak the style of Plautus.² Of his life few particulars are known. He was born at Sarsina, in Umbria, about u.c. 500, and died at Rome, u.c. 569, A.C. 184. His origin was humble. His love of the drama led him to labour as a servant to the actors, in which occupation he obtained some wealth, which he afterwards lost by speculations. In consequence, he was obliged to work in a mill at Rome for his daily bread. In this situation, according to Varro, and most others,³ he composed the *Saturio*, the *Aditus*, and another play. The story is confirmed by Eusebius,⁴ but is rendered suspicious by the names of the plays, and is discredited by Niebuhr. It is possible that Plautus may have been confounded in this, as in other instances, with another comic poet named Plautius.⁵

The New Comedy of the Romans was not, in all respects, a copy of the Greek; the scene was generally laid at Athens, and the characters were of the middle station of life, as in Menander; but the artifice of a double plot was added, and the Latin Muse, in all other compositions severer than her sister of Greece, in the drama allowed herself much greater licences, and those in Comedy were almost unbounded. It was doubted in the time of Horace whether Comedy was a poem;⁶ inasmuch as its subject and style are prosaic, and it only differs from prose in being metrical. Even in this latter respect, however, the difference is not very sensible, and the following passage of Cicero will show that the harmony of the comic verse was not so very perceptible, even in his time: "*Comicorum senarii, propter similitudinem sermonis, sic sæpè sunt abjecti, ut nunquam vix in his numerus et versus intelligi possit*;"⁷ and among the moderns, Erasmus, Scaliger, Bentley, and Faber, who have endeavoured to reduce the metres of Terence to rule, have been obliged to admit great numbers of exceptions to their theories. The Latin comic measure, like its model the Greek, consists for the most part of iambic trimeters acatalectic, and trochaic tetrameters

Plautus.

Greek and Roman New Comedy.

Comic Metre.

¹ Aul. Gell. vii. 17.³ Varro et plerique alii.—Aul. Gell. iii. 3.⁵ See Aul. Gell, ubi supra.⁶ l. Sat. iv. 45.² Quint. x. 1.⁴ n. 1810.⁷ Orat. lv.

catalectic, although these are much less restricted than the corresponding metres of the Greek stage. Thus the iambic verse admits in every place, except the last, wherein the characteristic foot is always preserved, the dactyl, anapæst, spondee, tribrach, pyrrhic, and proceleusma. The same feet are allowed in the trochaic verse. The only distinction is that the iambus is never admitted into the trochaic verse, nor the trochee into the iambic. A principal difficulty, however, arises from many words being scanned in comedy, as, doubtless, they were pronounced in conversation, in order to bring this species of composition still nearer the forms of ordinary life. We shall give some instances from Terence :

Elision of *v*. *Lībēri* | *ūs vj'ēn* | *dī fuit* | *pōtēs* | *tās n'ān* | *tēa*. |
Iamb. Trimb.

vj'endi for *vivendi*, and *fuit* for *fūt*.

Elision of *l*. *Hābēt ād* | *dās ēt ī* | *lās quās* | *hābēt* | *rēctē* | *fēras*.
Iamb. Trimb.

īlas for *illas*.

Elision of *d*. *Qu' inter* | *ēt hōc* | *ā dēo' ēx* | *hāc rē* | *vēnīt* | *īn mēn* | *tēm—*
mī | *hī*. Troch. Tetr. Cat.

Qu' inter, *Qui' inter*, for *Quid inter*.

But even these rules will not explain every verse. Terence is more remiss in the construction of his verses than Plautus; and the traces of early rusticity which were said by Horace to exist even in his days in the literature of his country are no where more conspicuous than in the versification of the comic poets of Latium.

Prætextæ
and
Togatæ.

The Roman drama did not strictly confine itself to Greek subjects. Horace commends those authors who had patriotically ventured to desert the beaten path, and celebrate national topics :—

Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta,
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas.¹

These plays were tragedies and comedies respectively, of which the characters were Roman. Patrick, indeed, in the life of Terence prefixed to his edition of that poet, contends that the *Prætextæ* were only comedies of a more serious kind. This idea is very common, and is advocated by Gyraldus and J. C. Scaliger.² But, whatever they may have been called, it is certain that they had not the nature of Comedy. Gyraldus distinguishes thus between Tragedy and what he is pleased to call the *Prætextate* Comedy. "*Prætextæ verò in hoc à Tragædiâ differt, quòd in Tragædiâ heroës introducuntur, in Prætextatâ Romanæ personæ, ut Brutus, Decius.*" According to this account, the *Prætextæ* were tragedies on Roman subjects. Probably they differed not greatly from the historical plays of Shakspeare ;

¹ De Art. Poët. 286.

Gyrald. de Comædiâ.—Scal. de Com. et Trag. cap. iii.

and, not being limited by the unities, may have thus come to be considered a distinct kind of composition from Tragedy.¹ The word *Togata* is used *generically* to express a Roman play, in opposition to *Palliata*, a Greek play; the *Prætexta* being but the *Toga*

¹ The reader may obtain some idea of their character from the following passage of Attius's *Brutus*, preserved by Cicero (*De Divin.* i. 22). The interlocutors are Tarquin the Proud and his diviners.

TARQUINIUS.

Quùm jam quieti corpus nocturno impetu
Dedi, sopore placans artus languidos ;
Visu' est in somnis pastor ad me appellere ;

* * * * *

Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi,
Pecus lanigerum eximiâ pulchritudine ;
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me :
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier
In me arietare, eoque ictu me ad casum dari ;
Exin prostratum terrâ graviter saucium,
Resupinum ; in cælo contueri maximum
Ac mirificum facinus ; dextrorsum orbem flammeum
Radiatum solis liquier cursu novo.

CONJECTORES.

Rex, quæ in vitâ usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident,
Quæque aiunt vigilantes, agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt,
Minus mirum est; sed in re tantâ haud temerè improvisò offerunt.
Proin vide, ne quem tu esse hebetem deputes, æque ac pecus,
Is sapientiâ munitum pectus egregiâ gerat,
Teque regno expellat. Nam id quod de sole ostentum est tibi,
Populo commutationem rerum portendit fore.
Perpropinqua hæc benè verruncent populo! nam quòd ad dexteram
Cæpit cursum ab lævâ signum præpotens ; pulcerrimè
Auguratum est, rem Romanam publicam summam fore.

TARQUIN.

When, urged by weary night, I gave my frame
To rest, with sleep calming my languid limbs,
A shepherd seem'd in slumber to accost me.

* * * * *

Two kindred rams were chosen from the flock,
A fleecy treasure of unwonted beauty :
Whereof I slew the fairer on an altar.
Then 'gan his fellow with his horns essay
To butt me, and o'erthrew me on the ground ;
Where as I lay sore wounded in the dust,
I gaz'd on heaven, and there beheld a vast
And wondrous sign : the fiery ray-girt sun
Passed back in strange disorder to his right.

DIVINERS.

Good my liege, it is no marvel if the forms of waking thought,
Care, and sight, and deed, and converse, all revisit us in sleep :

Dramatic
terms.

Afranius.

of the nobler Romans, and only differing from the ordinary *Toga* in being bordered with purple: *Toga PRÆTEXTA purpurâ*. When, however, the term *Togata* is used *specifically*, it denotes the *Fabula Tabernaria*, or Roman Comedy; or, a higher class of comedy than the *Tabernaria*, but still purely Roman. The severity of the Roman character imparted a gravity to the higher class of the *Togata*, which made it, according to Seneca,¹ a middle ground between Tragedy and Comedy. There was also a species of play called *Rhinthonica (fabula)*, from its inventor, Rhinthon, of Tarentum. Of this the *Amphitruo* of Plautus may afford the best idea. It was a kind of tragi-comedy,² in which heroes and divinities were introduced, after a burlesque fashion, and mingled with comic personages. Beside these terms, there were others referring to the internal economy of plays. A comedy which contained much bustle and action was called *Motoria*; the reverse of this was called *Stataria*; and where the two were combined, the composition was called *Mixta*. The principal writers of the *Comœdia Togata* were Trabea, Lamia, Pomponius, Atta, Titinius, and Afranius. The loss of the writings of the last-mentioned poet, which were committed to the flames by the misdirected zeal of Gregory I., is an irreparable calamity to literature. From the character which he possessed among his countrymen, and which has been so beautifully given in one line by Horace,³

Dicitur Afranî toga convenisse Menandro,

there is reason to believe that his dramas were, at once, excellent and original; notwithstanding his admission that he not only adapted Menander, but occasionally even a Latin poet also;⁴ and it

But we may not pass regardless sight so unforedeemed as this.
Wherefore see lest one thou thinkest stupid as the flocks that graze
Bear a heart with choicest wisdom purified and fortified,
And expel thee from thy kingdom. For the portent of the sun
Shows there is a change impending o'er the people of thy sway.
May the gods avert the omen! it is near! the mighty star
From his left to right returning, shows thee clearly as his light
That the Roman people's greatness shall become supreme at last.

This specimen may lead us to regret that nothing more considerable should have remained of the prætextate plays. Yet they were few. The names of those of an earlier date are but five, and one of these is questionable, the *Marcellus*, attributed to Attius; of the others we shall make mention presently.

¹ Ep. viii.

² Faciam ut commixta sit tragicocomœdia;

Nam me perpetuò facere ut sit comœdia

Reges quò veniant et Dii, non par arbitror.

Quid igitur? quoniam hic servus quoque parteis habet,

Faciam sit, proinde ut dixi, tragicocomœdia.—*Plaut. Prolog. in Amphitr.*

³ Ep. ad Aug. 57.

⁴ Macr. Sat. v. 1.

must have been curious to see what the vigorous mind of a Roman dramatist could have produced, when, drawing from the great model, Nature, he continually corrected and refined his copy from the elegant proportions of the Attic Thalia. Quintilian objects to the morals of his dramas, which, therefore, considering those of ancient Comedy generally, must have been very bad. Stephens has collected a few scattered fragments of this author; and though little judgment of the poet can be formed from them, some of them evince great delicacy and elegance.

We have scanty means of tracing the progress of Comedy between the times of Plautus and those of Publius Terentius. All the works of Terence.

of the numerous comedians who flourished during that period, exclusive of a few fragments, have perished. Their names, and the titles of their plays, may be found in Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Latina*, lib. iv. c. 1. Licinius Imbrex, Turpilius, and Atilius, may be mentioned as distinguished. Luscus Lavinius is known to us as the "vetus poeta" whom Terence chastises in his prologues. Fabius Dossennus, considered by some scholars an Atellane writer, is very satisfactorily shown by Munk¹ to have been a writer of the *Comœdia Palliata*. Cæcilius Statius, like Terence, a slave and a foreigner, being of Gallic origin, is the most celebrated of the minor comic poets; Varro gives his plots the palm;² Cicero doubts whether he is not the best comic poet;³ and Quintilian and Horace bear testimony to his great popularity.⁴ Cicero, however, in other passages, condemns his Latinity.⁵ But the best idea to be formed of Cæcilius is from certain passages of his *Plocium*, an imitation of the *Πλοκίον*, or *Necklace*, of Menander, which Aulus



Terence.

¹ De Fab. Atell. p. 121, *seqq.*

³ De Opt. Gen. Orat. i.

⁵ Ep. ad Att. vii. 3. Brut. lxxiv.

² In Parmeno. ap. Non. *in voc.* Poscere.

⁴ Quint. x. 1. Hor. Ep. ad Aug. 59.

Terence.

Gellius has cited, together with the originals, for the purpose of showing the inferiority of this poet, and Latin poets in general, to the Greek masters.¹ If we are to take these passages of Cæcilius as a specimen of the method of imitation of the comic poets, we shall find it greatly to have resembled Virgil's copies of Homer or of Theocritus. Whatever may have been the general style or character of the comedies written during the interval now in question, it is scarcely possible to believe that Terence could, at once, have raised this species of composition to the perfection in which he left it; several grades probably intervened. Indeed, the very nature of Comedy had, during this period, undergone alteration; seeking no longer to please by the mere ridiculous, the Comic Muse had applied herself to the more worthy and philosophical task of delineating ordinary life as it is, with its pathetic, no less than its amusing character. This appears from the following judgment of Varro:² “*ἤθη nulli alii servare convenit quàm Titinio, Terentio, Attæ; πάθη Trabea, et Atilius et Cæcilius facile moverunt.*” The latter is the style of Comedy in which Terence has chosen to excel; although in pathos he was held inferior to those poets. There is, indeed, no violent excitement of the passions in Terence; but, while the writings of Plautus are studiously filled with jests and witticisms, it is seldom that Terence indulges in anything of this kind, but is content to raise a laugh naturally from his subject; employing sometimes a grave and sententious discourse, which would have been quite incompatible with the Middle Comedy. The absence of the comic power in Terence is regretted in some verses attributed to Julius Cæsar, from which it would appear that Menander was not deficient in this respect, and that consequently Terence was only entitled to half the honour of having reproduced him in Latin. But these verses concur with all antiquity in praising the purity of the Terentian style.³ Some lines, attributed to Cicero, in like manner commend the elegance of Terence's language, and notice, though without censure, the sober garb in which he had invested the livelier sentiments of the Greek comedian.⁴

¹ Aul. Gell. ii. 23.² Ap. Sosip. Charis. ii.

³ Tu quoque, tu, in summis, ô dimidiata Menander,
Poneris, et meritò, puri sermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret *vis*
Comica! ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac *despectus* parte *jaceres*.
Unum hoc maceror et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.

Jul. Cæs. ap. Sueton.

Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
Conversum expressumque Latinâ voce Menandrum
In medio populi *sedatis* vocibus effers,
Quidquid *come* loquens, et omnia *dulcia* dicens.

The comedies of Terence are altogether translated or adapted from Menander, Apollodorus, and Diphilus; and while the poet keenly resents the charge of borrowing from Roman sources, he no less boastfully avows his Greek authorities; an obligation which he seems to consider, as Latin writers generally did, indispensable to excellence, and therefore not detrimental to originality. The unities, somewhat loosely observed by comedians of the old school, have never been violated by Terence, except, perhaps, in the *Heautontimorumenos*; and to this rule he has, apparently, made important sacrifices. The artifice of a double plot, occasionally found in Plautus, was carried to its perfection by Terence, whose skill in its management is in the highest degree admirable. Such, however, was the state of society at Athens (the scene of a large proportion of the Latin comedies), and such the severity of the laws which, both there and at Rome, guarded every avenue of satire, that the comedies remaining to us, those of Terence especially, present little novelty of character or plot. A parasite and a soldier, a courtesan, a gentleman, and a slave, are the usual ingredients of the drama; the interest of which usually turns on the dexterity of the last, and the catastrophe on one of the characters turning out to be a free woman of Athens. It could scarcely be otherwise in the state of Athenian society, where citizen and slave were the only prominent distinctions, and where no consideration was allowed to women. Some writers affected one of these characters more than another; Dossennus, of whom we know very little, was very partial to the parasite.

A life of Terence is extant which is referred by some critics to Donatus, and by others to Suetonius. This uncertainty is of no small importance to the credit of the narrative. If it was written by the author of the life of Virgil, he was so careless and so credulous, that its historical authority is contemptible. We fear, however, that the internal evidence, as far as style is concerned, would fix the work upon him. There is an anecdote in this biography truly Donatian. Terence, we are told, on presenting his *Andria* to the ædiles for representation, was by those respectable magistrates referred to the judgment of Cæcilius. The youthful dramatist found the veteran at the principal Roman meal. Terence was not, it seems, attired in a costume sufficiently impressive to prepossess his critic; and he was accordingly ordered to accommodate himself with a stool at the foot of the festal couch, where the stately favourite of the people was reclining. After reciting a few verses, however, he was invited by Cæcilius to share the pleasures of his table, and the recitation of the *Andria* was concluded with great applause. The Eusebian Chronicle gives the substance of this story;¹ most probably, after this author; but it can scarcely be

¹ Olymp. 155, 3.

Terence.

true, from chronological considerations, if Cæcilius the poet be meant;¹ but some copies have Cærius. Of like value is the relation



of Consetius, quoted by the same author, that he perished on his return from Greece with one hundred and eight comedies, which he had translated from Menander; when it is most probable that Menander wrote only one hundred and nine, and it is not certain that he wrote so many; and Terence had already imitated four of them. Part of the work is certainly the production of Suetonius; but whether this is only a short quotation, or the bulk of the history, is uncertain; Terence, however, is generally admitted to have been a Carthaginian, and to have been a slave at Rome, where he was early liberated. He was intimate with Scipio Africanus the younger, and the younger Lælius,² and Furius Publius, who are accused, with no slight colour of probability, of having assisted him in the composition of his comedies. It is extremely improbable that the exquisite purity and elegance of the Terentian Latinity should be the unassisted production of a Carthaginian slave; and Terence himself admits, in the Prologue to his *Adelphi*, that he received the assistance of persons who were eminently useful in the state:—

Nam, quòd isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
Eum adjuvare, assiduèque unà scribere;
Quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existunt,
Eam laudem hic ducit maxumam, quum illis placet
Qui vobis universis et populo placent;
Quorum operà in bello, in otio, in negotio,
Suo quisque tempore usus est sine superbiâ.

¹ The *Andria* was first acted 538; Cæcilius died *v.c.* 586.

² The elder in both cases, according to Schlegel; but this will not stand with chronology.

Terence.

As to what these malicious folks object,
 That noble men assist him, and write with him ;
 What they conceive to be a foul reproach
 He deems the highest praise ; since those applaud him
 Whom all of you applaud, and all the people ;
 Whose aid in war, in leisure, and in labour,
 Each man has used as suited his occasion.

Similar is the passage in the prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos* :—

Tum, quòd malevolus vetus poëta dictitat,
 Repentè ad studium hunc se applicàsse musicum,
 Amicùm ingenio fretum, haud naturâ suâ ;
 Arbitrium vostrum, vostra existimatio
 Valebit.

Then, as to what a sour old poet says,
 That he, our bard, has lately learnt his art,
 Taught by the genius of his friends, not nature :
 Your judgment, your good graces, shall avail
 For his defence.

His biographer tells us that Terence was less solicitous to defend himself against this charge, because he knew that the reputation of being the authors of his comedies was by no means unacceptable to his patrons. From the same writer we learn that the critic Santra rather thought him indebted to C. Sulpitius Gallus, a man of learning ; or to Q. Fabius Labeo, and M. Popilius Lenas, who were themselves poets. He was born, according to the same authority, after the second Punic war, and died at Stymphalus, or Leucadia, in Arcadia, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior, and, consequently, u. c. 594. He was probably about 34 years of age. Even his personal appearance is noticed by his biographer : middle height, slender figure, dark complexion.

We have thus traced Latin Comedy to its meridian : the causes of its decline subsequently we shall more conveniently notice when we advance to the poetry of the Augustan age ; we will merely observe for the present, that the great Roman critic, with all his literary patriotism, could only sum the subject by saying, “ In Comœdiâ maximè claudicamus.”¹ The verdict is strange : but even Terence did not reach that Attic perfection which Roman criticism justly denies to any other section of the Greeks themselves. His licentious versification qualified his elegance in the correct and disciplined ear of Quintilian.² The genius of the Roman people was earnest and stern ; the language, hard and inflexible ; circumstances in which they differed widely from the airy and lively Athenians. It is very probable, therefore, notwithstanding the positive excellence attained by Roman poets in this department,

Latin
 Comedy
 defective.

¹ Quinct. x. 1.

² Ibid.

that their relative success in imitating the Greek models was less in Comedy than in other walks of literature.

Tragedy.

While Thalia had been improving the first essays of Roman genius into regular Comedy, Melpomene was not without her votaries. As no regular tragic production anterior to the Augustan age has reached us, we must be content to take our estimate of the excellence of Roman Tragedy from the opinion of Roman critics; the fragments extant not being in any instance sufficiently numerous or connected to enable us to judge of the merits of whole compositions. Many of them, indeed, breathe a spirit of the purest poetry; but the diction is, as might be expected from the age, harsh and unmodulated. As in Comedy, so in this branch of the drama, early excellence was followed by premature decay. The best tragedies, for the most part, had been written before the language had attained vigorous maturity, and there were causes to discourage Tragedy subsequently, which we shall hereafter discuss. Horace accuses the Roman tragedians of carelessness and inaccuracy,¹ while he admits their tragic spirit and the success of their sallies. Quintilian speaks highly of Attius and Pacuvius;² and yet allows that their writings were deficient in the last polish, which, however, he considers rather the fault of their age than of their talents. The *Thyestes* of Varius, according to this author, was comparable to any of the Greek tragedies; and the *Medea* of Ovid he considers a remarkable evidence of what that poet could effect, when he preferred the regulation to the indulgence of his genius.³ A similar eulogy on these productions is passed by the author of the Dialogue "*de Oratoribus*:" "*Nec ullus Asinii aut Messalæ liber tam illustris est quàm Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes.*" Atilius, whom we have already noticed as a comedian, translated, or, as Weichert conjectures,⁴ travestied, the *Electra* of Sophocles, in a hard, dry style.⁵ C. Titius is mentioned as a tragedian by Cicero, but as more of an orator, even in his tragedies;⁶ he had, however, the honour to be imitated by Afranius. C. Julius Cæsar Strabo wrote tragedies intituled *Teuthras* and *Adrastus*. Other names will occur in the course of this memoir. The favourite tragedian of Quintilian, however, was Pomponius Secundus, whose claims to priority, while his learning and eloquence were admitted, were yet, it seems, disputed at that time.⁷

Ennius.

We have already seen that Livius Andronicus and Nævius were tragedians as well as comedians. Ennius, of whom we shall presently have occasion to make more particular mention, com-

¹ Ep. ad Aug. 164—167; De Art. Poet. 289—291. ² Quint. x. 1. ³ Ibid.

⁴ The conjecture is rightly reprobated by Bähr. (Gesch. der R. L. § 45, anm. 3.) Cicero calls the play "*malè conversa*;" an expression inapplicable to a burlesque.

⁵ Cic. de Fin. I. 2. Ep. ad Att. xiv. 20. Suet. Cæs. 84 (where a reading is *Attius*).

⁶ Brut. 45.

⁷ Quint. x. 1.

posed tragedies, and one comedy, the *Pancratiastes*; two others, *Amphithraso* and *Ambracia*, are attributed to him; he obtained, however, his highest dramatic reputation from his tragedies. But it does not appear that they were in any respect more original than the Roman Comedy. The titles which have reached us of his tragedies are:—*Achilles*, *Ajax*, *Alcestis*, *Alexander*, *Alcmæon*, *Andromache*, *Andromeda*, *Athamas*, *Cresphon*, *Cressæ*, *Dulorestes*, *Erechtheus*, *Eumenides*, *Hectoris Lutra*, *Hecuba*, *Ilione*, *Iphigenia*, *Medea*, *Melanippa*, *Nemea*, *Phoenix*, *Polydorus*, *Telamon*, *Telephus*, *Thyestes*. These names, and those of almost all the Roman tragedies, preserved by Fabricius, (*Biblioth. Lat. lib. iv. c. 1.*) prove that they were commonly translations or imitations from the Greek, perpetually

Presenting Thebes, and Pelops' line,
And the tale of Troy divine.

In their tragic metres the Romans were much severer than in their comic. They seem, indeed, to have admitted the same number of feet in both; but the iambus occurs much oftener in tragedy, and the whole verse is modulated in a manner which makes it always perceptible, and sometimes even harmonious. The difference which is thus produced between the tragic and comic *senarii* is even greater than that which exists between the hexameters of Virgil and those of the satirists.

As far as we learn, the highest favours of the Tragic Muse were reserved for Marcus Pacuvius and Lucius Attius.¹ Pacuvius, sister's

Pacuvius
and Attius,
or Accius.

son to Ennius, was born at Brundisium, U. C. 534, and died at Tarentum, U. C. 624. He was celebrated as a painter as well as a poet. The names of his plays on Greek subjects are:—*Amphion*, *Anchises*, *Antiope*, *Armorum Judicium*, *Atalanta*, *Chryses*, *Dulorestes*, *Hermiona*, *Iliona*, *Medea*, *Niptra*, *Orestes*, *Peribœa*, *Teucer*. Comedies, intitled *Mercator*, *Pseudo*, *Tarentilla*, *Tunicularia*, have also been attributed to him. Attius was the son of a freedman, born U. C. 594, and died about 670. The names of his tragedies on Greek subjects are:—*Achilles*, *Ægisthus*, *Agamemnonidæ*, *Alcestis*, *Alcmæon*, *Alphesibœa*, *Amphitruo*, *Andromeda*, *Antigona*, *Antenoridæ*, *Argonautæ*, *Armorum Judicium*, *Astyanax*, *Athamas*, *Atræus*, *Bacchæ*, *Chrysippus*, *Clytemnestra*, *Deïphobus*, *Diomedes*,



L. Attius.

¹ The Greek writers give Ἀττιος; hence most modern scholars have adopted this orthography. But there is authority in MSS. and inscriptions for both forms.

Attius.

*Epigoni, Epinausimache, Erigona, Eriphyla, Eurysaces, Ilione, Hecala, Hellenes, Medea, Meleager, Melanippa, Myrmidones, Neoptolemus, Nyctegresia, Enomaus, Paris, Pelopidæ, Philoctetes, Phinidæ, Phœnissæ, Prometheus, Telephus, Tereus, Trachiniæ.*¹ The opinion of the critics of Horace's day,²—

Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Attius ALTI,

is just that of Quintilian:³ “*VIRIUM plus Attio tribuitur; Pacuvium videri DOCTIOREM qui esse docti affectant volunt.*” Correctness and eloquence seem to have been the great merits of Pacuvius, and in these he probably surpassed all other tragedians of his country. One interesting circumstance is connected with this poet; his tragedy of *Paulus* was the first in Latin on a Roman subject. Who, however, was the hero of this play, is not apparent. Attius also composed tragedies, the subjects of which were *Brutus* and the younger *Decius*; a tragedy called *Marcellus* is also, as we have seen, attributed to him.⁴ Pacuvius and Attius were patronised severally by the celebrated Lælius and Decimus Brutus. Attius appears to have been intimate with, and almost a pupil of, Pacuvius. His first tragedy was performed under the same ædiles as the last of his master.⁵ He seems to have imitated Æschylus in the loftiness of his style and subjects. He is called by Ovid “*animosi Attius oris,*”⁶ and Paterculus attributes to him “more spirit than the Greeks possessed!”⁷ “*In illis limæ, in hoc penè plus videtur fuisse SANGUINIS.*” A similar expression occurs in Persius concerning this writer, which, though it is not meant in commendation, seems yet to imply that his fault was turgidity: “*VENOSUS liber Atti.*”⁸ Two plays are ascribed to him, *Mercator*, and *Nuptiæ*, which, apparently, were comedies. We shall conclude our observations on Roman Tragedy with two extracts from its most celebrated authors, in which the reader will readily discover the seeds of many well known passages of modern poets. The first is from Attius, of whose poetry we have already given a specimen, and is preserved by Cicero in the second Book of his *Treatise on the Nature of the Gods*. It describes the astonishment of a shepherd who beheld “the first bold vessel” from the summit of a mountain; and is written in iambs:—

————— tanta moles labitur
Fremebunda ex alto, ingenti sonitu et spiritu:
Præ se undas volvit; vortices vi suscitât;
Ruit prolapsa; pelagus respersit; profluit.

¹ Among the works attributed to Attius are Didascalia (perhaps Dramatic precepts), Pragmatica, Parerga, and Annales, the nature of which can only be conjectured from their titles. Ep. ad Aug. 55. Quint. x. 1.

⁴ Dion. Gram. iii. p. 487, Putsch.

⁵ Cic. Brut. lxxii.

⁶ Amor. i. 15.

⁷ Lib. ii. 9.

⁸ i. 75.

Ita, dum interruptum credas nimbum volvier,
 Dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapi
 Saxum, aut procellis, vel globosos turbines
 Existere ictos undis concursantibus;
 Nisi quas terrestres Pontus strages conciet;
 Aut, fortè, Triton, fuscina evertens specus,
 Subter radices penitus undanti in freto
 Molem ex profundo saxeam ad cælum eruit.

Attius.

The monster bulk sweeps on
 Loud from the deep, with mighty roar and panting.
 It hurls the waves before; it stirs up whirlpools;
 On, on it bounds: it dashes back the spray.
 Awhile, it seems a bursting tempest-cloud;
 Awhile, a rock uprooted by the winds,
 And whirled aloft by hurricanes; or masses
 Beaten by concourse of the crashing waves:
 The sea seems battering o'er the wrecks of land;
 Or Triton, from their roots the caves beneath
 Upturning with his trident, flings to heaven
 A rocky mass from out the billowy deep.

The next is from Pacuvius, and describes the storm which assailed Pacuvius.
 the Greek army on its departure from Troy. It is in trochaics:¹

Interea propè jam occidente sole inhorrescit mare;
 Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbûm occæcat nigror;
 Flamma inter nubes coruscat, cælum tonitru contremitt,
 Grando, mixta imbri largifluo, subitâ turbine præcipitans cadit;
 Undique omnes venti erumpunt, sævi existunt turbines,
 Fervet æstu pelagus.

Now the crested billows whiten as the sun is hasting down;
 Twofold darkness falls around us, night and storm-clouds blind the sight;
 'Mid the clouds the levin blazes; trembles heaven beneath the crash;
 Hail, with torrent rain commingling, bursts in headlong whirlwind down;
 All the winds rush forth about us; sweeps the wild tornado round;
 Boils the sea with glowing fury.—



¹ Cic. de Div. i. 14. *Of. ejusd.* De. Orat. iii. 39.

Having concluded, for the present, our remarks on the Roman drama, which had now attained its perfection, and declined as other poetry advanced,¹ it may not be deemed impertinent to subjoin the review of popular opinion on its writers which Horace has transmitted :

Horace's
Summary.

Nævius in manibus non est, at mentibus hæret
Pænè recens ; aded sanctum est vetus omne pœma :
Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Attius alti ;
Dicitur Afranî toga convenisse Menandro ;
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi ;
Vincere Cæcilius gravitate ; Terentius arte.²

Satire.

Satirical compositions have always existed in every nation ; human excellences and infirmities are alike engaged in promoting their popularity. The philosopher and the moralist cannot review the follies and vices which degrade and pollute their species, without yielding to the expression of virtuous and philanthropic indignation ; and the malignant passions are gladdened at the exposure of another's faults. We have already seen that, in a period of the Roman history when every species of regular poetry was unknown, the "*malum carmen*," or libellous verse, was prohibited by a statute. The scenic entertainments were the chief vehicles of these offensive compositions, as being the most public ; and when these were improved into *satura*, the "*mala carmina*" were so far from being universally discontinued, that they were rather more systematically pursued. The introduction of the legitimate drama turned them into another channel ; and thus we find Nævius adapting the satirical vein of the old Greek comedy to the domestic occurrences of his day. The signal example which the Cæcilian family made of this poet, checked, but could not long arrest the current ; it soon flowed with redoubled strength and impetuosity in another direction ; and, while it retained the old name of *satura*, with which, from long association, it seemed identified, it so entirely changed its form as to give rise to those expressions of Horace and Quintilian, which have led so many critics to suppose that the old *satura* was a Roman invention. As the English word *Satire* is generally applied to this poem, we shall, in future, employ it, to distinguish this composition from the *satura*, from which it differed materially in form and excellence, though possessing the same name.

¹ "In Attio circaque eum Romana tragaedia est."—*Vell. Pat.* i. 17.

² Ep. ad Aug. 53, *segg.* This testimony will be esteemed of more critical value than that of Volcatius Sedigitus (Ap. Aul. Gell. xv. 24), in whose pompous and dictatorial verses the comic poets rank as follows : Cæcilius, Plautus, Nævius-Licinius, Atilius, Terence, Turpilius, Trabea, Luscius. Ennius is added "*anti, quitatis causâ*" only.

To the Satire the Latin writers constantly assign a Roman origin : —“ *Satura tota nostra est.*”¹ —“ here, at least, we have drawn from our own resources.” Yet when we come to examine the merits of this solitary pretension to originality, we find them admitting that the same sentiments and modes of thinking had been common among the Greeks, but then,—they had never expressed them in hexameter verse! Such is the proud title to originality which the Romans acquired by altering the versification of the old Greek comedy! The severity of historical justice itself might relent in favour of a claim so rarely made, and so weakly supported. Yet this compels us to assert that the originality of the Roman Satire rests on a very slender foundation. It may be traced to the *σάλλος* of the Greeks. Nay, Lucilius himself, if we may trust Johannes Lydus, borrowed his form of the Satire, hexameters and all, from a Greek writer, Rhindon, “ *who first wrote comedy in hexameters.*”² Lucilius is asserted by Horace to have been the founder of the New Satire; and, accordingly, he acknowledges the earlier poet to be his master and model in this species of composition. But, although Lucilius was the first Roman who composed a *regular* metrical essay on a satiric subject, the transition from the dramatic to this almost didactic form did not take place immediately. The Satires of Ennius and Pacuvius have not reached us; Ennian those of the latter, indeed, are only mentioned by Diomedes, the Satire. grammarian: but the accounts which ancient authors have left us of the Ennian Satire, prove that it was the rude, but natural, result of the arbitrary proceedings of the Aristocracy, which drove Satire from the stage. “ *Carmen*,” says Diomedes,³ “ *quod ex variis poematibus constabat, Satura vocabatur; quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.*” By “ *varia poemata*” Diomedes does not mean, as Mr. Dunlop understands him,⁴ a cento, or mixture of extracts from various authors; but a miscellany of subjects, and a mixture of various kinds of metre, wherein dactylic, iambic and trochaic verses were promiscuously confounded, after the manner of the *Μαργίτης* of Homer. This interpretation is warranted by the few fragments which remain to us of the Satires of Ennius. They are not, indeed, sufficiently numerous to enable us to judge of the nature of the poems whence they are taken; but we learn from

¹ Quinct. x. 1. So Ennius is styled by Horace (I Sat. x. 66.) “ *Græcis intacti carminis auctor*”—language which has been supposed to apply to Lucilius; a construction, however, which the context will not admit. Ennius and Lucilius were both “ *auctores*,” being indeed the founders of *different* kinds of poetry bearing the *same* appellation, as we shall see immediately.

² . . . τὸν Ῥίνδωνα, ὃς ἐξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρῶτος κωμῳδίαν· ἐξ οὗ πρῶτος λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς Λουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἡρωικοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκωμῳδῆσε. He is considered the same with Rhinthon, the author of the tragi-comedies: and another reading is Ῥίνθωνα.—Joann. Lydus. de Mag. P.R. l. 41.

³ Gram. iii. 483.

⁴ Hist of Rom. Lit. p. 106.

Ennius.

Aulus Gellius¹ that Æsop's Fable of "the Lark and her Young" was versified in one of them, probably introduced in the same manner as "the Country Mouse and the City Mouse" in Horace; Quintilian also tells us² that the subject of another was a contest between Life and Death.³ From these slight notices, we may infer that the dramatic origin of the Satire was perceptible in its altered form; as, indeed, it is in several of the satires of Horace. Gellius subjoins the moral of the Fable, which was written "*versibus QUADRATIS*," i. e. in trochaic tetrameters:

Hoc erit tibi argumentum semper in promptu situm:
Ne quid exspectes amicos, quod tute agere possies.

Learn from my tale this ready saw and true:
Ne'er trust your friends for what yourself can do.

Cicero⁴ has preserved some verses of Ennius, of exquisite point, which, in all probability, belonged to his Satires, and which we subjoin:

Non habeo denique nauci Marsum Augurem,
Non vicanos Aruspices, non de Circo Astrologos,
Non Isiacos conjectores, non interpretes somnium;
Non enim ii sunt aut scientiâ, aut arte divini,⁵
Sed superstitiosi vates, impudentesque harioli,
Aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat.
Qui sui quæstus causâ fictas suscitant sententias;
Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam:
Quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam petunt.
De divitiis sibi deducant drachmam: reddant cætera.

I value not a rush your Marsian augurs,
Your village seers, your market fortune-tellers,
Egyptian sorcerers, dream-interpreters;
No prophets they by knowledge or by skill:
But superstitious quacks, shameless impostors,
Lazy, or crazy, slaves of Indigence,
Who tell fine stories for their proper lucre:
Teach others the highway, and cannot find
A by-way for themselves; promise us riches,
And beg of us a drachma; let them give
Their riches first; then take their drachma out.

If this spirited passage be a sample of the Satires of Ennius, there is great reason to deplore their loss. But whatever may have been their intrinsic merits, their absence is materially injurious to the clear understanding of the merits of his successors.

Lucilian
Satire.

If, however, the loss of the satiric writings of Ennius and Pacuvius be unfortunate for the illustration of the history of

¹ Noct. Att. ii. 29. ² ix. 2. ³ Quint. ix. 2. ⁴ De Div. i. 40. et 58.

⁵ This line, if a verse, is manifestly corrupt. It has been accordingly thought by some to be an interruption on the part of the speaker; but the connexion seems to forbid this conjecture. The verses themselves are either corrupted, or admit many licences. They appear to be a mixture of iambs and trochaics.

Roman Poetry, that of Lucilius's works is still more so for the general interests of literature. Careless and incorrect as this author was held by Horace, that great poet has not hesitated confessedly to imitate his style, and to acknowledge his superiority even to himself; an acknowledgment which no student of Horace will refer to diffidence of his own powers. In one respect, indeed, the resemblance of the two writers is remarkable, if the character which Horace gives his master be, in any degree, correct.¹

Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 Credebat libris : neque si malè cesserat, usquàm
 Decurrens aliò, neque si benè. Quo fit ut omnis
 Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ
 Vita senis.

As friend to friend the secrets of the heart,
 He all he felt did to his books impart ;
 None other his resource, whate'er befel,
 Whether the world dealt ill with him, or well ;
 Hence, as in votive tablet fair outspread,
 The poet's life may in his page be read.

Horace might have drawn this portrait at his mirror. This poet has given us a very elaborate judgment on the writings of Lucilius,² from which it appears that he copied the old Greek comedians in every thing but metre:³

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque, poëtæ,
 Atque alii, quorum Comœdia Prisca virorum est :
 * * * * *

Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce sequutus,
 Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque.

Although Horace accuses him of inelegance in versification, it appears from the fragments of his writings collected by the laborious Francis Dousa,⁴ that he rejected the mixed measures of his predecessors. The first twenty books of his Satires were in hexameters, and the rest, with the exception of the thirtieth and last, which was also in hexameters, were in iambics and trochaics.⁵ He is censured by Horace for being as careless as voluminous : the fragments of his works now extant, though numerous, are seldom connected ; where they are so, they scarcely bear out the charge. The great poet, however, seems less to

¹ II. Sat. i. 30.

² I. Sat. iv. et x.

³ I. Sat. iv. 1, *seqq.*

⁴ The merits of Dousa are so high that it would be injustice not to retain this notice. But the works now (1850) deserving to be consulted for the best acquaintance with Lucilius which can be made are the editions of Corpet, Paris, 1845, and Gerlach, Zurich, 1846.

⁵ There is a difference sometimes in the length of the iambic and trochaic verses, and dactyls are occasionally intermixed ; but the corruption of the text, and the mistakes of grammarians in assigning the quotations, may account for this circumstance.

Lucilius.

condemn Lucilius than to deprecate the excessive admiration of his writings which was then fashionable among the literati at Rome. Of two faults Lucilius appears to have been clearly guilty; corrupting his native tongue with an inordinate admixture of Greek, (as some modern English writers, in still viler taste, adulterate theirs with French;) and separating the syllables of a word by a harsh and unusual tmesis. The first of these was, absurdly enough, considered by his admirers as an excellence, and Horace has been not a little severe on the subject:

‘At magnum fecit, quod verbis Græca Latinis
Miscuit.’ O, seri studiorum! quine putetis
Difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
Contigit!

Of Lucilius’s philhellenic propensities the passages remaining to us afford ample proof. We shall instance one or two, in order to show the validity of the grounds which Horace had for his censure. Cicero, in his third book “*de Oratore*,” quotes the following:

Quam lepidè λεξεῖς compostæ! ut tesserulæ omnes
Arte, pavimento, atque EMBLEMATE vermiculato.

And, afterwards:

Crassum habeo genus: ne ῥητορικώτερο¹ tu sis.

Another instance is not less remarkable:¹

Nunc censes καλλιπλόκαμον καλλίσφυρον illam
* * * * *

Compernam aut varam fuisse Amphitryonis ἄκοιτιν
Alcmenam, atque alias, Ledam ipsam denique nolo
Dicere, tute vide, atque διούλλαβον elige quodvis
*Tyro eupatereiam*² aliquam rem insignem habuisse,
Verrucam, nævum pictum, dentem eminulum unum.

This style has been occasionally imitated by Juvenal, the professed follower of Lucilius. The last mentioned fault of Lucilius has been thus illustrated and ridiculed by Ausonius:³

Villâ Lucani- mox potieris -acâ. [for Lucaniacâ]
Resciso discas componere nomine versum;
Lucilî vates sic imitator eris.

Lucilius, however, with these and all his other faults, was a great genius and a noble writer, if we can rely on the authority of antiquity. Varro, according to the testimony of Aulus Gellius,⁴ commends his *gracilitas*, which expression is explained as conveying

¹ Dous. Rel. Luc. xvii. 1.

² Or, Τυρὼ εὐπατερείαμ, as some give it, still more strangely.

³ Ep. v. ad Theon.

⁴ vii. 14.

the complex idea of *venustas* and *subtilitas*; a criticism suited, Lucilius. perhaps, to the time; but, when viewed from a later point of literary history, when the Latin language had developed its capabilities of refinement, palpably inapplicable. Quintilian,¹ while he studiously expresses his dissent from those who would place Lucilius on the summit of the Latian Parnassus, (as some even then did not hesitate to do) no less decidedly disclaims the censorious sentiments of Horace, and praises the learning, freedom, sarcasm, and wit of the elder satirist. Pliny and Cicero extol his "*urbanitas*" and "*styli nasus*,"² expressions equivalent to those of Horace:

———— quòd SALE MULTO
Urbem defricuit—

and, "*Emunctæ naris*:" and Aulus Gellius calls him "*vir apprime linguae Latine sciens*."³ The animated description of this poet which has been left us by one who, indisputably, had a right to criticise him, is in the memory of every scholar:

Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
Criminibus: tacitâ sudant præcordia culpâ.⁴
Oft as Lucilius waves his ruthless sword,
Guilt-frozen minds glow forth in crimson faces;
The labouring heart sweats with the secret sin.

The notice of Lucilius by Persius, who, it is said, was excited by his tenth book to satirical composition, though less solemn, is not less in character:

Secuit Lucilius urbem;
Te Lupe, te Muti: et *genuinum* fregit in illis.⁵
Lucilius *slash'd* the town;
And *broke his teeth* on Lupus and on Mutius.

His acquaintance with the Greek comedians furnished him with the means of polishing while it sharpened his weapon; and the protection which the friendship of Scipio and Lælius afforded him, enabled him to unmask hypocrisy, and to attack with impunity vice and folly, however well sheltered in the folds of the *Prætexta*. Yet was he no less the enemy of plebeian vice:

Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus Virtuti, atque ejus amicis.

What he considered virtue we learn from a passage preserved to us by Lactantius,⁶ for the purpose of cavilling at its particulars, although it is indeed a noble monument of heathen morality, and the source, as this father admits, from which Cicero derived the

¹ Lib. x. 1. ² Cic. de Orat. ii.; Plin. præf. Hist. Nat. ³ Noct. Att. xviii. 5.
⁴ Juv. Sat. i. 165. ⁵ i. 114. ⁶ Inst. Div. vi. 5, 6.

Lucilius.

substance of his *Officia*. Horace himself might not have blushed to own it :

Virtus, Albine, est pretium persolvere verum,
 Queis in versamur, queis vivimu' rebu', potesse :
 Virtus est homini, scire id, quod quæque habeat res.
 Virtus, scire homini rectum, utile quid sit, honestum ;
 Quæ bona, quæ mala item, quid inutile, turpe, inhonestum ;
 Virtus, quærendæ rei finem scire modumque ;
 Virtus, divitiis pretium persolvere posse ;
 Virtus, id dare, quod re ipsâ debetur honori ;
 Hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque malorum,
 Contrâ defensorem hominum morumque bonorum ;
 Magnificare hos, his bene velle, his vivere amicum ;
 Commoda præterea patriæ sibi prima putare ;
 Deinde parentum ; tertia jam postremaque, nostra.

Virtue, Albinus, is the power to give
 Their due to objects amid which we live ;
 What each possesses, faithfully to scan ;
 To know the right, the good, the true for man ;
 Again, to know the wrong, the base, the ill ;
 What we should seek, and how we should fulfil ;
 Honour and wealth at their true worth to prize ;
 Ill men and deeds repudiate, hate, despise ;
 Good men and deeds uphold, promote, defend,
 Exalt them, seek their welfare, live their friend ;
 To place our country's interests first alone ;
 Our parents' next ; the third, and last, our own.

It would be scarcely expected that we should give here anything like an analysis of the numerous fragments of Lucilius which remain to us. Most of them are disjointed and corrupt ; but some are written in the finest spirit of satire : in them the private life and public religion of the Romans, especially their idolatry and polytheism, are ridiculed and exposed with the keenest sarcasm. Lucilius was essentially the writer of human nature and the people ; though a man of learning, he wrote neither for scholars nor for the wholly uneducated ;¹ his language was exuberant and unpolished, but free, undisguised, intelligible ; for the present obscurity of his fragments is no proof of his obscurity in his own day, but rather the contrary. The unusual words (where not corrupted) are such, because belonging to *popular* rather than *literary* language. No writer of obscurities could have attained the *popularity* (as distinguished from the *celebrity*) of Lucilius. Politics and public morals, public and private character, literature, oratory, and the drama, were treated by him with a breadth, liveliness, and pungency, which, while they disarmed the severity of the accurate and learned, made him the darling of the general mind. Picturesque

¹ *Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea quæ scriberet neque ab indoctissimis se neque a doctissimis legi velle.*—Cic. de Orat. ii. 6 ; see De Fin. i. 37.

descriptions, apologues, and adaptations, artfully introduced, contributed their colour and effect: and though the sentiments, like the language, were not always refined, neither was the age, nor the audience; and the indignation of heathen virtue was wont to be plain-spoken. The loss of Lucilius's satirical writings is more than a literary misfortune. They would have been all-important for the illustration of contemporary social life; and while their spirit was that of the old Greek comedy, their value as pictures of society must have equalled, perhaps surpassed, that of the new. Besides his satires, Lucilius wrote a comedy called *Nummularia*, to which, according to Porphyryon, the old scholiast on Horace, that poet alluded in the line

Lucilius.

Other works
of Lucilius.

Pythias, emuncto lucrata Simone talentum.

He wrote also *Epode Hymns*, and a poem called *Serranus*. All these works have perished. Horace tells us that the theme of some of his poems was his friend, the younger Africanus, whose intimacy he cultivated when serving under him at the siege of Numantia.¹ Of his life few particulars are known, though his poetry was, perhaps, even more than that of Horace, an autobiography. He was a Roman knight, and was born, according to the Eusebian Chronicle, at Suessa, in the territory of Auruncum, u. c. 606, and died u. c. 651.²

Marcus Terentius Varro, born at Reate u. c. 638, is admitted, by the common consent of antiquity, to have been the most learned of all the Romans: and the titles preserved to us of his works prove the extent of his information. The doctrines of moral philosophy, though personally important to all, were too intimately involved with the abstractions of the philosophic schools to reach the generality of readers. Varro, whose profound acquaintance with the writings of the philosophers and whose extensive general reading peculiarly qualified him for the task, undertook to array in a plain, attractive, and popular dress those wise precepts for the conduct of life, which before had lain concealed under the cumbrous attire of dogmatic philosophy. Such are the motives which Cicero makes him assign for the publication of his *Menippean*, or cynical,³ Satires; ⁴ adding however his own opinion, that, although the work was diversified, and perfectly elegant, it could only be said to have

Varroni
Satire.

¹ See Vell. Pat. Hist. ii. 9.

² Ol. 158, 2. See references for difference on this chronology in Baehr, *Geschichte der Röm. Litt.* ii. 122; note 2. The question is also discussed by Gerlach (*Prolegomena in Lucilii Reliquias*), who defends the established computation. Clinton inclines to amplify the life of Lucilius both ways.

³ Quas alii *cynicas*, ipse (Varro) appellat *Menippeas*.—*Aul. Gell.* xi. 18.

⁴ Acad. i. 2, 3. See the passage, somewhat obscure, treated by Oehler, *Com.* in Varr. iv. ; note 3.

Varro.

entered on philosophy; and, though it had done much towards inciting to philosophical study, it had effected little towards instruction. Much the same opinion, as regards the latter part of it, is expressed by Diogenes Laërtius of Varro's prototype Menippus.¹ As the works of both writers are now lost, we must content ourselves with Varro's own assertion in Cicero, that he imitated Menippus without translating him: the probability, however, is in favour of the superiority of Varro. Menippus indeed, in common with the Sillographers, seems to have introduced much more parody than even the earliest Roman satirists, if his works did not wholly consist of it. In the absence of better information, the "Μένιππος, ἢ νεκρομαντεία" of Lucian may be consulted, where his style is caricatured. The satires of Varro, of which the names are preserved, amount to one hundred and thirty-seven; but Oehler diminishes this number to ninety-six, considering some of the supposed satires to be referable to other heads. The diversity of their subject matter may be gathered from the following arbitrary selection of titles, comprised under the letter A in Fabricius's alphabetical arrangement. *A*borigines, περὶ ἀνθρώπων φύσεως. *De Admirandis, vel Gallus Fundanius. Agatho. Age modò. 'Αὐεὶ Λιβύη, vel περὶ αἰρέσεων. Ajax stramentitius. "Ἄλλος οὗτος Ἑρακλῆς. "Ἄμμον μετρεῖς, περὶ φιλαργυρίας. Andabatae. Anthropolis, περὶ γενεθλιακῆς. Περὶ ἀρχῆς, vel Marcopolis. Περὶ ἀρχαιρέσεων, vel Serranus. Περὶ ἀρετῆς κτήσεος, vel Trihodites. Περὶ ἀφροδισίων, vel vinalia. Armorum judicium. Περὶ ἀρρηνότητος, vel Triphallus. Autumedus, vel Mæonius.* Dacier, in his Essay on the Roman Satires, has collected a few fragments cited by ancient authors from the Satires of Varro. But the most complete collection is that of Oehler (Quedlingb. and Leipz. 1844). The best judgment to be formed of their nature, at the present day, may be obtained from the extant Varronian Satire of Petronius, the Ἀποκοκύνωσις of Seneca, and the *Cæsares* and *Μισοπῶγων* of the Emperor Julian. They seem to have embraced subjects of the most diverse description, political and literary, as well as philosophical, treated in a *satirical* vein, in the most modern sense of the word; humorous, however, rather than sarcastic, though not devoid of sarcasm. They were of the most miscellaneous character in every respect; and blended prose with verse of various metre.

There can be no doubt that literature has sustained a severe loss in the Menippean Satires; whatever may have been their merit, they must have been invaluable as illustrations of contemporary life. But the only fragments which exhibit connexion impress us with a highly favourable estimate of Varro's poetical powers. We subjoin two—the first from the "Marcipor," the other from the "Prometheus Liber:"

I.

Repente noctis circiter meridie,
 Quum pictus aër fervidis latè ignibus
 Cœli chorean astricen ostenderet

* * * *

Nubes aquali frigido velo leves
 Cœli cavernas aureas subduxerant,
 Aquam vomentes inferam mortalibus.

* * * *

Ventique frigido se ab axe eruperant
 Phrenetici Septemtrionum filii,
 Secum ferentes tegulas, ramos, syros.

* * * *

At nos caduci, naufragi, ut ciconiæ,
 Quarum bipennis fulminis plumas vapor
 Perussit, altè mœsti in terram cecidimus.

Although these fragments are found separately, we agree with Oehler in considering them connected portions, and shall translate them accordingly.

All suddenly, about the noon of night,
 When far the sky, bedropt with fervid fires,
 Displayed the starry firmamental dance,
 The racking clouds, with cold and watery veil,
 Closed up the golden hollows of the heaven,
 Spouting on mortals Stygian¹ cataracts.
 The winds, the frantic offspring of the North,
 Burst from the frozen pole, and swept along
 Tiles, boughs, and hurricanes of whelming dust.²
 But we, poor trembling shipwrecked men, like storks
 Whose wings the double-pinioned thunder-bolt
 Hath scorched, fell prone in terror on the ground.

II.

Sum ut supernus cortex, aut cacumina
 Morientum in querqueto arborum aritudine.

* * * *

Atque exsanguibus³ dolore evirescat⁴ colos.

* * * *

Mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens
 Scytharum inhospitalis campos Vastitas.

* * * *

Levis mens nunquam somnurnas imagines
 Adfatur, non umbrantur somno pupulæ.

I am become like outer bark, or tops
 Of oaks, that in the forest die with drought;
 My blood is drained; my colour wan with anguish;

¹ So we prefer rendering *inferas* to Oehler's frigid interpretation, "*Infera aqua est aqua ex imбри caduca—herabspeierend das Wasser auf die Sterblichen.*"

² *Syros*, according to Nonius, *brooms*, an impossible interpretation; but the word itself is most probably corrupt. We have considered it as bearing affinity to *συρμὸς*, or *συρφερός*—"Sweeping whirlwinds."

³ Probably *exsanguis*, as Scaliger; sense and metre requiring it.

⁴ *Evirescit*?

Varro.

No mortal hears me; only Desolation,
That dwells abroad on Scythia's houseless plains.
My spirit n'er parleys with sleep-gender'd forms;
No shade of slumber rests upon my eyelids.

With the exception of Varro, history furnishes us with the name of no eminent satirist between the times of Lucilius and Horace. Publius Terentius Varro of Atax is mentioned by Horace¹ as having attempted satire unsuccessfully, in common with "certain others." These were, perhaps, Sævius Nicanor, mentioned by Suetonius as the author of a satire; Lenæus, the freedman of Pompey the Great, who satirized the historian Sallust; and Valerius Cato, author of a piece called *Indignatio*, on the subject of the loss of his patrimony by the soldiers of Sylla, and some amatory poems, of which Lydia and Diana were the inspiring muses.²

Valerius
Cato.—*Diræ*.

Cato appears to have enjoyed some reputation as a poet; but his name is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary and undue interest excited among scholars by a work attributed to him by Joseph Scaliger, but in the MSS. ascribed to Virgil. The poem is intitled *Diræ*; it is a fierce denunciation of parties who have despoiled the writer of his property (the case of Valerius as well as of Virgil³), and concludes with a lament for the loss of a beloved Lydia. These circumstances, however, are the only evidence in favour of Cato's authorship. The *Indignatio*, with which some suppose the *Diræ* identical, was, very probably, no poem. Suetonius calls it "*libellus*;" and almost immediately adds, "*scripsit præter grammaticos libellos, etiam poemata*." Jacobs regards the *Diræ* as two fragments of distinct poems; to the former of which alone the title properly belongs; the latter was, he conceives, probably intitled *Lydia*. The University of Jena thought the question of sufficient importance to propound an inquiry into the origin, integrity, and period of the poem, as the subject for a prize. Much learning has been expended in the investigation, but to very little purpose, whether we regard the claims of the poem, or the light which has been thrown on it. Hermann has satisfactorily shown that there is very slight internal evidence for attributing any part of it to Valerius Cato. But indeed the subject, except for the exaggerated importance given to it by the labours of the learned, would scarcely merit notice in these pages.⁴

Epopœia—

We shall now return to Nævius, whose dramatic productions we have already noticed, in order to trace the progress of the Latin Epopœia. Whatever the ingenuity and enthusiasm of some adventurous modern critics may have conjectured, there is every reason to believe that this author was the first who composed a regular

¹ Horace, i. Sat. x. 46.² Suet. de Ill. Gram. v., xi. et xv.³ Ibid. xi.⁴ See Hermann's *Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur class. Litt. und Alterthumsk.* vi., where the subject is abundantly yet compendiously discussed.

epic in Latin. Nævius patriotically neglected the brilliant fictions and luxurious imagery of Greece, to sing in austerer strains the triumphs of Duilius, and the sufferings of Regulus. His poem on the first Punic war, in which he served,—a poem of which very inconsiderable fragments remain, was divided into seven books by C. Octavius Lampadio, the grammarian, as we learn from Suetonius. Cicero compares this work to the sculptures of Myron, not exact, but pleasing, and even beautiful; and accuses Ennius of plagiarising from it in his *Annales*: and even Virgil himself has not disdained to have recourse to the imagery of Nævius, as is observed by Macrobius, who informs us that the latter poet describes the Trojans tost in a storm; Venus complaining to Jupiter thereon, and Jupiter consoling his daughter with the hope of future glories; all which circumstances are narrated in the first *Æneid*. It is to Nævius, perhaps, that we are indebted for the anti-Punic spirit of the latter poem; a spirit which must have considerably died out of the national mind in the days of Virgil, but which, in those of Nævius, was the popular passion.

The metre used by Nævius was that called the Saturnian. The name is supposed to be derived from Saturnus, and to be identical with Italian, Italy being called *Saturnia tellus*. But this metre is admitted to be of Greek extraction by Terentianus Maurus, and is proved to be of Greek usage by Bentley.¹ It appears, indeed, to have been invented by Archilochus. Notwithstanding, Mr. Macaulay inclines to think the coincidence may be fortuitous, and gives some curious instances in proof that the Saturnian measure is the natural versification of a rude and simple period in all languages. His old German and English specimens are as perfect as the different principles of accentual and temporal versification allow; his Spanish examples are only approximations. At the same time, he admits that the metre may have been early introduced into Latium from some of the Greek cities of Italy.² It was, at all events, naturalised among the Romans from a very early period.

The nearest metrical definition of this famous verse is an iambic hephthemimer, followed by a trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic. The latter portion of the verse was preserved with tolerable uniformity. The former ordinarily admitted every foot admissible into any part of an iambic verse; but we have no means of inquiring minutely into the laws of a metre of which few examples are preserved; laws which, it is evident, were extremely lax. So lawless, indeed, was the construction of the Saturnian verse, that Attilius Fortunatianus asserted that he scarcely knew what verses of Nævius to select as a specimen.³ “*Nostri antiqui* (says he), *usi sunt eo, non observatâ lege, nec uno genere custodito inter se versûs; sed, præterquam quòd*

Saturnian measure.

¹ Diss. on Epist. of Phalaris. xi.

² Pref. to Lays of Anc. Rome.

³ De Doctr. Metr. xxvi.

durissimos fecerunt, etiam alios breviores, alios longiores inseruerunt, ut via incenerim apud Nævium quos pro exemplo ponerem."

The great name of Niebuhr seems here to challenge a notice, which a theory scarcely worthy of it would not otherwise have claimed at our hands. Contrary to the universal testimony of antiquity,¹ he makes the Saturnian verse altogether accentual, while yet his accent does not correspond to the long syllable, or even the arsis, of the true Saturnian verse. "The prevailing character of the Saturnian verse," he observes, "is that it consists of a fixed number of feet of three syllables each. The number of feet is generally four, and they are either bacchics or cretics, alternating with spondees. Sometimes the cretics predominate, and sometimes the bacchics; when the verses are kept pure, the movement is very beautiful; but *they are generally so much mixed that it is difficult to discern them.* This ancient Roman metre occurs throughout in Roman poetry down to the seventh century [*ab urbe cond.*]. I have collected a large number of examples of it, and discovered a chapter of an ancient grammarian with most beautiful fragments, especially from Nævius. I shall publish this important treatise on the Saturnian verse; for the grammarian really understood its nature."²

It is no disrespect to the memory of the great man whose words we have given, to say that he was ardent and imaginative; and he certainly seems, in this instance, to have been diverted by these dispositions from that plain track which they sometimes enabled him to pursue with greater success than might have attended a colder temperament. It is a strong presumption against his theory that it will not quadrate with those undoubted Saturnian verses which antiquity has transmitted to us; that the examples scattered throughout his works are so unlike verses, that any chapter of Livy might with equal effect be similarly distributed; that the epitaphs of the Scipios, whereon, as we have seen, his testimony is self-contradictory, are included in the number of examples;³ and

¹ We do not except even Servius (ad Virg. Georg. ii. 385): "*Carminibus Saturnio metro compositis, quod ad rhythmum solum vulgares componere consueverunt.*" For his text shows that he is speaking of rude extemporaneous effusions; and the very term *vulgares* appears to distinguish their authors from such writers as Nævius. But it may serve to clear up some part of the confusion in which the subject is involved. It is probable that the term *Saturnius*, which was used for *old-fashioned*, may have often been employed to designate the rude rhythmical verses of barbarous times, quite independently of its more restricted and artificial acceptation.

² Lectures on Hist. of Rom. i. Schmitz's transl. Though Niebuhr uses the terms of Greek prosody, we must understand him to substitute the acute accent for the long syllable.

³ The epitaph on C. Lucius Scipio is thus scanned by Niebuhr:

Cornéliu' Lúciu' Scípío Barbátus
Gnáivo prognáu,' fortis vír sapiénsque, &c.

Whereas the second line (if we must so call it) is *Onaiwod patre prognatus, &c.*

that none of his instances have the smallest affinity with those verses which antiquity has preserved to us as unquestionably Saturnian. The grammarian of whom he speaks is Charisius. Niebuhr took a copy of a treatise *De Versu Saturnio*, ascribed to that writer, from a MS. in the Bourbon Museum at Naples. This copy is supposed to have perished in a fire which took place in Niebuhr's house some short time before his death. But a copy has been since taken by Müller, which has been edited with a facsimile by Prorektor Gieseler, of Göttingen. From his pamphlet¹ we glean the following particulars:—1. The MS. contains several treatises beside that of Charisius, and several of these are interposed between the undoubted works of Charisius and the chapter in question, which is even headed, *apparently in the same hand*—"Liber s'cti Columbani." True it is, that these words may indicate the monastery to which the book belonged, not its author; still, however, there is no evidence that the treatise is the work of Charisius. 2. The treatise contains only two pages, which originally consisted of four columns; but the two outer columns have perished; consequently the whole is but a fragment. The hand is exceedingly bad, the abbreviations numerous, and the text, as set forth by Gieseler, confessedly and palpably corrupt; although he perhaps has made it out with all the probability the case admits. 3. The "beautiful fragments" amount to three, which we append, that our readers may see the foundation on which Niebuhr's ambitious structure reposes. None are from Nævius; the first is evidently from *Lævius*, who is often confounded with him. *Lævius*, however, was a much later poet, about 650 u.c., author of pieces called *Erotopægniôn* [liber] and *Centauri*; and, being distinctly an imitator of the Greeks, was very unlikely to have employed the Saturnian verse at all, which doubtless, like others of the same school, he held in contempt. The name of the poet is indeed lost, except the two first letters, which are indisputably *Le*; and the quotation, specifying the *Erotopægniôn*, leaves no doubt of the author. Thus it stands in Gieseler's edition—"Venus, amoris altrix, genetrix cupiditatis, in quam diem plenum hilarulum præpundere fas est opitulæ tuæ ac ministræ. Tametsi neutiquam quid foret ex pavida gravi dura fera asperaque famula potui de domino accipere superbo." In the MS. we have *q'* for *quam*, *p'pundere* for *præpundere* (whatever that may mean), *oppetulæ* clearly for *opitulæ*. The *tametsi neutiquam* of Gieseler is no less clearly *tam et sine uti quā* in the MS.; the *gravi* is *gravis*; the *famula* is *famultas*; the *de domino* is *dominio*. The word *fas* Gieseler thinks may as well be *sese*; to which we add, we think it may as well be anything else. The following two fragments are from Attius:—

¹ Academiæ Georgiæ Augustæ Prorektor J. C. L. Gieseler, D. cum senatu successorem in summo magistratu academico Frider. Bergmann, D. civibus suis honoris et officii causâ commendat.—Göttingæ, 1841.

I. "Quid istoc gnata unicli est demum . . cel br prome . . . to expete . . timida me tecto excies." II. "Sed jam Amphilochem huc vadere cerno et nobis datur bona pausa loquendi in tempus obviam." Such are the examples on which a new theory of the Saturnian verse, in direct opposition to the testimony of all antiquity, is to be constructed! 4. Finally, the theory itself is thus propounded in Gieseler's version:—"Sunt item Saturnii quinum denum et senum denum pedum, in quibus similiter novum genus pedum est et ipsum ameton. De quibus nihil præcipitur eoque nomen aptius quidem est." Not a very intelligible definition truly! but we give the original form—"St' (or Sl', or Fl') item Saturnii quin' denum e . i . indeni . . . pedum in q'bz similit' novum genus pedum est eipsū ameton" (perhaps) "de qb. n' p'cipit' eoq no'e aptior quidem e'." The *nomen aptius* of Gieseler should be *nomine aptior*. We are not obliged to reconcile any portion of this scrap with rules of grammar—a task too hard for its learned editor himself. It is surely manifest, that on such a foundation it is quite incompetent to raise the theory of an accentual, nonmetrical Saturnian verse, in the poetry of Nævius and regular writers, in the face too of the positive testimony afforded by writers well acquainted with it: and the name of Niebuhr is our only apology for having dwelt on the subject.

A poem, called the *Cyprian Iliad*, has been attributed to Nævius: it was a translation from a poem called τὰ Κύπρια, falsely ascribed to Homer. Hermann,¹ with great probability, imagines that the grammarians, deceived by the resemblance of names, have ascribed to this author a work of Lævius, with whom, as we have seen, Nævius has been confounded by Niebuhr himself. Others attribute this poem to Ninnius Crassus. As this composition was written in hexameters, it is extremely improbable that it was the production of Nævius; there being little doubt that this measure was introduced in regular poetry by Ennius, who first familiarised his countrymen with the epic Muse of Greece. That Ennius was the first who composed Latin hexameters, is no where, indeed, expressly stated; but Lucretius intimates that he had made some important improvements in Latin poetry:—

————— Qui primus amœno
Detulit ex Helicone perennem fronde coronam,
Per gentes Italas hominum quæ clara clueret.²

Hermann, however, relies more on the derision which Ennius cast upon the Saturnian verses, and contends that this alone is a sufficient proof that he was the original importer of the hexameter. Although the logic of the philologist in this conclusion is scarcely equal to his criticism, there is every reason to believe that the

¹ Ap. Gesner, *Thes. Ling. Lat. voc. Saturnius*.

² Lucret. i. 18.

hexameter was not used before the time of Ennius in any composition of extent or importance.

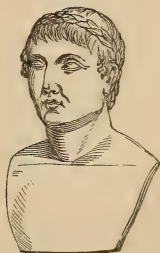
It is possible, however, that, out of regular literature, the hexameter was known to the Romans. The Oracles of Marcius, according to Livy, existed before the battle of Cannæ, that is, not later than the five hundred and thirty-third year of Rome, or, before Ennius completed his eighteenth year. These verses are supposed by some critics to have been written in hexameters, while others contend that their metre was the Saturnian. To us, with all their corruption, they appear to contain indubitable traces of the former measure; but it seems not unlikely that their original form was Greek.

Marcian
Oracles.

The Epopœia, which Nævius had successfully originated, was still more successfully cultivated by Ennius. This illustrious and almost universal poet, to whom we have already had frequent occasion to refer, was born at Rudia, in Calabria, in the five hundred

Ennius.

and fifteenth year of Rome. He was a man of unusual learning and accomplishments. He boasted that he had three hearts; a quaint and enigmatical way of expressing his familiarity with the Greek, Latin, and Oscan languages.¹ Silius Italicus² represents him serving as a centurion under Titus Manlius, in the war which the Roman government carried on against its rebel subjects in Sardinia. In that island he resided till he was brought to Rome by the elder Cato; who, as we observed before, censured the Consul Nobilior for his patronage of the same poet.



Ennius.

Tiraboschi suggests a probable account of this inconsistency of Cato, supposing that he rather honoured Ennius as a warrior than as a poet,³ in which latter character he was patronised by the Consul. Certain it is that his military, no less than his poetical, excellence, has been the theme of commendation; according to Claudian,⁴ he accompanied the elder Africanus in many of his expeditions: but this is inconsistent with what other authors relate of the disposal of his time during the campaigns of that illustrious captain. He was also intimate with Scipio Nasica, and the two Nobiliores, Marcus and Quintus, the former of whom, as we have already seen, he attended in his Ætolian campaign; and the latter procured him the freedom of Rome. Cherished and courted as he had been by the great, he was left, in old age and exhaustion, like the worn out Olympian courser,⁵ to which he compares himself, to poverty and neglect.

¹ Anl. Gell. xvii. 17.

² Pun. xii. 393.

³ Storia della Lett. Ital. part iii. lib. ii. c. 1.

⁴ De Laud. Stil. iii. præf.

⁵ Cic. de Senect. v.

Ennius.

But his genius was of a proud and enduring cast; and in those sensibilities which, in their violation, have so often proved fatal to the poet, he seems to have but slightly participated. An exalted consciousness of the dignity of genius was a possession which neither years nor destitution could take away; and this so far supported him under the miseries of both, that he exulted in his independence on their power. His feelings are strongly portrayed in the epitaph which he composed for himself:

Aspicite, ô cives, senis Ennî imagini' formam.
Hic vestrûm panxit maxima facta patrum.
Nemo me lacrymis decoret, nec funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivu' per ora virûm.

Ho, countrymen! old Ennius' form behold,
Who sang your martial sires' achievements bold.
No tears for me! no dirges at my grave!
I live upon the lips of all the brave.

After his death, which happened u.c. 585, his memory was, it is said, honoured with a marble statue, erected in the family sepulchre of the Scipios.¹

To the severe injury of the literary world, time has spared us only detached fragments of the poems of Ennius, the best collections of which are those made by Columna and Merula, with copious annotations. From them their author appears to have been what Scaliger designates him, a poet of splendid genius; yet, though the veneration which the Roman critics, who called him a second Homer, entertained for this poet, was the most implicit and unqualified, it is probable that much of his popularity among his contemporaries is chiefly referable to the novelty of the wonders which his Muse, opening the exhaustless treasures of Grecian poesy, disclosed. Ennius, however, arrogated to himself the title of Homer, whose soul he feigned to have passed into his own body, after migrating through that of a peacock; which most unpoetical metempsychosis has afforded amusement to Horace and Persius.² Horace, indeed, is bold enough to tell the admirers of the father of Roman poetry, that the truth of his Pythagorean dreams is not always borne out by his productions. Yet it cannot be doubted that the poetry of Ennius was, in general, lofty and dignified, of stern and solemn grandeur, although destitute of polish and ornament. Quintilian has left us a picturesque description of his style, the correctness of which is avouched no less by the testimony of antiquity, and the extant fragments of the poet, than by the judgment of the critic. "We regard Ennius with a kind of adoration, like groves which have acquired sanctity from antiquity,

¹ Cic. pro Arch. Poet. ix. ; Liv. xxxviii. 56 ; Plin. vii. 31.

² Ep. ad Aug. 50, *seqq.*—Sat. vi. 10.

where vast and aged trunks are not so remarkable for beauty as for Ennius. a kind of religious solemnity.”¹ Even in the fastidious age of Augustus, Vitruvius was bold enough to say “All whose minds are imbued with the beauties of literature must have the image of the poet Ennius, like those of the gods, consecrated in their breasts.”² The rules of elegant construction, which critics have compiled from the practice of Virgil and Ovid, were entirely unknown to Ennius, whose hexameters exhibit nothing beyond the bare measure of that verse. The harsh elision of the final *s* is also of frequent occurrence in his extant writings.

Virgil has imitated no author more liberally than Ennius. It would not fall within the nature of this work to quote the several passages; but the reader, who is desirous of knowing how much the “Prince of Roman Poets” borrowed from the elder bard, may consult, in particular, the two first chapters of Macrobius’s sixth book of the *Saturnalia*. The title of Ennius’s great work was *Annales*; it comprised the history of Rome from its foundation to the termination of the Histrian war. The first Punic war was omitted, as Ennius himself affirms, because *others* had written it:—

scripsere ALII rem
Versibu’ quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,
Quùm neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superârat,
Nec dicti studiosus erat;

hence Cicero takes occasion to observe that he seemed unwilling to risk a competition with the bards he so much affected to despise.³ Nævius was certainly pointed at in these verses. The *Annales*, as Suetonius informs us,⁴ were divided into books⁵ by the grammarian Vargunteius, who recited them publicly; a custom which long prevailed in Italy, since we learn from Gellius that there was in his time, at Puteoli, a person who read the verses of Ennius to the public,⁶ and who was called an *Ennianist* (*Ennianista*). The cast which this poem of Ennius gave to the Roman literary and civil character was extremely powerful, and Seneca affirms⁷ that Virgil was compelled to sacrifice his judgment to the prejudices of an “Ennian Public” (*Ennianus populus*), as this author calls the Romans. To make an epic interesting to this people, it was always

¹ *Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoramus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem.*—Lib. x. 1. The Ovidian character, *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*, is as felicitous in matter as in expression.

² *Qui litterarum jucunditatibus instinctas habent mentes non possunt non in suis pectoribus dedicatum habere, sicut deorum, sic Ennii poetæ simulacrum.*—Vitr. ix. præf. 15.

³ Brut. xix.

⁴ De Ill. Gram. ii.

⁵ According to Aulus Gellius, 12, or as other copies, 18; from Pliny (vii. 27) we should infer 16.

⁶ Noct. Att. xviii. 5.

⁷ Apud Aul. Gell. xii. 2.

Ennius.

necessary that it should be national ; and Virgil, with all his art, was yet obliged to connect his poem with the Roman fortunes. Even Ovid, in a work not altogether pretending to the flights of the *Epopœia*, felt the necessity of conciliating his readers by enlarging on the mythological and historical glories of the Empire. The influence and popularity of Ennius, therefore, long survived his diction ; and poets who contemned its rudeness and want of modulation were yet compelled, by the strength of popular opinion, to reverence and emulate the grandeur of his genius, and, in their journey to the temple of Fame, to indulge in very limited excursions from the track of his steps.

The fragments of the *Annals* of Ennius are so numerous, and, in general, so well known, that it would be difficult to select passages, and almost superfluous, to all purposes of illustration, to quote them. There is, however, a singularly beautiful fragment of his poem on the exploits of Scipio, preserved by Macrobius,¹ which is less known, and which we shall here adduce :

——— Mundus cœli vastus constitit silentio,
Et Neptunus sævus undeis aspereis pausam dedit ;
Sol equeis iter repressit unguleis volantibus ;
Constitère amnes perennes : arbores vento vacant.

——— the universe of heaven stood in silence motionless ;
Stern Neptunus for a season bade the roughening billows pause ;
And the sun refrained the rushing of his pinion-footed steeds ;
Paused the ever-flowing rivers ; not a breath is on the boughs.

Columna supposes that this poem was written in hexameters, except the *procœmium* or introduction ; as the other few fragments extant are in that measure. Horace speaks in terms of high commendation of the *Scipio* :²

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus ; non celeres fugæ,
Rejectæque retrorsùm Hannibalis minæ ;
Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus qui domitâ nomen ab Africâ
Lucratus rediit, clarîus indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.

Not marbles traced with public grief,
Whereby to the departed chief
Life is restored : not foes o'erthrown,
And Hannibal's fierce threat hurled down ;
Not Carthage proud in ashes laid,
More brightly hath his praise displayed
Who bore his vanquished Afric's name,—
Than the Calabrian's strain of fame.

¹ Sat. vi. 4.² iv. Od. 8.

The example of Ennius was followed by Hostius, who composed a poem called *Annales*; and another on the Histrian war. The title *Annales* was a favourite with Roman poets. It was adopted by Aulus Furius, of Antium, and Volusius, the butt of Catullus.

Ennius was also a didactic poet, although so few fragments of his essays in this way are extant, that it is impossible to pronounce on their merits. One of his poems was called *Phagetica*, or *Hedypathia*—a translation or adaptation from Arcestratus—and was a treatise on eatables. He wrote also epigrams, and poems called *Protrepticus*, *Præcepta* (possibly two titles of the same work), *Asotus*, *Sotadicus* (to which also the same observation will apply), and some works in prose. But some of the above titles, if not all, may possibly belong to his Satires. He composed also a poem called *Euhemerus*, a free criticism of the Greek mythology. But the noblest strain of his didactic muse was his translation of Epicharmus, *On the Nature of Things*; a poem which, apparently, excited the emulation of Lucretius, whose work was destined to obscure its fame.

Titus Lucretius Carus was born probably at Rome, U. C. 659, and died at the age of forty-three, on the day when Virgil assumed the *toga virilis*; ¹ and, as some affirm, by his own hand. ² As his life

connects the periods, so his poem forms the link between the old and new schools of Latin heroics (we use the word as regards the versification), between Ennius on the one hand, and the Augustan poets on the other. It differs, indeed, from the didactic poetry of Hesiod and Virgil, as it is occupied rather in stating and reasoning on philosophical facts, than in delivering practical precepts. Still, it is strictly didactic, according to the derivation of the term. The philosophy of Lucretius, as such, it would be irrelevant here to discuss; yet we may remark that its tendency was to

suppress, rather than to kindle, the spirit of poetry. The doctrine which removed man from all connexion with a higher state; which represented him, by nature, scarcely superior to the brute, and degraded by superstition; which regarded with the severest intolerance the most beautiful creations of fancy, and which stigmatised, as unmanly and unphilosophical, some of the most amiable virtues of the



Lucretius.

¹ Donat. in Vit. Virgil. ii. But the authority of Donatus is valueless, and Heyne even regards the passage as an interpolation.

² Hieronym. Chron. Euseb.

Lucretius.

human breast, could scarcely be expected to develope itself successfully in poetry. Yet these disadvantages Lucretius completely overcame. His poetical studies at Athens, and a discriminating judgment, united, as is rarely the case, with a strong poetical enthusiasm, which the cold and selfish theories of Epicurus, so far from suppressing, only enlisted in their active service, enabled him to perform his task. The object of Lucretius appears to have been two-fold; to introduce to his countrymen in the most alluring colours what he conceived to be the important, though repulsive, dogmata of Epicurus; and to polish and enrich the Latin language; for which latter design his extensive acquaintance with the Greek writers, and the profound reverence with which he studied them, rendered him eminently qualified. With this view he adopted an antiquated style, as Spenser did at an analogous period of our own poetical history; judging, perhaps, that the language, taken in its youth, would be more flexible, and more susceptible of the character with which he wished to impress it, than in its nearer advance to maturity. On this account, although the harmony of the Latin hexameter is far from perfection in the lines of Lucretius, the language of his poem is elaborately poetical. He complains, indeed, of the poverty of his native tongue, and the difficulty of applying it to the illustration of a subject so new to his readers as the speculations of the Greek philosophy:

Peculiarity
of his style.

Nec me animi fallit, Graiorum obscura reperta
Difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse,
Multa novis verbis præsertim quùm sit agendum;
Propter egestatem linguæ, et rerum novitatem.

But he has completely mastered this difficulty, and almost removed it from subsequent writers, by enriching the language in a degree perhaps wholly unparalleled in the history of Latin poetry. The cold and stiff commendation of Quintilian, "elegans in suâ materiâ,"¹ will be readily exchanged by scholars for the generous eulogium of Ovid:

"Carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terras quùm dabit una dies."²

Yet the term "difficilis," which the critic applies to Lucretius, is justified by his archaisms, and by the difficulties of his philosophy, which appear, by Cicero's account, completely to have overwhelmed Sallustius, the writer of the *Empedoclea*.³ According to St. Jerome,⁴ the noble poem of Lucretius was composed during the intervals of an insanity, produced by drinking a philter.

¹ x. l.

² Amor. i. 15.

³ Virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris: hominem non putabo.—Cic. ad Quint. Frat. ii. 11. Orelli supposes this Sallustius to be Cnæus, the client of Cicero.

⁴ Chron. Euseb.

Of the poetry of Cicero, who followed Lucretius in his didactic Cicero. career, and who, if we are to believe the same author, corrected his poem,¹ it is usual to speak in terms of disparagement. It is, however, to be recollected that the *Phænomena* and *Prognostica* are translations, and from no very poetical writer. They were written by Cicero when very young,² although it is true that they were approved by him in his riper years. They afford a great contrast both to the inartificial versification and poetic fire of his contemporary, Lucretius. But the poetic powers of Cicero are to be best determined from the fragments of his historical poems *De Consulatu*, and *De Temporibus suis*; and these certainly do not entitle him to the highest honours of the lyre. It is, however, extremely unfair to cite, as a specimen of his general ability, that well-known line from a poem on the events of his own time :



Cicero.

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam !

As well might we judge the genius of Ennius from a similar jingle :

O Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti.

Voltaire has fallen into the opposite extreme;³ and, delighted with some verses of Cicero's *Marius*, which unquestionably are highly spirited, pronounces Cicero at once "one of the first poets of his age," and balances him against Lucretius; asserting that it was totally impossible for him to have been the author of the obnoxious verse above quoted. The following is the passage of the *Marius* alluded to:—

Hic Jovis altisoni subitò pennata satelles,
Arboris e trunco, serpentis saucia morsu,
Ipsa feris subigit transfigens unguibus anguem
Semianimum, et variâ graviter cervice micantem ;
Quem se interquentem lanians, rostroque cruentans,
Jam satiata animos, jam duros ulta dolores,
Abjicit efflantem, et laceratum affligit in undas,
Seque obitu à Solis nitidos convertit ad ortus.

¹ Bernhardt, after Lachmann, supposes (*Gesch. der Röm. Lit. Anm. 398*) Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator, to be meant. This opinion is derived from an expression in a letter from the latter, but it rests on a very slender foundation: *Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt non multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis.*—Cic. ad Quinct. Frat. ii. 11.

² "*Admodum adolescentulo.*"—Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 14.

³ Pref. à la Trag. de Catilina.

Cicero.

The plumed attendant of high-thundering Jove,
 Stung by a serpent, rested on a tree,
 And his fierce talons through his torturer drove;
 Who writhes his spotted neck in agony,
 Struggling, though mangled and half-dead; but he,
 The imperial bird, fares on his vengeful way;
 Rends with red beak his coiling enemy,
 Then to the waves the torn and panting prey
 Flings forth, and from the west soars to the rising day.

Other poems of Cicero are *Pontius Glaucus*, mentioned by Plutarch,¹ *Halcyone*, *Uxorius*, *Nilus*, *Tamelastis*, of which we know only the names; it being doubtful whether even these are correctly reported. The *Limon* (Λειμών) appears to have been a book of epigrams.

The universal neglect or contempt with which the poetry of Cicero was treated by contemporary and subsequent readers of Latin literature, is very remarkable. It was alike despised by the philarchaic school, and by the idolaters of Greek perfection: nor could this be the result of political prejudices, as all parties concurred in the most unqualified admiration of his speeches and philosophical writings, which as models of prose are unsurpassed.² Plutarch indeed speaks of him as the "best poet of the Romans" in his time, but soon obscured by others of higher merit.³ But if the poetical excellence of Cicero had been eminent, he would not have been more obscured than Lucretius or Catullus. Nay, it may well seem that the poetry must have been heavy which even the name of such a writer could not keep afloat. The brother of Cicero, Quintus Tullius, who wrote a poem on the Zodiac, seems to have been a most prolific writer; for his brother *compliments* him on having despatched four tragedies in sixteen days.⁴ The *Electra*, the *Troas*, and the *Erigone*, are mentioned at the same time: whether these were included in the four, it is not possible to say.

Catullus.

Caius (or Quintus) Valerius Catullus was born, according to the Eusebian Chronicle, at Verona, u. c. 667. Of his life few particulars are known. He seems to have loved privacy, and lived for the most part at his villa at Sirmio, enjoying the society of literary friends. He visited Bithynia in company with his brother, whose early loss he passionately deplores. His Lesbia, according to Apuleius,⁵ was a real person, whose name was Clodia; she would

¹ Vit. Ciceronis, ii.

² A very remarkable instance of this occurs in Juvenal (Sat. x. 124):

————— *Ridenda* poemata malo,
 Quam te, conspicuæ *divina* Philippica famæ,
 Volveris a primo quæ proxima.

See also L. Seneca de Irâ, iii. 37. M. Seneca Declam. iii. Dial. de Orat. 21.

³ In Vita, ii.

⁴ Ep. ad Quinct. iii. 6.

⁵ Apol. x. See Ov. Trist. II. 428.

have little deserved the affection of a purer poet than Catullus, and by him she was eventually renounced. According to the Eusebian Chronicle he died at the age of thirty years; which is manifestly untrue, if the date of his birth be correct; for he alludes to the consulship of Vatinius,¹ and must therefore have lived at least ten years longer. Unlike Lucretius, his contemporary, he wrote in the style of his own day; and, by the excellence, no less than the diversity of his compositions, may claim honourable competition with most subsequent poets. In management of the hexameter, and in force of description, his *Peleus and Thetis* may be compared with the happiest efforts of Virgil; he bewails his brother with the elegance of Ovid and the tenderness of Tibullus; and he has touched the lyre of Sappho with a hand only inferior to that of the great Venusian. In every branch of poetical literature in which the Augustan age stood conspicuous Catullus excelled; and, had he been assumed as a model by all the poets of that brilliant period, a greater resemblance to his excellences could scarcely have been expected than that which is actually found in the Augustan writers.



Catullus.

The poems of Catullus have been divided into lyric, elegiac, and epigrammatic; an arrangement convenient from its generality, but to which all his poems cannot be with strictness reduced. He appears to have been the earliest lyric poet of Latium, although Horace claims that honour for himself. Horace certainly was not ignorant of the writings of Catullus, as he has mentioned, and, perhaps, has imitated him;² and he must therefore have known that the lyric

¹ Carm. 52.

² It is scarcely possible that all the following resemblances can be referable to chance:—

Dianam pueri integri
Puellæque canamus.—*Catull.* x. 22.

Dianam teneræ dicite virgines;
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium.—*Hor.* lib. i. Od. 21.

Quo tunc et tellus, atque horrida contremuerunt
Æquora, concussitque micantia sidera mundus.

Catull. Pel. et Thet.

Quo bruta tellus, quo vaga flumina,
Quo Styx, et invisi horrida Tænari
Sedes, Atlanteusque finis
Concutitur.—*Hor.* lib. i. Od. 34.

Soles occidere et redire possunt;

Catullus.

measures of Greece had been previously introduced. The meaning of Horace, probably, is that he himself introduced *some* new measures from the Greeks. The Sapphic measure of Catullus is, in one instance, less strict than that of Horace; beginning, as sometimes in the Greek, with a ditrochee instead of a second epitrite: if the verse,

Otium Catulle, tibi molestum est,

be his, which most probably it is not. Certain it is that it has no natural connexion with the poem of which it is usually considered part. The ode is a most spirited and beautiful translation of part of an exquisite poem of Sappho, preserved to us by Longinus. In all probability, the remainder of the poem, either not being translated, or the translation having been lost, has been thus awkwardly supplied by another hand; or perhaps it is only a monkish gloss, which has, in frequent transcription, crept into the text. The Glyconian verse was used, probably for the first time in Latin, by Catullus, in his *Carmen Sæculare*, and in his *Epithalamium* of Manlius and Julia.

In his Elegiac Poems, Catullus is very different from Tibullus and Propertius, and is still more removed from Ovid. The niceties of the Latin pentameter, particularly its termination with a dissyllable, had been observed by previous writers. Catullus has disregarded their example, and has copied strictly from the Greeks. Of this species of composition Horace observes,

Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primùm,
Post, etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos :¹

and the Elegies of Catullus are of both descriptions. The most considerable part, however, of his writings is the Epigrammatic division; not in talent, but in number. There is one, and it is the highest, beauty of the Greek Epigram, which the Latin writers have never completely attained, and which is best described by a word taken from the language in which alone this species of poetry has been successfully cultivated,—ἀφελεια, a word which our *simplicity* but inadequately renders. The distinction which has been luminously drawn between Catullus and Martial by Vavasour is applicable

Nobis, quùm semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.—*Catull.* v.

Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia Lunæ;
Nos, ubi decidimus
Quo pius Æneas, quo Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.—*Hor.* lib. iv. Od. 6.

Compare also Catull. xi. with Hor. lib. ii. Od. 6.

¹ De Art. Poët. 75.

to the Greek and Roman Epigrammatists severally.¹ "*Catullum quidem, puro ac simplici candore, et nativâ quâdam minimèque adscitâ excellere venustate formæ, quæ accedat quam proximè ad Græcos: Martialem acumine, quod proprium Latinorum, et peculiare tunc fieri cæpit, valere; adeoque Catullum toto corpore Epigrammatis esse conspicuum, Martialem clausulâ præcipuè atque ultimo fine, in quo relinquat cum delectatione aculeum spectari.*" We cannot agree, however, with this author's "*quam proximè.*" It is true that Catullus is much less pointed in his epigrams than Martial; yet their style is very different from that of the best Greek epigrams. The address to the Peninsula of Sirmio is extremely beautiful and simple; yet its beauty and simplicity are not those of the Greek Epigram. A few Greek Epigrams attempt point; and to these the lighter poetry of Catullus has some resemblance.

Comparison
of Catullus
with Martial.

The Epigram was cultivated at an early period of the poetical history of Latium: Ennius, Plautus, Nævius, Pacuvius, all composed epigrams on themselves, which approximate much nearer to the Greek than any by Catullus. Those of Ennius and Plautus, which we have cited above, are formed, in metre as well as style, on the legitimate Greek model; but even in these there is an antithesis between "*funera*" and "*vivus*," "*numeri*" and "*in-numeri*," not strictly in the spirit of the epigrammatic ἀφελεια. The Epitaph of Pacuvius has more of this latter quality, although his iambs are not conformed to the strict canons of the Greeks:—

Adolescens, si properas, hoc te saxum rogat
Uti se adspicias: deinde, quod scriptum est legas.
Hic sunt Poetæ Pacuviei Marcei sita
Ossa. Hoc volebam nescius ne esses. Vale.

Young man, although thou be in haste, this stone
Invites thy gaze to what is writ thereon.
Beneath, the bard Pacuvius' relics dwell.
This I would have thee know. Enough. Farewell.

The nearest approaches to the Greek were probably made by Varro, in the epigrams which he placed under the representations of his seven hundred worthies in the *Hebdomades*;² and by Pomponius

¹ Vav. de Lud. Dict.

² It is impossible to notice this extraordinary work of an extraordinary man, without adverting to the words of Pliny. ". . . M. Varro, benignissimo invento, insertis voluminum suorum fecunditati non nominibus tantum pcc illustrium, sed et aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercidere figuras, aut vetustatem ævi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam diis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut præ-sentes esse ubique et claudi possent." What was the nature of this invention has been much disputed; but the passage is one of the most singular testimonies of antiquity to one of its most remarkable ornaments.

Catullus.

Atticus, in a similar work, intituled *Imagines*, containing the portraits of eminent Romans.

When the number of Latin epigrammatists is considered whose names have been preserved to us, it is astonishing that more abundant materials for a Latin Anthology should not exist.¹ The names of epigrammatists whose extant works have been collected may be found in Fabricius, (*Biblioth. Lat. lib. iv. c. l. 6.*) The list embraces many of the most illustrious characters of their respective ages. The following are the most celebrated, as epigrammatists chiefly: Q. Catulus, Porcius Licinius, Val. Æditiuus, Q. Cornificius, C. Helvius Cinna, M. Furius Bibaculus, C. Ticia, Laureia Tullius, and C. Licinius Calvus. The last poet and Catullus were decidedly the favourites of Rome, as sufficiently appears through Horace's contemptuous sneer—

Simius iste,
Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum : 2

and from a variety of passages in which their names are associated.³ Calvus wrote elegiac amatory verses; ⁴ and his epigrams, which did not spare the heads of either faction of his day, were of the most animated and caustic character, in both which respects he resembled Catullus, who was indeed his friend and admirer, if the 48th poem was, as is commonly supposed, addressed to him. A curious passage of Aulus Gellius affords some explanation of the paucity of early epigrams now extant. In the ninth chapter of the 19th book of his *Noctes Atticæ*, he introduces some Greeks speaking on

¹ That of Burmann (Amst. 1759 and 1773) contains 1346 poems; but of these some are not properly epigrams; some are fragments of longer poems; some are not genuine; some not classical. The arrangement is that of the subjects. Meyer's Anthology (Leipz. 1835) contains 1704 poems; but of these 535 only are of unquestionable antiquity, and of this number are 31 not in Burmann's collection. The arrangement is chronological.

² I. Sat. x. 18.

³ *Ista meis fiet notissima forma libellis;*
Calve, tuâ veniâ; pace, Catulle, tuâ.—*Propert.* ii. 25, 3.

Obvius huic venias, hederâ juvenilia cinctus
Tempora, cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo.—*Ovid.* Amor. iii. 9, 61.

Facit versus, quales Catullus meus, aut Calvus.—*Plin.* i. Epist. 16.

The same author (iv. Epist. 27) quotes the following passage from Sentius Augurinus:

Canto carmina versibus minutis,
His, olim quibus et meus Catullus
Et Calvus.

Lastly, Ovid, having just mentioned Catullus (ii. Trist. 431), adds,

Par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi.

⁴ *Io* and *Epithalamium* were titles of two of his poems.

the subject of Greek and Latin epigrams, and inquiring, "*ecquis nostrorum [Latinorum] Poetarum tam fluentes carminum delicias fecisset?*" to which question they make their own reply: "*nisi Catullus, fortè, pauca, et Calvus itidem, pauca. Nam Nævius implicata, et Hortensius invenusta, et Cinna illepada, et Memmius dura, ac deinceps omnes rudia fecerunt atque absona.*" This is, doubtless, meant to be spoken in the spirit of Greek criticism; probably, however, it affords the most satisfactory explanation of the disappearance of these numerous authors. Antonius Julianus, to whom these insulting observations were addressed, was not so easily to be put down, and begged permission to sing to them some epigrams of Ædituus, Porcius Licinius, and Quintus Catulus. The character which Gellius gives of these poems will not be readily confirmed by scholars: "*mundius, venustius, limatiùs, pressius, Græcum Latinumve nihil quicquam reperiri puto.*" We shall subjoin the epigrams, in order that our readers may have an opportunity of estimating what were, confessedly, the best efforts of the most celebrated Roman epigrammatists. The first is from Ædituus:—

Dicere quàm conor curam tibi, Pamphila, cordis,
 Quid mi abs te quæram? verba labris abeunt.
 Per pectus miserum manat subito mihi sudor:
 Si tacitus, subidus, duplo ideò pereò.

The following verses of the same author are called by Gellius "*non herclè minùs dulces quam priores:*"—

Quid faculam præfers, Phileros, quâ nil opu' nobis?
 Ibimus. Hic lucet pectore flamma satis.
 Istam non potis est vis sæva extinguere venti,
 Aut imber cælo candidu' præcipitans.
 At, contrà, hunc ignem Veneris, si non Venus ipsa,
 Nulla est quæ possit vis alia opprimere.

LICINIUS.

Custodes ovium teneræque propaginis agnûm,
 Quæritis ignem? ite huc; quæritis? ignis homo est.
 Si digito attigero, incendam sylvam simul omnem.
 Omne pecus flamma est; omnia quæ video.

CATULUS.

Anfugit mî animus, credo; ut solet; ad Theotimum
 Devenit. Sic est, perfugium illud habet.
 Quid si non interdixem, ne illuc fugitivum
 Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis ejiceret?
 Ibimu' quæsitum. Verum ne ipsi teneamur,
 Formido. Quid agam? da, Venu', consilium.

Between such productions as these and the poems of Catullus, it is unnecessary to indicate the difference. They do not merit translation; and the last epigram was unfortunately alleged in the controversy, as it is Greek in its origin and matter, and Roman

Catullus.

only in its clumsiness. A better and more Roman epigram of the same author is preserved by Cicero: ¹—

Constiteram exorientem Auroram fortè salutans,
Quùm subito à lævâ Roscius exoritur.
Pace mihi liceat, cœlestes, dicere vestrâ,
Mortalis visus pulcrior esse deo.

It chanced I stood to greet the uprising Morn,
When on my left I saw bright Roscius shine.
Deem not, celestials, that I speak in scorn,
But mortal charms show fairer than divine.

Those works of Catullus not strictly reducible to the heads under which the grammarians have classed his productions, are the *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis*, another epithalamium, composed on an uncertain occasion, and the poem of *Atys*. The two former are lyrical in spirit, though written in hexameters; but the latter not only differs from every other poem of Catullus, but has no extant parallel in Latin poetry. It is written in the Galliambic measure, and is the only entire Latin poem extant in that metre. It is highly animated and impassioned; and though it bears every external evidence of translation from the Greek, it is yet sufficiently removed from resemblance to anything extant in that language to convey, perhaps, more ideas of originality to a modern reader, than any other single piece of Latin poetry, if we except particular productions of Horace.

Pervigilium
Veneris.

Ciris.

The *Pervigilium Veneris* has been ascribed to Catullus, while some critics assign to it so late a date as the time of Hadrian, and even later.² It has been greatly corrupted, but is still a very beautiful poem, and is well worthy the pen of Catullus. The *Ciris*, attributed by some to the same author, is also much corrupted; but it combines, with much poetical merit, a considerable resemblance to the style of the *Peleus and Thetis*. The poem is usually referred to Virgil; but there are some circumstances which make it probable that Catullus was its author. The most substantial difficulty is the dedication to Messala, who was not born until some years after the epoch usually assigned to the death of Catullus. But it is not certain that the patron of Tibullus was meant; neither is it certain that Catullus did not live during the time of this same Messala. Bayle, who, in his *Dictionary*, (art. *Catulle*) contends against the late epoch assigned by Scaliger to the death of Catullus, admits that the words of Martial imply a positive assertion that he was the contemporary of Virgil,³ and argues only on the supposition that Martial was

¹ De Nat. Deor. i. 28.

² For the conflicting opinions on the authorship of this poem, see Baehr, *Gesch. d. R. L.* § 149, and his notes and references.

³ Sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus

Magno mittere "Passerem" Maroni.—*Mart. lib. iv. Ep. 14.*

mistaken. This difficulty, therefore, is not insuperable. Many Catullus. verses in the *Ciris* are found in Virgil's acknowledged works; but we know that Virgil was by no means scrupulous in his use of the productions of his predecessors. But the principal argument in favour of Catullus is that Pliny expressly mentions an imitation of the *Φαρμακείτρια* of Theocritus by this poet, which is no where to be found in any of his acknowledged works.¹ The poem has been also ascribed to Gallus and to Valerius Cato.

Although Catullus is the greatest name of what we may call the transition period, he is by no means solitary. Julius Cæsar wrote a poem called *Iter*, on his Spanish expedition against the sons of Pompey, and another "*De Siderum Motu*;" a tragedy, intituled *Œdipus*, and a panegyric on Hercules. C. Helvius Cinna was the author of *Smyrna*, a poem much admired by Quintilian and Catullus; a valediction to Asinius Pollio, on his departure for the Parthian war, called *Protrepticon*² *Pollionis*; and some minor poems. To him Virgil is supposed to allude in the lines—

Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, neque dicere Cinnâ
Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.³

Varro of Atax, whom we have already mentioned as an unsuccessful satirist, appears to have been more fortunate as a free translator of the *Argonautics* of Apollonius, and the *Aratea* and *Chorographia* of Eratosthenes. He also wrote a poem, *De Bello Seguanico*, and some elegies. Of Hostius, whom we have mentioned as a follower of Ennius, we only possess a few fragments; but his name is of interest, as he is one of the writers from whom Virgil did not disdain to borrow. "The most elegant poet since the deaths of Lucretius and Catullus," is pronounced by Nepos⁴ to have been L. Julius Calidus. But, except from occasional testimonies, we have no means of forming any opinion of the merits of these and contemporary poets. These luminaries were extinguished in the absorbing blaze of the Augustan day. So far, however, as we may probably conjecture, the event has not left much to regret. The Alexandrine writers appear to have been the predominant models of the time. A cold correctness, not further removed from the rough vigour of Ennius, than from the animated adaptations of Virgil, would therefore be the prevalent characteristic of the Julian poets. Of the state of the drama at this period, we shall speak more conveniently when treating the Augustan.

Such was the state of poetry at Rome when Horace appeared on its poetical horizon.

¹ Nat. Hist. xxviii. 2.

³ Ecl. ix. 45.

² Or, Propempticon.

⁴ Vit. Att. 12.

MSS., EDITIONS, &c., OF THE ANTE-AUGUSTAN POETS.

LIVIVS ANDRONICUS.

Livii Andronici Fragmenta, collecta et illustrata ab H. Düntzer. Berlin, 1835.

Sagittarius de Vitâ et Scriptt. Livii Andronici et aliorum. Altenb., 1672.

NÆVIUS.

Stephanus. Paris, 1564. Almeloveen. Amstel. 1686.

Belli Punici Fragmenta. Hermann (Elem. Doctr. Metr.)

Bothe. Poetarum Latii Scenicorum Fragmenta.

Klussmann. The entire remains, with life and essay. Jena, 1843.

ENNIUS.

Q. Ennii Poëtæ vetustissimi, quæ supersunt, Fragmenta. Collegit, disposuit, illustravit Hieronymus Columna. Hesselius' improved edition. Amstel. 1707.

Annalium Fragmenta collata, comparata, illustrata, a P. Merula. Lugd. Bat. 1595.

PLAUTUS.

MS. Milan palimpsest, 5th cent.

Editio Princeps. Merula. Venetiis, 1472.

Bothe. Lipsiæ. 1834.

Weise, Quedlinburg. 1837-8.

Subsidia.—Lessing, von dem Leben und der Werken des Plautus. Berlin, 1838. Geppert, ueber den Codex Ambrosianus, und seinen Einfluss auf die Plautinische Kritik. Leipzig. 1847.

Ritschl. Parergon Plautinorum Terentianorumque. Lips. 1845.

Bekker. De Comicis Romanorum Fabulis. Lips. 1837.

Translations. Thornton and Warner, 1767—1774.

CÆCILIVS.

C. Cæcilii Statii deperditarum Fabularum Fragmenta, edidit L. Spengel. Monachii, 1829.

TERENCE.

MSS. Vatican, Bembinus, 5th century. Cambridge.

Vatican, 9th century.

Edit. Princeps. Mediol. 1470.

Bentlei. Cantab. 1726. Edidit Vollbehr. Kiliæ. 1846.

Stallbaum. Lips. 1830.

Zeune. 1774.

Subsidia. Dryden's Essay on Dramatic Poesy. Hurd's Dialogues on Poetical Imitation, &c. Diderot, Essai sur le Poésie Dramatique, Spectator, 502.

Translation. Colman.

LUCILIUS.

Corpet. Paris. 1845.

Gerlach. Zurich. 1846.

These are subsidia, as well as editions.

LUCRETIUS.

Edit. Princ. Ferandus. Brixia. 1473. Three copies only existing.

Gifanius. Antverp. 1566.

Lambinus. 1570.

Pareus. Francof. 1631.

Havercamp. Lugd. Bat. 1725.

Wakefield. Glasg. 1813.

Creech. Oxon. 1818.

Forbiger. Lips. 1828.

Translations. Creech, Oxon. 1682.

Goodm., Lond. 1805.

Busby, Lond. 1813.

CATULLUS.

Ed. Princ. 1472. No mention of place, printer, or editor.

Volpi. Patav. 1710.

Döring. Altona. 1834.

Lachmann. Berol. 1829.

Subsidia. Mureti, Achillis Statii, Passeratii, Vossii, Commentarii.

Translations. Nott, Lond. 1795.

Lamb, Lond. 1821.



From a painting at Herculaneum.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

U. C. 710—U. C. 767. (A. D. 14.)



POETS.

POLLIO.

VIRGIL.

HORACE.

GALLUS.

TIBULLUS.

VARIUS.

VALGIUS.

PROPERTIUS.

ALBINOVANUS.

PONTICUS.

OVID.

GRATIUS.

PART II.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF LATIN POETRY.

THE most brilliant epoch of Roman poetry coincided, to a great extent, with the life of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, whose biography, in a great measure, records its history, and will afford the most convenient way of treating it.

This great and various genius was born at Venusia or Venu-sium,¹ a town on the frontiers of Lucania and Apulia, in the Consulship of L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Tor-quatus;² consequently in the 689th year of Rome, and sixty-five years before the vulgar æra.³ His father was a freed-man and a tax-gatherer,⁴ who invested his gains in a small farm,⁵ where the poet passed his earliest years, and imbibed that keen relish for rural pleasures, that ardent love of nature, and that warm admiration of the simple and hardy rustic life, which everywhere animate

his writings. Of his early childhood at this place he gives us an anecdote which is partly, no doubt, a poetical fiction, but possibly may have had some sort of foundation. He had

Horace's
birth,



Horace.

¹ 2 Sat. i. 35.

² 3 Od. xxi. 1. Cf. Epod. xiii. 8. et 1 Ep. xx. 27.

³ See Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, A. C. 65.

⁴ 1. Sat. vi. 86. Suet. in Vitâ. Or, a collector of payments at auctions, if the reading in Suetonius be *exauctionum*, not *exactionum*. This writer also mentions a prevalent opinion that Horace's father was a drysalter. But the testimony of Horace himself is quite express for his having been a collector in some way; and the passage itself appears interpolated.

⁵ Some contend that he became "*coactor*" after his removal to Rome. See Obbarius, Einleit. zu Horaz. Anm. 6.

Horace.

His
education.Battle of
Philippi.

Virgil.

strayed, he tells us, in a playful ramble to Mount Vultur, where, overpowered with fatigue, he fell asleep. Here the wood-pigeons protected him from the gaze of wild beasts under a heap of laurel and myrtle, which they accumulated over him.¹ When he was, probably, about twelve years of age, his father removed him to Rome, and there gave him a liberal education under Orbilius Pupillus of Beneventum.² By him he was instructed in Greek literature, and had perused the *Iliad*, as he himself informs us,³ before he went to Athens, which had long been a place of fashionable literary resort for the Roman youth, to complete his education. During his abode there the assassination of Cæsar, and the consequent troubles, took place; and Brutus, on his march to Macedonia, took with him, among many other young Romans of similar pursuits, Horace, who was then in his twenty-third year, and gave him the rank of Military Tribune:⁴ in this office he sustained some hard service,⁵ and possibly crossed into Asia. He freely confesses his cowardice at the battle of Philippi, where he left his shield,⁶ a circumstance which the ancients considered particularly ignominious. It is possible, however, that Horace has himself overcharged the picture, wishing, by this stroke of apparent candour and simplicity, to persuade Augustus that his connexion with the adverse party was less the result of political conviction than of the natural activity and restlessness of a youthful mind, ardent for adventure, and only brave while thoughtless of danger. That Augustus could totally forget the circumstances in which Horace had placed himself was not to be expected; it might, therefore, have been politic in the poet to set them in a less unpleasant light; and with the mention of the event he has not forgotten to notice the scattering of the brave, and the prostration of the threatening, before the irresistible arm of Cæsar.

About this time, a youth of like age and similar pursuits with Horace was about to be united with him in the bonds of a lifelong friendship, through the sympathies of a common fate, and common tastes and studies. Publius Virgilius⁷ Maro was born at Andes, near Mantua, on the 15th October, v. c. 684. His father, Virgilius Maro, was an opulent farmer: who, being, like the father of Horace, an intelligent person, gave his son a liberal Greek and Latin education at Cremona and Milan, which was completed under the poet Parthenius, and the Epicurean Syron. From his father, Virgil inherited the family estate at Mantua. But before the Triumvirate undertook their expedition against Brutus and Cassius, they had agreed at Mutina, in order

¹ 3 Od. iv. 9.² Ep. ad Aug. 69.³ 2 Ep. ii. 41.⁴ 1 Sat. vi. 48.⁵ 2 Od. vii. 1.⁶ 2 Od. vii. 3.⁷ *Virgilius* in the oldest Medicean MSS., and in the Vatican MS.

to retain their soldiers in allegiance, to give them, in the event of success, eighteen principal towns of Italy, which had adhered to the opposite faction; and among these were Venusium and Cremona. Thus, in the distribution which followed the consummation of the war, the paternal estate of Horace at the former place was confiscated,¹ and the neighbourhood of Mantua to the devoted Cremona ensured it a fate scarcely less deplorable from the lawless soldiery. Virgil was consequently placed in the same circumstances with Horace. Tibullus and Propertius shared a similar fortune; at least, Propertius certainly bore part in this extensive calamity. Tibullus deploras a sudden deprivation of his property,² which is supposed to refer to this circumstance. That he had competent resources after this loss, appears from Horace's address to him, "*Dī tibi divitias dederunt;*" although some read "*dederant;*"³ but it is not to be supposed that Horace would have taunted his friend with the possession of riches which he had lost. It was this competency which enabled Tibullus to live without dependence on court patronage; for in no part of his works has he celebrated Augustus or Mæcenas, while he is profuse in his commendations of his patron Messala, who had served in the army of Cassius. By whose intercession Virgil regained his patrimony, authors are not agreed. Asinius Pollio, and Mæcenas, the celebrated patron of literature, have the best authorities in their favour. Pollio, having charge of that district, probably recommended his case to Mæcenas; who was little likely to have been otherwise acquainted with the son of obscure rustics, as all Virgil's biographers represent his parents to have been. On this event his *Ist* Eclogue was, most certainly, composed. The character of Tityrus in this poem may not have been intended for Virgil himself, although some of the ancients so understood it, and the poet elsewhere appropriates the name:⁴ it is, however, a lively picture of the surprise and gratitude of an outcast, who finds himself suddenly restored to his domestic comforts, and contrasts strikingly with the desperate melancholy of the houseless wanderer Melibœus, taking his last survey of the desolated hearth, with which all his dearest affections were associated. The removal of Pollio was attended with disastrous consequences to Virgil. His estate was again seized by the rapacious military, and himself compelled to seek his safety by flight to Rome. The story of his second expulsion is treated in the *IXth* Eclogue. He succeeded in again recovering his patrimony, apparently through the interest of one Varus, of whom he speaks in

Horace.
Confiscation
of the
patrimony of
Horace,
Virgil,
Propertius,
and Tibullus.

¹ 2 Ep. ii. 51.

² 1 Eleg. l. 19—23. Cf. iv. l. 183—190.

³ 1 Ep. iv. 7. The short penultima of the 3rd pl. perf. ind. act., though rare, is not unexampled. See Virg. Ecl. iv. 60. *Æn.* iii. 681. Prop. 3 Eleg. xxiv. ult.

⁴ Ecl. vi. 4.

Horace.

the highest strain of commendation in the VIth and IXth Eclogues ; who this Varus was, cannot now be determined.¹ Perhaps he was Quinctilius Varus, whose death Horace deploras in the XXIVth Ode of the 1st Book, and of whom he there speaks as the especial friend of Virgil.

Horace made no solicitations to Augustus. Thrown on his own resources, his habits and pursuits allowed him no other subsistence than literature. Poverty, whose chilling influence on the fire of Poetry the great Satirist has so pathetically lamented,² was his bold and stimulating Muse.³ What were the productions of her inspiration, or whether any are now extant, is not known ; the situation of public affairs, however, renders it possible that the XIVth Ode of the 1st Book, in which he addresses the Roman State under the allegory of a weather-beaten vessel, was written under these circumstances. This Ode, however, is by Canon Tate referred to Horace's 39th year, when the project of restoring the republic followed the triumph of Augustus over Antony. Whatever were the merits of his early compositions, Horace was soon known to Virgil, the similarity of whose situation almost necessarily interested him in the fate of his brother bard ; and by him was recommended to Mæcenas. He had, however, the advantage of a still more powerful friend : Varius, "the lofty bird of Homeric song," as he termed him in his poetical raptures,⁴ and, in his prosaic moments, "the unrivalled Epic,"⁵ and whose tragic excellence has been already noticed, became interested in his favour, and also mentioned him to Mæcenas. Horace has

Horace
introduced
to Mæcenas.



Mæcenas.

left us a pleasing and natural account of his introduction to the literary courtier.⁶ In few and broken words he candidly explained his simple history ; he received a brief answer, and, in nine months after his introduction, that lordly monarch of wits called him to the number of his subjects. His earliest composition after this event is, probably, that which stands first in his works ; at least, he informs us that his first poem was composed in honour of Mæcenas ;⁷ and this Ode has the appearance of being written under such circumstances. It describes the various pursuits of mankind briefly, but comprehensively ; it touches on the addiction of each individual to his own ; and it concludes with an

¹ Conf. Heyne, Excurs. ii. ad Bucolica.

² Juv. Sat. vii.

³ 2 Ep. ii. 51.

⁴ 1 Od. vi. 2.

⁵ 1 Sat. x. 44.

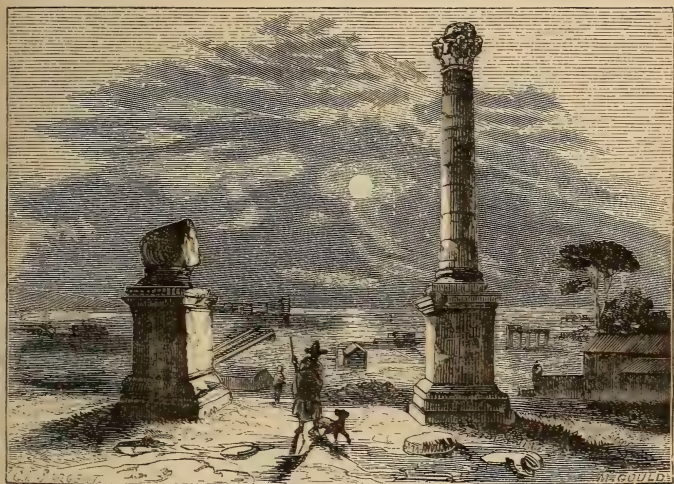
⁶ 1 Sat. vi. 54. seqq.

⁷ 1 Ep. i. 1.

animated eulogy on Poetry, describing the author's exclusive devotion to its cultivation, and expressing a hope that Mæcenas would class him among the lyric bards. His patron assented; and the consequent cessation of jealous malevolence is gratefully and exultingly celebrated by Horace, in the IIIrd Ode of his IVth Book.

Though Mæcenas was slow in the formation of our poet's acquaintance, he showed himself forward in its cultivation afterwards; and very shortly after Horace had been thus noticed, he accompanied the Minister on his journey to Brundisium, whither he was sent by Augustus to treat with Antony, who was then menacing Italy with a renewal of the civil wars. This event must have taken place at so early a period of Horace's acquaintance with Mæcenas, that some writers have supposed that the poet celebrated in his *Journey to Brundisium* a subsequent expedition

Horace.
Journey to
Brundisium



Brundisium.

of a similar nature, which Mæcenas undertook two years after, when Antony landed at Tarentum; but the name of Coccejus Nerva, which occurs in the *Satire*, restricts the subject to the earlier event, as that person attended only on the former expedition. On this occasion Horace had an opportunity of enjoying the society of his friends Virgil, Varius, and Plotius. The enthusiasm of his admiration for these illustrious men, and the warmth of his attachment, so exquisitely expressed in his *Satire* on the occasion, are among the many proofs that rivalry in ingenuous studies is far from being necessarily connected with disingenuous passions;

Horace.

Intercourse
with
Mæcenas.

and that the friendships which result from literary, and especially poetical, sympathy, are ordinarily the most exalted and permanent of any. But although Mæcenas took every opportunity of conversing with Horace, his caution and reserve were still maintained: for that at the end of seven years they had not attained a strictly confidential familiarity, is the least that can be inferred from what Horace himself then says of the state of their acquaintance;¹ although it must be admitted that the description is designedly exaggerated. He appears at this time to have been, what Suetonius tells us he was, a Quæstor's secretary: since he mentions the desire of the secretaries to see him on a matter affecting their common interest:—

*De re communi scribæ magnâ atque novâ te
Orabant hodiè meminisses, Quinte, reverti.*²

The frankness and warmth of the poet, however, at length prevailed over the caution and formality of the courtier, who afterwards returned the fidelity of Horace with conduct less resembling the patron than the friend. He presented him with an estate in the Sabine territory, which has been commonly thought to be the same with the Tiburtian villa,³ to which the poet frequently alludes. The whole history of Mæcenas indeed exhibits aversion to hasty decision, and steadiness of action where he had once decided.



Augustus.

Introduction
to Augustus.

By Mæcenas Horace was recommended to Augustus, with whom,

¹ 2 Sat. vi. 40.

² 2 Sat. vi. 37.

³ The reasons for distinguishing these places will be found at length in Tate's *Horatius Restitutus*, Prel. Diss. Part II. They are plausible, but scarcely demonstrative. See on Horace's *Villa* a list of authorities in Obbarius (*Einleitung zu Horaz*, Anm. 27), who inclines to think the Tiburtian villa a residence of Mæcenas (Anm. 28).

according to Suetonius, or the writer of the life ascribed to that Horace.
 historian, he lived on terms of the closest familiarity. How far His
 he was qualified for the intimacy of princes, he has not left us character.
 in doubt. That wonderful versatility, which, in the genius of
 Horace, produced such diversified poetical excellence, seems to have
 extended to his inclinations. He appears to have enjoyed, with
 equal intensity, the tranquillity of literary rural seclusion, and the
 social refinements of the court and city. He could pass, even with
 delight, from the luxurious table of Mæcenas, and the intellectual
 conversation of Pollio, Varius, and Virgil, to his rustic beans and
 bacon, and the old wives' tales of his country neighbour Cervius.¹
 So sensible indeed was he of inconsistency in this respect, that he
 has put a severe censure of himself, on this very account, into the
 mouth of one of his own slaves.² And yet he has, perhaps, accused
 himself rashly. There is no inconsistency in admiring Raphael and
 Teniers; and the true poetic mind finds elements of beauty, and
 matter of pleasing contemplation, in every phase of human and
 inanimate nature. The country, in truth, was the home of Horace's
 heart: the city having no further attractions for him than such as
 friendship and literature presented; and when he could enjoy these
 by his rural hearth, the proud mistress of the world had parted
 with all her charms. On his conduct at the court of Augustus,
 his epistles to Scæva and Lollius form an admirable commentary.
 Even in the former of these he admits that a life of obscurity is no
 misfortune, although he prefers an honourable intercourse with
 the great. From the precepts which he affords for the conduct
 of every part of life, and from his known familiarity with Augustus,
 we may conclude, that, in all his transactions with that prince, he
 was neither importunate nor servile; that, while loaded with
 honours, he made no degrading compromise—no unseasonable
 solicitation: but either complied with freedom, or dissented with
 modesty and respect.

An analysis of the several productions of Horace is foreign to His writings.
 the nature of this work; we shall notice therefore such only as
 bear on his biography and the literary history of the time. But,
 before this is done, it will be convenient to premise a few words
 on the departments of poetry which he especially cultivated. We
 have already offered a conjecture in explanation of his repeated
 claim to the importation of lyric poetry from Greece. To this we
 may add the undisguised contempt which he entertained for
 Catullus, and the consciousness of his own great superiority.
 Indeed, Quintilian, with an enthusiasm which his subject amply Odes.
 justifies, designates him "*lyricorum ferè solus legi dignus*." But
 Horace, as we observed in the first part of this memoir, had much

¹ 1 Sat. vi. 89, *seqq.*

² Ibid. ii. 7.

Horace.

more substantial claims to originality than those which he so ostentatiously put forth; his metres, the introduction of which he so proudly vaunts, are Greek, and, as far as may be conjectured from extant Greek fragments, considerably restricted; but his subjects breathe all the freshness of original conception. Nor can it be objected that the loss of their models allows us no criterion of their excellence; since many are purely Roman in sentiment and allusion, while others are totally unlike what ancient authors lead us to conclude respecting the strains of the Lesbian lyre. The elegant negligence of Anacreon, the daring and magnificent sublimity of Pindar, and the plaintive melancholy of Simonides, alternate in the odes of Horace; but it is the *spirit* alone of these writers that we recognise; and it is probable that his imitations of Alcæus and Sappho were of the same nature. At most, they seem to have been that kind of happy adaptation, which is not to be found in the Eclogues of Virgil, and which gives the beauties of an original to an acknowledged imitation. As an illustration of what we mean, we will here adduce a fragment of Alcæus, manifestly corrupt, but which Horace certainly had before his mind when he wrote the IXth Ode of his Ist Book:

His imitations.

Υγει μὲν ὁ Σδεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀρανῶ μέγας
Χειμῶν, πεπάσιν θ' ὑδάτων ῥοαί.

* * * *

Κάββαλλε τὸν χειμῶν', ἐπὶ μὲν τιθεῖς
Πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
Μελιχρόν' αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσῃ
Μάλακον ἀμπιτίθει γνάφαλλον'

Yet every Roman must have felt the originality and domestic sentiment of Horace's picture, as strongly as *we* participate in the social cheerfulness of Cowper's snug and curtained fireside. The XXXVIIIth Ode of the same Book has been partially imitated from an Ode of Alcæus, beginning:

Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσκειν, καὶ τινα πρὸς βίαν¹
Πίνειν, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μῦρσιλος.

But the whole spirit of the composition is essentially Roman, and the magnificent description of Cleopatra stamps it original. The XVIIIth Ode of the same Ist Book is, probably, one of the closest

¹ If the reading be, as some give it,

—— χθόνα πρὸς βίαν

Παίειν,

the imitation is yet closer. But the term *libero* marks the occasion, and the Roman spirit of indignant liberty spurning the riven chain.

imitations of Alcæus in the whole volume: the first line of it is a Horace. strict translation from a passage of Alcæus preserved in Athenæus:

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω·

But the "*solum Tiburis*" and the "*mænia Catili*" domesticate this poem with peculiar felicity.

There is another species of poetry of which Horace claims the introduction; the Iambic. The word "*iambi*," separately taken, conveyed a very different idea to the ancients from that of the mere iambic measure; an idea which the Epodes of Horace express more clearly than any definition. The *Iambographia* formed a distinct department of poetry; approaching indeed to the lyric, and yet distinguished from it by Horace himself.¹ The object of Horace in writing his iambics, as declared by himself, was to express the spirit of Archilochus without his malignity:²

Parios ego primus Iambos
Ostendi Latio: numeros animosque sequutus
Archilochi; non res, et agentia verba Lycamben.

Yet the bitterness of Archilochus, we may observe in passing, does, notwithstanding, occasionally prevail; and Lycambes was not, perhaps, more keenly assailed than Menas, Mævius, and Canidia; to the last of whom, and her daughter, the poet is thought to apologise in the XVIth Ode of his 1st Book. Cassius Severus is even warned to beware of the fate of Lycambes:

Cave, cave! namque in malos *asperimus*
Parata tollo cornua,
*Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener.*³

Catullus and Bibaculus wrote iambics; still, as Quintilian informs us,⁴ they were not professed iambographers, and perhaps Horace did not consider their works of this nature sufficiently perfect to entitle them to notice. But the more probable ground of Horace's assumption is that he first introduced the epode; for we learn from Quintilian that it did not appear in the iambics of Catullus or Bibaculus.⁵ It is true that the *Epode Hymns* of Lucilius are mentioned; but these were, in all probability, compositions widely removed from the Horatian Epode; perhaps written in the Pindaric measures.⁶ The "*Parii iambi*" are, therefore, those forms of the

¹ 2 Ep. ii. 59.

² Art. Poet. 259.

³ Epod. vi. 11.

⁴ Inst. Orat. x. 1.

⁵ Such appears to be the meaning of the sentence: "*Iambus non sanè à Romanis celebratum est ut proprium opus: à quibusdam interpositus: cujus acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio; quanquam illi epodos intervenire reperiatur.*" The word *illi* seems more applicable to "Horatio" than to "iambo."

There is no epode poem in the works of Catullus, as now extant.

⁶ Ἐπῳδαὶ and Ἐπῳδοὶ are very different. The former are stanzas *added* to

Horace.

iambic measure which the book of Epodes exhibits. Gesner quotes a passage from the *Enchiridion* of Hephæstion which places this matter beyond a doubt.¹ Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ οἱ ἀρρήνικως οὕτω καλούμενοι ἑπῶδοι, ὅταν μεγάλῳ στίχῳ περιπτόν τι ἐπιφέρεται, οἷον*

Πατέρ Λυκάμβα, πῶιον ἐφράσω τόδε ;
Τί σὰς παρήειρε φρένας ;

The quotation is from Archilochus, and is exactly the same metre with

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula.

The epode is not necessarily iambic, but is a name applied to any metre consisting of a longer and shorter line alternately. Of this measure Archilochus is the reputed inventor, as is expressly asserted by Terentianus Maurus : ²

Hoc [epodon] doctum Archilochum tradunt genuisse magistri ;
Tu mihi, Flacce, sat es :
“ Diffugere nives : redeunt jam gramina campis,
Arboribusque comæ.”

Marius Victorinus is no less explicit : *Archilochus primus Epodos excitavit, alios breviores, alios longiores, detrahens unum pedem seu colum metro, ut illi subjiceret id quod ex ipso detractum esse videbatur. Horatius ejus exemplum sequutus est in eâ Ode :*

“ Solvitur acris hyems gratâ vice Veris et Favoni ;
Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas.”

From these testimonies it appears that the Parian or Archilochian iambic was the epode : of which Horace was the earliest Latin writer. Bassus was afterwards celebrated for his iambics, as we find from Ovid : ³ “ *Bassus quoque clarus Iambo.*”

Ethics and Criticism.

The division of Horace's Poems remaining to be noticed is his Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry, which are all referable to one head, that of familiar and moral discourses or essays. The original spirit of these productions has gone far towards supporting the hypothesis, that the old *Saturæ* and the Ennian Satire were wholly of Roman origin. Without the slightest appearance of dictation or assumed authority, they contain more real good sense, sound morality, and true philosophy, than perhaps any single work of heathen antiquity : and their frequent perusal has a tendency to

the strophe and antistrophe ; the latter, poems in which a shorter verse is *added* to the longer. The derivation of both is from ἐπῶδω, *accino*.

¹ In lib. Epod. Horatii.

² Terentianus has been made, absurdly enough, to call Archilochus the inventor of EPIC poetry ! See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Archilochus, note (κ).

³ Trist. 10.

make the reader satisfied with himself and others, and to produce on his part a conduct at once conciliatory towards the world, and consistent with his own independence and integrity. They are well described by Persius :—

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.¹

Their character has been exquisitely drawn by one who had imbibed a large portion of their spirit :²

Horace still charms with graceful negligence,
And without method talks us into sense ;
Will, like a friend, familiarly convey
The truest notions in the easiest way.
He, who supreme in judgment, as in wit,
Might boldly censure, as he boldly writ,
Yet judg'd with coolness, tho' he sang with fire ;
His Precepts teach but what his Works inspire.

Another more diffuse and general character of his writings is contained in the following stanzas of De la Motte :—

Qu'Horace connût bien l'elegance Romaine !
Il met le vrai dans tout son jour,
Et l'admiration est toujours incertaine
Entre la pensée et le tour.
Sublime, familier, solide, enjoué, tendre,
Aisé, profond, naïf, et fin ;
Digne de l'univers ; l'univers, pour l'entendre,
Aime à redevenir Latin.

There is, however, an observable distinction between the Satires and the Epistles. The former, as Bähr³ has remarked, possess more of the objective character, the latter are more subjective : in the former, the poet takes his cue commonly from objects or events around him ; in the latter, he speaks more from himself. The Epistles, too, are, for the most part, graver and more regular in their matter, as well as more ornate in their diction. Their form, and the period of their composition, concur to produce this distinction. We will not do our readers the injustice to withhold the elegant and truthful criticism of Dean Milman⁴ on this portion of the works of Horace :—"Of him it may be said, with regard to the most perfect form of his poetry, the Epistles, that there is a period in the literary taste of every accomplished individual, as well as of every country, not certainly in ardent youth, yet far from the decrepitude of old age, in which we become sensible of the extra-

Dean
Milman's
criticism.

¹ Sat. i. 118.

² Essay on Crit. 653.

³ Geschicht. der R. L. II., § 125, 126.

⁴ Life of Horace prefixed to his edition.

Horace.

ordinary and indefinable charm of these wonderful compositions. It seems to require a certain maturity of mind ; but that maturity by no means precludes the utmost enjoyment of the more imaginative poetry."

Chronology
of his
writings.

It would scarcely be possible, even if profitable, in a work like the present, always to adjust the chronology of even the most celebrated pieces which Roman antiquity has left us ; but that of Horace's writings may seem to demand some more especial notice, inasmuch as it has not only exercised the industry and research of critics, but some idea of it is absolutely necessary to the due comprehension and appreciation of these precious remains.

Bentley asserts that Horace not only published each book separately ; but even that he was never engaged in lyric and satiric poetry at the same time ; that he never wrote an ode while he was employed in completing a book of satires, epistles, or epodes. With respect to the publication, there is every reason to suppose that it took place in separate books, and that Bentley's arrangement is substantially correct. Canon Tate, in his "*Horatius Restitutus*," adopts it implicitly. The high authority of Mr. Fynes Clinton, while allowing that "the dates of Bentley (which are given upon conjecture), are, *in some cases*, at variance with facts," admits the general exactness of the great critic. "And it is probable," he adds, "that although these works were originally published in books, and *in the order assigned by Bentley*, yet, in the present copies, some pieces may have been transposed.¹ But Bentley entered little into the feelings of a poet, especially a poet of Horace's cast, in supposing that so various and versatile a genius could sit down to the composition of a book of odes or satires, and never deviate from the line which he prescribed. Such an hypothesis is contradictory to all the history of poetical genius, and to every external and internal evidence connected with the writings of Horace. Though Bentley's chronology has been sharply assailed by continental scholars, the confirmation of the "*Fasti Hellenici*" may amply compensate his memory for the severest attacks. He has, at least, established the order of publication almost beyond dispute ; and this is not unimportant. His criticisms, derived from a comparison of external history with the contents of the Horatian poems, have received confirmation from a quarter which even *his* sagacity did not anticipate. Canon Tate has clearly demonstrated, from a comparison of the first three books of Odes with the fourth, that the versification is more artificially constructed in the latter, and that time and practice had produced a more sensitive ear and a severer taste.

We subjoin a scheme of chronology according to several high authorities.

¹ Fast. Hell. A. C. 37.

	Bentley. ¹	Bernhardy.	Kirchner.	Obbarius.	Grotefend.	Passow.	Franke.	Milman.
1 Sat.	U.C. 714-716	713-719	713-726	719	715-719	713-714	713-719	719
2 Sat.	719-721	720-727	713-726	724-725	724	723-724	719-724	722-724
Epodes	722-723	713-724 ²	713-724	712-723	715-723	723	713-724	725
1 Od.	724-726							
2 Od.	728-729	734	715-736	730-732	724-736	713-733	730-731	
3 Od.	730-731					735		
1 Ep.	734-735	733	727-739	734-735	733-737	720-734	730-734	735
Carm. Sæc.		737	737	737	737	737	737	737
4 Od.	737-740	aft. 739	736-744	742	738-746	737	737-741	741
2 Ep.		aft. 740	743-746	741-743	aft. 741	733-737	734-746	742-746
Ars. Poet.		bef. 740		744-746		aft. 737		

To return to the subject of our biography.

Horace

Seven years had elapsed from his first acquaintance with Mæcenas when Horace composed the VIth satire of his IIInd book; he was then settled in his Tiburtian villa, enjoying poetical and philosophical leisure, and in possession of more than his wishes. It was in this dignified retirement that he became "noble in Æolian song,"³ and, while he was within sight of the waywardness and vanity of man-

Mode of life.



Tivoli.—Temples of Vesta and the Sibyl.

kind, was yet too far above their atmosphere to imbibe its splenetic contagion, and lose his temper and happiness in the survey; his own failings bore their due proportion in the picture; and, while he treated them with no more indulgence than those of others, he

¹ The dates of Bentley are corrected to what he himself intended, from Clinton, who shows that he has committed a prochronism of one year. (Fast. Hell. A. D. 17.) The last year mentioned is that of publication.

² Time of writing. Publication somewhat later.

³ 4 Od. iii. 12.

Virgil.

endeavoured, in sowing the fertile soil of his mind, to disencumber it of whatever weeds might impede its culture.¹

Eclogues.

While Horace, from circumstances which promised very different results, was thus enjoying the favour of the great, and the approbation of the wise, Virgil was no less studious of the opportunities which his own good fortune had given him of enriching his country's literature. His local situation, added to his mode of living, had engendered in him a strong perception of the pleasures of rural life. The beauties of Theocritus, therefore, were deeply felt by him, and we have already noticed the 1st and IXth Eclogues, in which he attempted to convey their spirit in his native tongue. Martyn, however, conjectures that the *Alexis* and *Palæmon* were the earliest in point of



Virgil.

composition, from the following passage in the *Daphnis* :

Hæc nos te fragili donabimus antè cicutâ :

Hæc nos : " Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin : "

Hæc eadem docuit : " Cujum pecus ? an Melibœi ? "

He then makes the *Daphnis* the third in order. His argument is : "As the poet does not give the least hint here of his having composed any other, it seems probable that these were the three first Eclogues which our author composed."² The subject is scarcely of sufficient importance to demand a formal refutation of Martyn's argument, which is certainly defective. Suffice it to state that about this time the *Bucolics* were completed. We shall prefer taking a sketch of the *Bucolic Muse*, as she appeared attired in the *Latian garb* by the hand of Virgil.

No department of Greek Poetry promised less to the Latin imitator than the Pastoral. The poems of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, are distinguished by a simplicity equally remote from epic majesty and sordid rusticity. Every charm of the country has been rifled to adorn them, and almost every deformity carefully concealed. If the Romans were unfortunate in possessing no Attic dialect for dramatic expression, the want of a Doric was a still greater obstacle to success in the Pastoral. This dialect at once removed the reader from the town, while it afforded the Muse every facility of utterance. The lordly language of Imperial Rome was ill suited to convey the unpremeditated effusions of unlettered herdsmen. If Virgil, therefore, has fallen very far short

¹ Hor. 1 Ep. xiv. 5.

² On the order of the Eclogues, see Bähr. *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* §. 187, and the references.

of his great prototype, the difficulty of his attempt must not be forgotten. Indeed, he appears not insensible of it himself; and, by the nature of the language in which he composed, he has been compelled to abandon his original intention, and to attempt loftier flights than the nature of Pastoral Poetry strictly justifies. Virgil.

The Eclogues of Virgil possess one remarkable characteristic: they are allegories. This at once introduces a great difference between them and the Theocritean Idyl. The allegorical veil is, sometimes, allowed to fall, and the shepherds who represent the Poet and his friends converse like scholars and philosophers. It has been a great question, whether the *Alexis* partakes of this figurative character; many are of opinion that it is merely an imitation of the *Ἐπαρτή* of Theocritus; while others, who discover Virgil in Corydon, yet believe the poem an offering to friendship. The latter opinion we consider inadmissible. All the grammarians identify the poet with Corydon; but the real name of Alexis is a matter of considerable doubt. The opinion mentioned by Servius, that Augustus was intended, scarcely deserves to be noticed. Some make Alexis to have been Alexander, a slave of Pollio; but most probably he belonged to Mæcenas. Although it would be perhaps impossible distinctly to remove this imputation from Virgil,¹ Juvenal, most assuredly, did not make any allusion to it in the following lines, which Dryden has most grossly amplified and perverted:² Alexis.

——— si Virgilio puer et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes è crinibus hydri,—
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.

There are many difficulties in believing this to have been the first of Virgil's compositions, on the supposition of Alexis being the slave either of Mæcenas or Augustus; inasmuch as, in that case, it must

¹ Donatus observes, "*Boni ita eum pueros amasse putaverunt, ut Socrates Alcibiadem, et Plato suos pueros.*"—*Vit. Virg.* 20. Charity "hopeth all things;" but the state of heathen morality, even among the most intellectual and refined, was such as to allow and indulge abominations which, in any professedly Christian society, however rude, would cover their perpetrators with infamy: and whatever may have been the *conduct* of Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, and others, they have not hesitated to follow Greek examples of this nature in their *writings*. It is, however, right to observe that the Roman poets generally claimed the privilege of bad morals on paper, while they renounced it in act. See in particular Catull. xvii.; Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 154; Mart. i. 15; Plin. *Epist.* iv. 14; and Hadrian's epitaph on Voconius. Profligate literature was no disgrace, rather otherwise, even when a profligate life would have been infamous. The peculiarity of Virgil's case, however, is, that he makes no such apology for himself, and, indeed, needs it less, perhaps, than any of his extant contemporaries; while yet his identity with his "Corydon" appears, from external evidence, to be indubitable. On this account his memory bears a stain which those of Horace and Tibullus, who have written as offensively, have commonly escaped.

² Sat. vii. 69.

Virgil.

have been written before we have any account of Virgil's acquaintance with either. That Virgil intended himself by Corydon, was believed by his contemporary Propertius, who also identifies him with Tityrus.¹ Martial and Apulejus make no doubt of it.²

Pollio.

But the most extraordinary composition of Virgil is his *Pollio*, a poem which has been the subject of endless conjecture. The much litigated and unsettled question, "whom was it intended to commemorate?" we shall pass over, as not materially connected with our subject; only observing that this honour has been ascribed to the young Marcellus, to a son of Pollio, to a son of Augustus, to Asinius Gallus, to Drusus, and, lastly, even to Augustus himself.³ What is principally worthy of notice is, that this poem exhibits a coincidence with the Sacred Writings too close to be fortuitous. That the Greeks had acquired, indirectly, some acquaintance with the histories of the Hebrew Scriptures, is not to be doubted; as Hesiod and Ovid, the expounders of their theology, have clearly discovered it; and it is probable that Theocritus, at the Court of Ptolemy, had seen the Sacred Volume, and even borrowed its phraseology. But, in this poem, Virgil only imitated Theocritus in the structure of the composition; for, with one or two exceptions, there is no similarity in details, which, in Virgil, resemble an epitome of Scripture prophecies of the Messiah. Though much of the fabulous history of the early world is corrupted from Holy Scripture, the Greeks, in general, were ignorant of its source, and were too much possessed with a contempt for "barbarian" literature to study, much less to imitate, the Hebrew writers. The universal contempt entertained for the Jews at Rome made it still less probable that their literature would meet imitation, or even perusal, there. An intelligent writer,⁴ indeed, imagines that he has discovered an avowal, on the part of Virgil, of his intention to avail himself of the treasures of Hebrew poetry, in the line⁵

Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas;

but to this it is only necessary to reply, that the line cited was not written until after the *Pollio* was composed. The inquirer must, therefore, advance on other ground, than that of supposing that Virgil accommodated the prophetic Scriptures to his purpose. The poet has, indeed, given us a clue in our inquiries; he has asserted that his prophecies are taken from the verses of the Cumæan Sibyl. The fable of the Sibyl's interview with Tarquin is well

¹ 2 Eleg. xxxiv. 73.

² Mart. viii. 56, v. 16; Apul. Apolog. i. 13.

³ The last opinion is maintained at great length, in a work entitled, "Observations in Illustration of Virgil's celebrated Fourth Eclogue." London, 1810.

⁴ Notes on the "Caliph Vathek."

⁵ Georg. iii. 12.

known. The books which she was supposed to have given to the Romans were destroyed in the conflagration of the Capitol during the Marsian war; emissaries were then despatched by the Senate throughout Italy, Greece, Asia, and the coasts of Africa, to collect the best authenticated prophecies of the various Sibyls; and the collection thus made was called "*Cumæum Carmen*," because it was compiled to supply the loss of the writing of the Cumæan Sibyl. In this miscellany it is nothing improbable that prophecies of the great Person then about to appear should be found; especially when it is recollected that Tacitus and Suetonius have borne witness to the general expectation of such a Person then prevalent in the East.¹ It is also remarkable that Ælian mentions the JEWISH SIBYL, together with the Cumæan;² her oracles, therefore, which were, probably, in substance the same as the prophetic writings, were likely to be in the collection. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the authority of Varro, asserts that such of the prophecies as were not genuine, were written in acrostichs.³ Eusebius has preserved a pretended acrostich oracle of the Erythræan Sibyl, the initial letters of which form the words ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ; but this is, evidently, a forgery on the bare inspection. We have *σὰρξ* used for mankind, *εἰδῶλα* for idols, and in one place the very words of Scripture have been quoted: "*Θρηνός τ' ἐκ πάντων ἐσται καὶ βρύγμος ὀδόντων*." Constantine, in his "*Λόγος τῷ τῶν ἁγίων συλλόγῳ*" gives a very elaborate interpretation of the *Pollio*, with a Greek translation of the greater part of it, and asserts that the oracle, whence it was taken, was translated by Cicero into Latin verse, and annexed to his poems. We have now no trace of this translation, if it ever existed: but it is a curious circumstance, that Cicero informs us that the Sibylline oracles did predict a King, and were written in acrostichs.⁴ If any name were mentioned in them, it must have been Cornelius; as we find from Cicero,⁵ Sallust,⁶ Plutarch,⁷ and Appian, that the pretence which Lentulus adduced for his connexion with Catiline was a Sibylline prophecy, portending that the Empire of Rome was to be given to three *Cornelii*; that Cinna and Sylla were the two former, and the third was to be himself. It is by no means improbable that, among the prophecies copied from the Jewish Scriptures, or gleaned from Jewish tradition, which were, in all probability, found among the Sibylline writings, the great subject of prediction was called *הוהוה*, the power of God,⁸ which would, assuredly, have been translated *Cornelius* by the Romans.

¹ Tac. V. Hist. ix. Suet. Vespas. iv. ³ Antiq. Rom. iv. 62.

² Var. Hist. xii. 35.

⁴ De Div. ii. 54. Cf. etiam Quinct. v. 10.

⁵ 3 Cat. iv.

⁶ Bell. Cat.

⁷ Vit. Cíc.

⁸ Christ is called "the power of God" in 1 Cor. i. 24; and *κέρας* (*קרן*) *σωτηρίας* in St. Luke, i. 69. The number three, thus applied, may have been derived from some Old Testament intimations of the Holy Trinity.

Virgil.

The author of the ingenious and elaborate *Observations*, who conceives that Virgil meant to refer the Sibyl's prediction to Augustus, imagines the whole poem to be a metrical horoscope, and discovers a clear explanation of every expression and allusion contained in it, by a reference to the phraseology of astrological art. How far this author is bigoted to hypothesis, may be conjectured from his application of the following lines to the sign Aries :

Ipse sed in pratis *Aries* jam suave rubenti
Murice, jam croceo mutabit vellera luto.

Two lines before occurs the verse

Robustus quoque jam *Tauris* juga solvet arator ;

and there can be no doubt that the same ingenuity, had this line followed those above cited, would have given an equally convincing interpretation of TAURIS. Any mind unsophisticated by hypothesis cannot fail to perceive that the poet is describing a time of universal opulence and rest, when agriculture and commerce should be alike unnecessary : and when the ram *in the meadows* (not in the skies,) should wear his fleece, without the dyer's labour, attired in the most costly and splendid colours.¹

Daphnis.

That the *Daphnis* was composed, like Milton's *Lycidas*, to commemorate the death of some real person, is scarcely to be doubted. That Menalcas represents Virgil is evident from the conclusion, wherein he states himself to be the author of two of Virgil's Eclogues. Mopsus, according to Servius, is Æmilius Macer of Verona, who wrote a poetical history of serpents, plants, and birds, in imitation of Nicander, and a supplement to the *Iliad*, called *Antehomerica* and *Posthomerica*. Bernhardt, Bähr, and others, after Wernsdorf, attribute, however, the epic and didactic poems to different writers of the same name.² If *Daphnis* be a personification, Julius Cæsar is the only person whom the character can pourtray, as Heyne justly observes : although he believes the poem to be merely a commemoration of the celebrated Sicilian shepherd. Servius and Donatus make *Daphnis* the poet's brother Flaccus. An uncertain epigrammatist has the following distich :

Tristia fata tui dum fles in "Daphnide" Flacci,
Docte Maro, fratrem Dis immortalibus æquas.

Gallus.

Virgil concluded his *Bucolics* with an elegant compliment to

¹ The reader desirous of prosecuting the subject of Virgil's Pollio is referred to the following works : Heyne's Virgil ; Cudworth's Intellectual System, book i. c. iv. sec. 16 ; Martyn's Virgil ; and Blondel, De Sibyllis.

² Bernhardt, Grundriss der Röm. Lit. Anm. 434 ; Aeussere Geschichte, 83. Bähr, Geschichte der Röm. Lit. § 83 ; Wernsdorf, Poett. Latt. Minn. tom. iv. p. 579.

Cornelius Gallus, a celebrated contemporary poet, born at Forum Virgil. Julii, in Gaul, about Virgil's own age, and his fellow pupil under Syron, consoling him for the loss of his Lycoris, whom the old commentators assert to have been an actress, whose real name was Cytheris. She was the freed-woman of Volumnius Eutrapelus, and took the name of Volumnia. As she was familiar with Antony, the old commentators have supposed that she deserted Gallus to accompany Antony on his Gallic expedition. Heyne, however, in his argument of the *Gallus*, has shown, from chronological considerations, that this could not be the case. The genuine poems of Gallus, with the exception of a few fragments, are lost. They consisted of four books of elegies, called *Amores* or *Lycoris*, and a translation of *Euphron*, as we learn from Servius. A pretended edition of the works of Gallus was published by Pomponio Gaurico, at the beginning of the sixteenth century; but the fraud was soon detected in Italy, and Tiraboschi attributes these poems,¹ according to common report, to a certain Maximinian, who flourished in the time of Boëtius. As an elegiac poet, Gallus ranked very high in public opinion. Ovid speaks of his fame as universal; Propertius and Martial have borne testimony to his excellence; and Virgil, in his beautiful and extraordinary VIth Eclogue, has panegyricised his *Euphron* in the noblest strains of mythological eulogy. Virgil had also, according to Servius, celebrated his praises in the conclusion of his Georgics. Gallus was no less distinguished as a warrior than as a poet; he was of great service to Augustus in the Egyptian war, and assisted in securing the person of Cleopatra. He was, in consequence, constituted the first prefect of Egypt. Here he appears to have conducted himself with arrogance and insolence. He was afterwards condemned to banishment by the command of Augustus, on suspicion of having conspired against him; a sentence which, however, the poet anticipated by a voluntary death, U. C. 728; and Virgil, at the instance of the emperor, substituted for his eulogy on Gallus the fable of *Aristæus*.

The publication of Virgil's Bucolics created a powerful sensation in literary Rome. The grammarians tell us that they were recited on the stage;² and that, on one occasion, when Cicero was present in the theatre, and heard some verses of the *Silenus* recited by Cytheris, he called for the whole eclogue, and, when he had heard it through, exclaimed, "*Magnæ spes altera Romæ.*" This cannot be true, for Cicero was then dead: but we have better authority for the truth of the honours publicly lavished on Virgil. From the author of the Dialogue *de Oratoribus*³ we learn that, when some verses of Virgil were recited on the stage, and the poet

¹ Storia, part. iii. lib. iii. sec. 27.

² Donat. in Vit. Virg.; Serv. in Ecl. vi. 11.

³ Dial. de Orat. xiii.

Horace and
Virgil.

happened to be present, all the spectators rose, and paid him the same marks of respect which they would have shown to Augustus. Propertius¹ has celebrated the conclusion and publication of the *Bucolics*, and Ovid² has foretold their immortality.

Following the chronology of Bentley, which we have in the main adopted, we must refer the publication of Horace's 1st Book of *Satires* to nearly the same date with that of Virgil's *Bucolics*. We shall presently have to notice a different opinion. In the Xth *Satire* of that Book, Horace gives the following sketch of the poetical proceedings of the day :

Turgidus *Alpinus* jugulat dum *Memnona*, dumque
Diffingit *Rheni* luteum caput, hæc ego ludo :

* * * *

Argutâ meretrice potes, Davoque *Chremeta*
Eludente senem, comis garrere libellos,
Unus vivorum, *Fundani*. *Pollio* regum
Facta canit pede ter percusso. Forte epos acer
Ut nemo, *Varius* ducit : molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure *Camœnæ*.

If Bentley's chronology be correct, there can be no foundation for the remark with which Heyne opens his preface to the *Georgics* : "*Ad Georgica facetum illud ac molle, quod peculiari aliquo Musarum munere Virgilio concessum esse Horatius memorat, proprio quodam modo spectare videtur.*" It may not be irrelevant to estimate the force of this eulogy on Virgil, by reference to the exposition of *Quintilian*. "*Facetum,*" says the critic, "*non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere. Nec enim diceret Horatius, facetum carminis genus naturâ concessum esse Virgilio. Decoris hanc magis et excultæ cujusdam elegantiae appellationem puto. Ideoque in Epistolis Cicero hoc Bruti verba refert : næ illi sunt pedes faceti, ac deliciis ingredienti molles. Quod convenit cum illo Horatiano, molle atque facetum Virgilio,*" &c.³

Some light may be thrown on the poetical history of the period, by an examination of this concise review. This, therefore, we shall take, before we proceed with what more immediately relates to the subject of our biography.

Alpinus.

Who "*Alpinus*" was, is a question as yet undecided. *Priscian*⁴ mentions an *Alpinus* who wrote a poem on the exploits of *Pompey*. *Dacier* and *Torrentius* suppose him to be *Aulus Cornelius Alpinus*, who wrote a tragedy, intitled *Memnon*, in imitation of one bearing the same name by *Æschylus*, and that he is here sarcastically said to have murdered the hero, and anticipated the stroke of *Achilles*. The *Scholias*t says that the *Memnon* was an hexameter poem. The word *Alpinus*, however, is generally considered, by commentators,

¹ ii. 34.

² 1 Am. 12.

³ *Quinct.* vi. 3.

⁴ vii. 5.

to be the designation of the poet's country, the Alps, and, taken in this sense, it is applicable to many. Cruquius, without the shadow of an argument, refers it to Cornelius Gallus. Aeron interprets the appellation of Vivalius, which Bentley and Sanadon conjecture to be a corruption of Bibaculus, of whom they suppose *Alpinus* a nickname. M. Furius Bibaculus, to whom we have before alluded as the writer of many small pieces, was also the author of a poem on the Gallic wars,¹ a verse of which has been preserved by Horace and Quintilian; the former of whom has noticed the bombastic character of his style:

pingui tentus omaso
Furius "hybernas canâ nive conspuat Alpes:"

the epithet here applied corresponds to "*turgidus*;" and from the line

Jupiter hybernas canâ nive conspuat Alpes

it is probable that he derived his appellation *Alpinus*. He was born at Cremona. The subject of his poem might, very naturally, lead him to a description of the Rhine. Of Fundanius we know nothing beyond what is here recorded; but we shall have occasion to notice this passage of Horace presently, which we shall find to throw some light on the Augustan drama. C. Asinius Pollio, here mentioned as a tragedian, was illustrious no less in his political than his literary character. We have already noticed the conjecture that he recommended Virgil to Mæcenas; and the old biographer of that poet tells us that the *Bucolics* were completed at his desire. Virgil speaks of him in terms of high commendation:²

Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam :

Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina !

where the word "*nova*" seems to imply *unprecedentedly* beautiful. And to Pollio is supposed to be addressed the VIIIth Eclogue, in which the following apostrophe occurs :

En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno !

His dramas seem only to have been intended for the closet.³ An anecdote, preserved by M. Seneca,⁴ is characteristic of the man and of his pretensions. Sextilius Hæna (or Eta as in some copies), a poet of more talent than learning, unequal in his compositions,

¹ Bernhardt, however, attributes this poem to Aulus Furius of Antium. Grundriss der Röm. Lit. Anm. 366 and 430.

² Ecl. iii. 84.

³ Weichert de Vario, 143.

⁴ Suas. vi.

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and not free from the heavy and foreign character attributed to the poets of Corduba, invited Pollio, among others, to hear his recitation of a poem on the proscription of Cicero. The place of meeting was the house of Messala Corvinus; and no sooner had the poet commenced

Deflendus Cicero est, Latineque silentia lingue,

than Pollio, turning to Messala, said, "You can do as you please, Messala, in your own house; but I shall not stay to listen to one who considers *me* silent;" and, with these words, left the room abruptly. Although he doubtless referred to his forensic talents, it is probable that his estimate of his poetical capabilities was not inferior. Horace, no less than Virgil, was intimate with Pollio, and dedicated to him the Ist Ode of the IId Book, wherein he recommends him to resume the composition of Tragedies, which his History of the Civil Wars had interrupted.

Varius.

The high eulogium here passed on Lucius Varius Rufus, and the appellation "*Mæonii carminis ales*," bestowed on him by Horace in the VIth Ode of the Ist Book, have been before alluded to, as well as his tragedy of *Thyestes*. But the loss of his works is, perhaps, a less calamity than the literary world ordinarily suppose. His excellence in the drama, where this branch of poetry was, in general, so unsuccessfully cultivated, might be comparatively great, and yet absolutely moderate: and as he was the earliest epic of any tolerable eminence in the new school, he might easily be unrivalled where there was no emulation. Antonius Iulus, the author of the *Diomedea*, had not arisen; and if it be said that Varius was not strictly unrivalled, because there was his contemporary, C. Valgius Rufus, who has received from Tibullus the exaggerated panegyric, "*æterno propior non alter Homero*," the answer would be easy, even on the supposition that the IVth Book of Tibullus is genuine, which, as we shall see, there is every reason to doubt. The judgment of Horace on this subject is infinitely more valuable than that of Tibullus. Varius and Valgius were both friends of Horace: and he acknowledges the value of their approbation: but he never, for a moment, admits a competition of poetical excellence. The elegies of Valgius might influence the partialities of Tibullus towards a poet of a similar cast with himself; and private friendship might extort and excuse an hyperbole which his own judgment, and that of an unbiassed public, could not sanction. A similar observation may be made on the equally extravagant panegyric which Propertius has passed on Ponticus, the author of the *Thebaid*.¹ Varius, therefore, at this time seems to have been undisputed master of the epic, and that,

Incidental
notice of
Valgius.

¹ 1 Eleg. vii.

because the honour was by no means warmly contested. Macrobius, ^{Horace and Virgil.} in the second chapter of the VIth Book of the *Saturnalia*, cites some verses of Varius, "*de Morte*" (*sc. Julii Cæsaris*). The following are the most complete, as a specimen of his style :

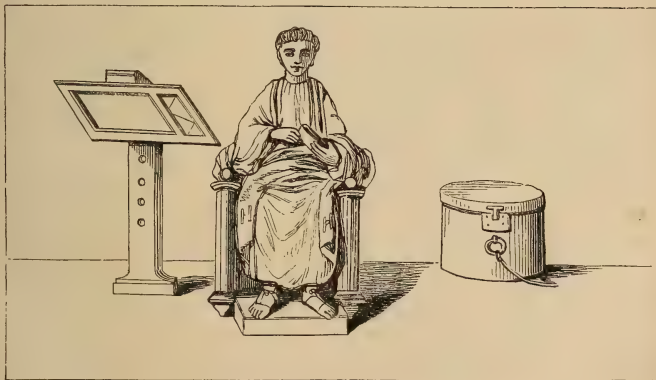
Ceu canis umbrosam lustrans Gortynia vallem,
Si veteris potuit cervæ comprehendere lustra,
Sævit in absentem, et, circum vestigia lustrans,
Æthera per nitidum tenues sectatur odores :
Non amnes illam medii, non ardua tardant,
Perdita nec seræ meminit decedere nocti.

As hound Gortynian, through the umbrageous vale
That scents the wild-deer's covert on the gale,
Prone on the track that speeds with faithful aim,
And tears in fancy the far-distant game :
Nor streams, nor heights, impede : e'en when astray,
Still through the lonesome night she snuffs the tainted way.

He composed a panegyric on Augustus, from which, if we are to ^{Varius.} believe the Scholiast on Horace, that poet took the following lines, which he inserted in the XVIth Epistle of his Ist Book :

Tene magis salvum populus velit, an populum tu,
Servet in ambiguo, qui consulit et tibi et urbi,
Jupiter !

These passages, although far too brief and scanty to enable us to form any clear conception of the genius of Varius, are yet



Virgil.

promiscuously selected, and contain nothing in favour of the felicity of his epithets, or the melody of his versification.

The poetical power which the *Bucolics* discovered, induced

Virgil.

Mæcenas, almost as soon as they were finished (about u. c. 717), to request Virgil to undertake the Georgics. The neglected state of agriculture, in consequence of the civil wars, might be the reason why Mæcenas chose this subject for Virgil's Muse: and indeed this condition of the country is graphically described by the poet himself: ¹

Ubi fas versa atque nefas; tot bella per orbem,
 Tam multæ scelerum facies: non ullus aratro
 Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis,
 Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.

But we must not suppose the statesman to have conceived that the military settlers could be moved by an exquisite poem to the cultivation of their estates. The fact was, that a more effectual and more delicate expedient for calling the attention of Augustus to this important subject could not be imagined; and in his power lay a great portion of the remedy.

Georgics.

Of the character of the Georgics it is unnecessary to speak, because no reader of this memoir can be ignorant that this poem is the most elaborate and extraordinary instance of the power of genius in embellishing a most barren subject, which human wit has ever afforded. The commonest precepts of farming are delivered with an elegance which could scarcely be attained by a poet who should endeavour to clothe in verse the sublimest maxims of philosophy. Indeed, one consideration alone is sufficient to show us the excellence of Virgil in this particular—the uniform failure of his imitators. It is, however, much to be regretted that he was not free to choose his own subject, as, in all probability, he would have selected a theme better suited to his muse. It is said that the poet, while employed on this immortal work, composed many verses every morning; but, by the evening, reduced them to a very few; so that he used to compare himself to a bear which licks her shapeless offspring into form. ²

According to the computation of Donatus, or the writer of the *Life of Virgil* ascribed to him, the poet must have been at Naples, after six years' attention to the Georgics, when Augustus undertook the expedition against Antony, which ended in the decisive victory of Actium. It was on this occasion that Horace is supposed to have written his magnificent Ode *ad Romanos* (Epod. xvi.). His friendship and gratitude towards Mæcenas had now obtained their zenith, when the statesman was suddenly called to attend his master on his perilous expedition, which bade fair to decide the possession of the Roman world. In the 1st Epode, Horace expresses his fixed resolution to accompany his patron whither-

¹ Georg. i. 162.

² Donat. in Vit. Virg. ix.; Quinct. Lib. x. 3; Aul. Gell. xvii. 10.

soever his fortune might lead him: not that he could hope to contribute to his security, but to escape the anxieties of absence. Whatever may have been the reason, there is good cause to believe that Mæcenas never left Italy. Dio,¹ Tacitus,² and Velleius Paterculus,³ all assert that at that time the care of the city was intrusted to him by Augustus. Virgil has given a most elaborate poetical picture of the battle of Actium, without making any mention of the exploits of Mæcenas; an omission of which he could scarcely have been guilty, had his patron borne a part in so conspicuous a scene; and this negative argument derives additional strength from another of the same kind, drawn from the silence of Horace respecting Mæcenas in his triumphant Ode on the same occasion (Lib. i. Od. xxxvii.). That Mæcenas took part in the battle of Actium has been attempted to be proved from an elegy on his death ascribed to Celsus Peto Albinovanus, which expressly asserts the fact; but the meagreness of the composition, and its historical inaccuracy, have caused it to be rejected by most scholars, as the production of a later period. Three elegies are remaining to us, which have been ascribed to this Peto: that just mentioned; another, which seems to be a continuation of it, called *Mæcenas Moribundus*; and the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, which, however, is also attributed to Ovid. From the latter author, whose friend Peto was, we learn that he wrote a poem on the exploits of Theseus.⁴ He is coupled by Quintilian⁵ with Rabirius, as not unworthy of perusal; and Seneca⁶ quotes from him some verses on the voyage of Germanicus, as a favourable contrast to the marine pictures of other Latin poets; but really as inferior to Virgil and Ovid as to the bolder strains of Attius and Ennius. From Martial's testimony he appears to have been an epigrammatist.⁷ If he were the same as Celsus (Hor. i. Ep. iii. 15), which seems doubtful, he was, according to the account of Horace, an enormous plagiarist. Dacier lays great stress on the following verses of Propertius, as supporting the hypothesis that Mæcenas was at Actium:⁸

Quod mihi si tantum, Mæcenas, fata dedissent,
Ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus,

* * * *

Bellaque, resque tui memorarem Cæsaris; et tu
Cæsare sub magno cura secunda fores.
Nam quoties Mutinam, et civilia busta Philippos,
Aut canerem Siculæ classica bella fugæ,

* * * *

¹ Lib. li.

⁴ Ep. ex Pont. iv. 10.

⁷ v. 5.

² Ann. vi. 11.

⁵ x. 1.

⁸ 2 Eleg. i.

³ ii.

⁶ Suasor. 1.

Horace and Virgil.

Battle of Actium.

Horace and
Virgil.

Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
Actiaque in sacrâ currere rostra viâ,
Te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
Et sumtâ et positâ pace, fidele caput.

But this would equally prove that Mæcenas took part in the battle of Philippi. The IXth Epode has been thought by some to favour the opinion that Mæcenas accompanied Augustus; and Desprez, in his notes on that poem, deliberately tells the reader that it was addressed to Mæcenas in his absence on that occasion. The student, by consulting the poem itself, will find nothing, however, positive about the situation of Mæcenas at that time. To this poem, to the very elaborate analysis given by Masson, in his *Life of Horace*, and to the answer of Dacier, prefixed to his edition of the poet, the reader desirous of more precise information on this subject is referred.

Horace was, at this time, about thirty-six years of age; so that, if Bentley's chronology of his works be true, the 1st Book of his Satires had seen the light eight years. Masson, however, refers the Xth Satire of that Book to this date, relying, principally, on his account of the death of Cassius of Parma, who was reported, according to this passage, to have been burned with his books. Cassius of Parma was put to death at this time at Athens, by the direction of Augustus, for having espoused the cause of Antony. We should rather be disposed, as scholars now generally are, to refer what Horace here says to another Cassius, than disturb the chronology of Bentley. Whoever he was, it is nothing wonderful that his books should supply him with a funeral pile, when it is considered that he was in the habit of composing four hundred verses every day. Of Cassius of Parma Horace speaks expressly in his epistle to Tibullus:

Cassius of
Parma.

Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedanâ?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat?

These verses are understood seriously and ironically by different critics. The word "*opuscula*," however, is sufficiently descriptive of his poems, which were chiefly elegies or epigrams. The Scholiasts on Horace attribute to him tragedies also, and relate that Varus, who was sent to execute on Cassius the orders of Augustus, embezzled his papers, and from them produced the tragedy of *Thyestes*. This is the celebrated work which has been before mentioned, as the production of Varius, of whom we have had occasion to speak, and who has here been confounded, as in other places, with Varus. The grammarians, however, as if determined to deprive Varius of the credit of this tragedy, have attributed it to Virgil.¹ A poem called *Orpheus*, consisting of nineteen lines,

¹ Donat. Vit. Virg. xx.; Serv. in Ecl. iii.

and which, if genuine, must have been only a fragment of a larger *Virgil.* composition, was given to the world by Achilles Statius, as the work of Cassius of Parma, discovered among the Bruttii. But as Statius did not condescend to enter minutely on the evidences of its genuineness, there is every reason to believe that it was a forgery.¹ The poem may be found, with numerous illustrative references, in the second volume of Wernsdorf's comprehensive and accurate edition of the Latin minor poets.

To the year following the battle of Actium, the completion of the *Georgics* is commonly assigned. At what time the *Æneid* *The Æneid.* was first projected, is uncertain; but Virgil, like our Milton, appears from a very early period to have had a strong desire of composing an epic poem, and, like him also, to have been long undecided on his subject. That he had attempted something of the kind, before the eclogues were finished, is evident from these verses in his *Silenus* :

Quùm canerem *reges et prælia*, Cynthus aurem
Vellit, et admonuit,—

and his ambition to produce some work of distinguished excellence is attested by the ardent exclamation in the opening of the IIIrd *Georgic* :

Tentanda via est, quâ me quoque possim
Tollere humo, victorque virûm volitare per ora.

Even in his *Culex*, which he is said to have written at fifteen years of age, he gives promise of higher things :

Posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur
Nostra, dabunt quùm securos mihi tempora fructûs
Ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

He is said to have begun a metrical chronicle of the Alban kings, but afterwards to have desisted in consequence of the harshness of the names.² After the completion of the *Georgics*, or, perhaps, some short time before, he laid down the plan of a regular epic on the wanderings of Æneas, and the Roman destinies; to form a sort of continuation of the *Iliad* to the Roman times, and to combine the features of that poem and the *Odyssey*. *The Iliad and Odyssey.* The idea was sufficiently noble, and the poem, long before its publication, or even conclusion, had obtained the very highest reputation. While Virgil was employed on the *Æneid*, "*quo nullum Latio clarius exstat opus*," Propertius wrote with generous admiration :

Cedite, Romani scriptores ! cedite, Graii !
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade !

¹ Bernhardt attributes it to Antonio Telesio the Neapolitan. (*Grundriss der Röm. Lit. Anm.* 320.)

² Donat. *Vit. Virg.* viii.; Serv. in *Ecl.* vi.

Virgil.

Augustus, while absent on his Cantabrian campaign, wrote repeatedly to Virgil for extracts from his poem in progress; but the poet declined, on the ground that his work was unworthy the perusal of the prince. The correspondence is recorded by Macrobius, in the 1st Book of the *Saturnalia*; but its genuineness is very questionable.

It would be palpably superfluous, in a work of this nature, to attempt an elaborate criticism on this great poem, familiar from their childhood to all persons of education. Most scholars are agreed that it wants the natural freshness and freedom of Homer, while it exhibits a degree of art, elegance, and majesty never attempted in any poem, save the *Georgics* of its author. It may, however, be pertinent to remark, that, smooth and uniform as its surface seems, it is really, in great measure, *mosaic*. That Virgil should have translated whole passages out of Homer, or even the Alexandrine writers, is no matter of censure: he and his contemporaries would have thought the absence of such "*purpurei panni*" a defect; and the high authorities of Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, Camoens, and Milton ratify their opinion. But the same cannot be said of plagiarisms from *Latin* authors. How unscrupulously he appropriated whole verses of Ennius, of Lucretius, of Lucilius, of even his friend Varius, and of others, the curious reader may find in the VIth Book of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, which will abundantly repay his perusal. It may be right to add that the *Æneid* is a most conspicuous evidence of the learning, diligence, and antiquarian research of its illustrious author.

[¹Availing himself of the pride and superstition of the Roman people, which never abounded more than during the Augustan age, the poet traces the origin and establishment of the "eternal city" to those heroes and actions which had enough in them of what was human and ordinary to excite the sympathy of his countrymen; intermingled with persons and circumstances of an extraordinary and superhuman character, to awaken their admiration and their awe. No subject could have been more happily chosen. It has been admired too for its perfect unity of action; for while the episodes command the richest variety of description, they are always subordinated to the main object of the poem, which is to impress the *divine* authority under which Æneas first settled in Italy. The wrath of Juno, upon which the whole fate of Æneas seems at first suspended, is at once that of a woman and a goddess: the passion of Dido, and her general character, bring us nearer the present world; but the poet is continually introducing higher

¹ The portion bracketed is taken, with slight alterations, from the article *Æneid*, formerly printed in the lexicographical part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. The writer is unknown to the present editor.

and more effectual influences, until, by the intervention of the *Virgil* father of gods and men, the Trojan name is to be continued in the Roman, and thus heaven and earth are appeased.

Hinc genus, Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
Supra homines, supra ire Deos pietate videbis;
Nec gens ulla tuos æque celebrabit honores.
Annuit his Juno, et mentem lætata retorsit.

Æneid, xii. 841.

The style, for sweetness and for beauty, occasionally, and in the author's finished passages, surpasses almost every other production of antiquity. "I see no foundation," says Dr. Blair, "for the opinion entertained by some critics that the *Æneid* is to be considered as an allegorical poem, which carries a constant reference to the character and reign of Augustus Cæsar; or that Virgil's main design, in composing the *Æneid*, was to reconcile the Romans to the government of that prince, who is supposed to be shadowed out under the character of Æneas. . . . He had sufficient motives, as a poet, to determine him to the choice of his subject, from its being in itself both great and pleasing; from its being suited to his genius, and its being attended with peculiar advantages for the full display of poetical talents."¹

The first six books of the *Æneid* are the most elaborate part of the poem. The imperfections of the *Æneid* are alleged to be want of originality in some of the principal scenes, and defectiveness in the exhibition of character. That of Dido is by far the most decided and complete. But Voltaire has justly observed upon the strange confusion of interest excited by the story of the wars in Italy, in which one is continually tempted to espouse the cause of Turnus rather than that of Æneas; and to which the exquisite scenes for displaying the tenderness of the poet in narrating the story of Lavinia, seem to have been his only temptation.]

On his return from the Cantabrian expedition, debilitated by exertion and disease, it is probable that Augustus wrote to Mæcenæ the letter mentioned by Suetonius in his *Life of Horace*, in which he offered the poet the office of his private secretary. "*Ante*," says he, "*ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistolis amicorum: nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum te cupio adducere. Veniat igitur ab istâ parasiticâ mensâ ad hanc regiam, et nos in scribendis epistolis juvabit.*" Horace declined the offer: and the emperor, so far from discovering the least resentment, continued towards him his friendship and familiarity. In the letters which he afterwards addressed to him, he entreated him to assume the liberties of an intimate associate, and, with a felicity which only the Greek expression can attempt, courted his acquaintance: "*neque si*

¹ Lectures on Rhetoric, vol. iii.

Virgil.

ut superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisi, ideò nos quoque ἀνθυπερφρονοῦμεν."¹

For five years after the return of Augustus, Horace continued to enjoy an uninterrupted tranquillity, in the most perfect conceivable independence, although mingling with the utmost intimacy among the great and powerful, who sought his society even to obsequiousness. At the end of this period an event occurred which forms a prominent feature both in the biography of the poet, and in the poetical history of the time. Virgil, who had just revised and altered the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, with a view to giving the ultimate polish to the *Æneid*, which he had now completed, projected a tour in Greece and Asia. With a dread almost prophetic, and an ardour not disproportionate, Horace addressed the ship which bore his departing friend :

Sic te Diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obstrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ !²

So speed thee Cyprus' goddess bright,
So Helen's brethren, those twin lords of light ;
So the great sire of every wind,
None, save the soft North-west, for thee unbind—
O bark, I thee implore,
Thy charge, my Virgil, to the Attick shore
In safety waft across the wave,
And thus the half of my existence save !

At Athens Virgil met with Augustus, who was returning from Samos, where he had wintered after his Syrian expedition, to Rome. Changing his former intention, Virgil determined to accompany his patron. On a visit to Megara he was seized with a sudden indisposition, which his voyage increased, and he died a few days after his arrival at Brundisium, in his fifty-second year. On his death-bed he earnestly desired that his *Æneid* might be burned, and even left in his will an injunction to that effect. Being, however, informed by the celebrated Varius and Plotius Tucca, (the same who is mentioned by Horace, in his journey to Brundisium,) that Augustus would not permit the destruction of his poem, he left it to them to publish, on condition that they would make no additions to the text, even for the purpose of supplying an unfinished verse. How far his executors were faithful to their

Death of
Virgil.

¹ Or ἀνθυπερφηφανοῦμεν, as some read ; which is perhaps better.

² Lib. i. Od. iii.

trust, must now be uncertain; several unfinished verses are Virgil. extant in the *Æneid*; but the terminations of some complete lines render it not improbable that they have been supplied by another pen. The biography and the writings of Virgil have, unfortunately, fallen into the hands of ignorant grammarians and monastics, who



Tomb of Virgil.

have most miserably corrupted both. It is not the object of this memoir to relate all the absurd legends with which his biographers have disfigured his history: the curious reader, however, may derive amusement from the perusal of the article *Virgile*, in Bayle's *Dictionary*, in which several anecdotes concerning the *magical* powers of the poet are selected, which probably arose out of his well-known attachment to the study of natural philosophy. The corruptions of his writings are chiefly to be found in his minor poems. Donatus mentions, as his acknowledged works, the *Catalecta*, the *Moretum*, the *Priapeia*, the *Epigrams*, the *Diræ*, and the *Culex*; and notices a poem called *Ætna*, the genuineness of which he considers doubtful. This poem is to be found, illustrated with copious dissertations, and notices of the authors to whom it has been ascribed, in the fourth volume of Wernsdorf's *Poëtae Minores*, where it is attributed to Lucilius Junior, a writer of the time of Nero. To these, Servius adds the *Cirina*, which is the same with the *Ciris*, before noticed as ascribed to Catullus, and the *Copa*. The *Catalecta* are miscellaneous little poems, mostly in the style of Catullus. One Epigram, intituled *Votum pro susceptâ Æneïde*, will not be ungrateful to the reader:

Virgil's
minor
poems.

Virgil.

Si mihi susceptum fuerit decurrere munus,
 O Paphon, ò sedes quæ colis Idalias !
 Troïus Æneas Romana per oppida digno
 Jam tandem ut tecum carmine vectus eat :
 Non ego thure modò, aut pictâ tua templa tabellâ
 Ornabo, et puris sarta feram manibus :
 Corniger hos aries humiles et maxima taurus
 Victima sacratos tinget honore focos ;
 Marmoreusque tibi, Dea, versicoloribus alis,
 In morem pictâ stabit Amor pharetrâ.
 Adsis, ò Cytherea ! tuus te Cæsar Olympo,
 Et Surrentini litoris ora vocant.

Dweller of Paphos and bright Idaly !
 If thou shalt grant my toils auspicious end,
 And Troy's Æneas, guided on by thee,
 Through Latian towns in worthy strain shall wend :
 Not limner's art alone, or fragrant cloud,
 Or flowers from holy hands shall grace thy fane ;
 The horned ram, the bull (thank-offering proud !)
 With generous stream thy hallowed hearth shall stain ;
 Of marble mould, with wings of many a dye,
 And painted quiver, Love shall stand for thee :
 Then haste ! thy Cæsar calls thee from thy sky :
 Surrentum calls thee by the glittering sea.



Surrentum.

It is scarcely necessary to distinguish the *Catalecta* from the *Epigrammata*. The nature of the *Priapeïa*, it is obviously unnecessary to investigate. The work now extant under that title is, substantially, Augustan, but the character of Virgil forbids us to

suppose that his pen has contributed to it in any important degree. The *Diræ* is a poem attributed, as we have already seen, to Valerius Cato. The *Moretum* is a piece of very peculiar beauty; and approaches nearer to Theocritus in spirit than any of the *Bucolics*. It bears also a remarkable resemblance to Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy*. It is a lively description of a rustic's day, and takes its name from a kind of salad, called *Moretum*, the making of which is described in it. The *Copa* is a Bacchanalian invitation in the person of a *Copa*, or Syrian woman, who attended, as a dancer or singer, on houses of public entertainment—" *Ambubaiarum collegia*."

Of all the minor poems, however, ascribed to Virgil, the *Culex Culex*. is, for many reasons, the best deserving notice. Whatever doubts may be thrown on the genuineness of the others, there seems to be every reason for believing that this poem, allowing for all its gross and manifold corruptions, is the work of Virgil. That Virgil wrote a poem bearing this name cannot be questioned; for, besides the testimony of Donatus and Servius, we have the more respectable evidences of Martial,¹ Statius,² and Lucan,³ for the fact. Donatus quotes two verses from the poem, and Nonius Marcellus one, which are found in the extant copies. The poem, however, seems to have suffered much from alterations and interpolations. Allowing for these, it must have been a very beautiful production, and by far the most original effort of Virgil's muse. It opens with a dedication to Octavius; who this Octavius was is a matter of uncertainty. In the *Catalecta* mention is made of a certain Octavius who died in a paroxysm of anger occasioned by drinking; if this person be, as some commentators suppose, the same to whom the *Culex* is addressed, he cannot be the Octavius of whose opinion Horace speaks so highly in the Xth Satire of his Ist Book, since the *Catalecta* were, according to Donatus's account, completed when Virgil was fifteen years of age.⁴ From the dedication, the poet proceeds to a most glowing description of sunrise, and a goatherd driving his flock afield: and thence takes occasion to indulge in a long digression on the happiness of rural life, which, though less polished, is more winning and pathetic than the corresponding passage in the *Georgics*. He has not, indeed, surpassed in intensity of relish for the country his great model Lucretius; but he has amplified him with great taste and independence, and this passage, taken all in all, is one of the most vivid and delicious in the whole range of Latin Poetry. From this, Virgil returns to his short narrative. The noon approaches, and his rustic hero seeks the shelter of a grove to enjoy his *siesta*. While he is sleeping, a

¹ viii. 56. and xiv. 185.

² 2 Sylv. vii. 74. Id. Præf. Sylv. lib. i.

³ Suet. Vit. Lucani.

⁴ Some, however correct, twenty-five.

Virgil.

serpent is on the point of destroying him, when a gnat, perceiving his danger, gives notice to him by a timely sting. Enraged with the insect, of whose benevolent intention he is ignorant, he instantly crushes him. At night, however, the shade of the gnat appears to him, and, after a poetical but tedious description of the regions of the departed, reproaches him for his ingratitude. In this passage the reader may trace the sketches from which Virgil afterwards drew his finished pictures of the appearance of Hector, and the descents of Orpheus and Æneas. The goatherd, on awaking, as the only compensation in his power, erects a monument to his benefactor, with an inscription, which concludes the poem :

Parve Culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
Funeris officium vitæ pro munere reddit.

Anser.

Virgil, by his amiable and conciliatory life, had established himself in the esteem of all the most eminent of his literary contemporaries. From Donatus, however, we learn that Anser declined his acquaintance from party considerations, being himself attached to Antony, in whose praise he composed a poem. This Anser is called by Ovid "*Cinnâ procacior*."¹ Yet the splendour of Virgil's success attracted many to perish in the blaze which they sought to extinguish. On the appearance of his *Bucolics*, an anonymous author published a dull parody, called *Antibucolica*; and one Carvilius Pictor, in imitation of his worthy prototype Zoilus, composed an *Æneïdomastix*. Bavius and Mævius, proverbial names for the impersonation of united dullness, envy, and calumny, attacked

Cornificius.

Virgil; and Cornificius, also, appears to have written against him. The works of this poet are compared by Ovid to those of Valerius Cato:² they were, therefore, probably, satirical productions in the style of the *Diræ*, or amatory pieces, which Cato is said to have written, and traces of which are to be found, as we have seen, in the *Diræ*, as now extant, itself. Virgil is said to have retaliated on Cornificius under the name of Amyntas, in his *Alexis* and *Daplnis*.³ But the most triumphant refutation of his adversaries has been the judgment of posterity. No writer, probably, ever exercised so wide an influence either in time or space. His works became forthwith, and still remain, textbooks and schoolbooks; they were even translated into Greek; they were commented on by a cloud of grammarians; they were the subject of innumerable epigrams; they were formed into centos;⁴ they were used for the

¹ ii. Trist. 435.

² Ib. 436.

³ Serv. in Ecl. ii. and v.

⁴ CENTO, Gr. *κέντρων*, originally a needle, and in a secondary sense a garment of patchwork (sewed together by *needles*); hence the word is metaphorically applied to a poem composed of verses or parts of verses taken and put together from other authors. Tertullian (*de Præscript.* 39) seems to imply that the *Medea*, the lost tragedy of Ovid, was a cento from Virgil. The nuptial Idyl of Ausonius (which deserves another epithet than that of "pleasant," bestowed upon

purposes of divination. Virgil was the model of the Carlovingian Virgil. poets; the “Magnus Apollo” of the chivalrous Von Valdeck; Dante

it by Mr. Cambridge, and copied from him by Mr. D’Israeli) is the next in antiquity which is extant. The poet, in his introduction to this “literary folly,” *frivolum et nullius pretii opusculum*, which he appears to have put together at the command of the Emperor Valentinian, has given some rules by which similar compositions may be regulated. After describing it antithetically as *de inconnexis continuum, de diversis unum, de seriis ludicrum, de alieno nostrum*, he proceeds to state that a Cento is formed by taking lines from various places, and applying them in a new sense. A line may be taken entire or divided, but two lines must never be taken together. It is observable, however, that Ausonius himself has not adhered to his own rules. A Cento from Homer on the life of our Saviour has been ascribed to the learned Athenais, better known as the Empress Eudocia. It has been repeatedly printed, but the silence of Photius, and of many authors besides, who have mentioned other works of Eudocia, have induced most critics to deny her claim to this insipid performance (Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* i. 357), and it is more generally attributed to Pelagius, who lived under Zeno in the fifth century. That of Proba Falconia (the wife of Anicius Probus, a Prætorian Præfect under the Emperor Gratian) on the same subject, from Virgil, is believed to be more genuine. It may be found in the *Bibl. Patrum*. In the sixteenth century the Capilupi of Mantua, Lælius and Julius his nephew, were celebrated artizans in this species of trifling. The best known performance of the first is *Cento Virgilianus de vitâ Monachorum quos fratres appellant*. It was printed at Basle, in 1556, in an octavo volume entitled *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu Poemata*. To these writers may be added Heinsius, who has made various attempts of this kind, Spera de Pomerico, and Alexander Ross in his *Virgilius Evangelizans*. In our own days the achievements of the heroic Nelson have furnished a distinguished scholar with a theme, which, under the title *Brontes*, he has managed with considerable ingenuity, and parts of which may be accepted as specimens of this sort of composition in general. In allusion to Lord Nelson serving under Lord St. Vincent in the *Agamemnon*, the poet has the following lines:

Proposuit nobis exemplar¹ maximus Heros,²
Res Agamemnonias, victriciaque arma secutus³
Ejus qui⁴ clarum VINCENDO nomen habebat.⁵

Again, on his commanding the *Elephant*, at the battle of Copenhagen,

——— quid illo Cive tulisset
Natura in terris aut Roma beatius unquam,
Si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
Bellorum pompâ, animam exhalâset opimam,⁶
Cum Gætula ducem⁷—nomen quoque monstra dedere⁸
Roboribus textis⁹—portaret bellua luscum:¹
Atque indignantes in jura redegerit Arctos.²

Buonaparte is thus described:

Unus homo tantas³ quem misit Corsica⁴ strages
Ediderit.⁵

¹ Hor. l Ep. ii. 18.

² Æn. vi. 192.

³ Æn. iii. 54.

⁴ Hor. 4 Od. viii. 18.

⁵ Ovid. Met. v. 425.

⁶ Juv. x. 278.

⁷ Juv. x. 158.

⁸ Ovid. Met. ii. 675.

⁹ Æn. ii. 186.

¹ Juv. x. 158.

² Claud. de iv. Cons. Hon. 336.

³ Æn. ix. 783.

⁴ Juv. v. 92.

⁵ Æn. ix. 783.

Virgil.

exulted in his guidance; and the later poetry of all Europeans has done homage to his supremacy. In person, according to Donatus, Virgil was tall; his complexion was dark, his expression rustic, his manners shy, and of almost feminine modesty. These particulars may very well be traditional.

Death and
notice of
Tibullus.

The death of Virgil was shortly succeeded by an event scarcely less afflicting to Horace and to literary Rome:

Te quoque Virgilio comitem non æqua, TIBULLE,
Mors juvenem campos misit ad Elysios,
Ne foret aut elegis molles qui fleret amores,
Aut caneret forti regia bella pede.¹



Tibullus.

ALBIUS TIBULLUS had been associated with Horace, if not by the bonds of intimate friendship, yet by the sympathies of liberal pursuits; to his candour and discrimination Horace submitted his ethical writings, and from Horace he received counsel and consolation in the sufferings of disappointed love.² If the Vth Elegy of the IIIrd Book be genuine, he was born U. C. 711, the same year as Ovid. But this is very unlikely, as on this calculation he must have died at the age of twenty-four. In consequence, some critics carry the birth of Tibullus twenty years back from this date. He was of an equestrian family, and served under M. Valerius Messala Corvinus in the Gallic wars. The real name of his Delia, as we learn from Apuleius,³ was Plania; and it is probable that Glycera was disguised under that of Nemesis. On his return from

And, lastly, his vain wish to invade Britain is given as follows:

Eia age⁶ sollicitos Galli dicamus amores!⁷
Toto namque fremunt condensæ litore puppes.⁸
Uritur interea ripæ ulterioris amore.⁹
Fata obstant, tristique palus inamabilis undâ.¹

[This note is reprinted from the lexicographical part of the former edition of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The author is unknown to the present editor, who only remarks that the *Cento* of Ausonius, if we are to believe its compiler, was certainly written at the desire of Valentinian; and that the evangelical *Cento* from Homer seems rather hardly dealt with, when its extraordinary ingenuity is considered.]

¹ Domitii Marsi Epigramma.

² 1 Ep. iv. and 1 Od. xxxiii.

³ Apolog. 106.

⁶ Æn. iv. 569.

⁷ Ecl. x. 6.

Æn. viii. 497.

⁹ Æn. vi. 314.

¹ Æn. vi. 438.

his third military expedition with his patron Messala, he retired to his seat near Pedum, between Præneste and Tibur, to enjoy, apparently, after a life devoted to the cares and excitements of passion, the advantages of that true philosophy, which, teaching him to regard every morning as his last, made each completed day wear the welcome appearance of an unexpected friend. It was here that he polished those beautiful productions, which have immortalized his name; which breathe, in the refined language of his period, though inartificially, the spirit of unambitious domestic enjoyment, the pure love of nature and country life, the delights of peace, retirement, affection, and friendship (subjectively, however, rather than graphically); and (as Bernhardt has criticised with no less truth than beauty) “the quiet peacefulness of an almost childlike disposition.”¹ It was here that he lived in the society of the most eminent contemporary poets, and that he died u. c. 735 or 736, bewailed by the Muse of Ovid. It is tolerably clear, both from external and internal considerations, that not all the poetry we possess under the name of Tibullus is genuine. The two first books of elegies are undisputed; but the third is doubtful,² and the fourth almost undoubtedly spurious; especially the panegyric on Messala.

In elegy, which he had wrought to the highest degree of excellence, as most modern readers will agree with Quintilian,³ Tibullus was succeeded by S. Aurelius Propertius, who was born about u. c. 700, at Mevania, in Umbria.⁴ He lost his father early, and was educated for the bar. But, driven from his country possessions, as has been already mentioned, he came to Rome, where he associated with Mæcenas, and the chief literary men of his time. Few particulars are known of his life. The real name of his “Cynthia” was Hostia, as we learn



Propertius.

Propertius.

¹ “Die Tibullische Muse athmet den stillen Frieden eines fast kindlichen Gemüths.”—*Grundr. der Röm. Lit.* § 94.

² Ovid knew only two mistresses of Tibullus, Delia and Nemesis, (3 Am. ix.); but the heroine of the third book is Neæra. Moreover, the author calls himself Lygdamus; an assumed name, probably; but Tibullus, in all likelihood, would have assumed a name prosodically correspondent to his own. The author may have been Cassius of Parma, as Oebecke conjectures.

³ “Elegiâ quoque Græcos provocamus; cujus mihi tersus atque elegans maximè videtur auctor Tibullus; sunt qui Propertium malint.”—*Quinct.* x. l.

⁴ 4 Eleg. i. 125. Notwithstanding the direct testimony of the poet himself, Ameria, Hispellum, and Assisium have been assigned by different critics.

Horace.

from Apuleius.¹ She was a poetess,² and was probably descended from the poet Hostius,³ of whom mention has been already made. Propertius, though an amatory poet, was permitted to be read by the Fathers of Trent: a distinction probably granted to his learning and stiffness, which disfigure his pathos, while they mitigate his *lubricitas*. His obscurity, in this point of view, may also have weighed in his favour. He was the avowed imitator and rival of Callimachus and Philetas; and, therefore, is far less original and attractive than Tibullus: though the reputation of his four books of elegies has been deservedly high, from their first appearance till the present day. He meditated an epic; but he felt himself unequal to the task, and acted on the principle of the sound Horatian maxim.⁴ He appears to have died under forty years of age.

Horace was now approaching his fiftieth year, and the loss of two friends, with whom he had been so long associated, threw back on his heart a tide of generous affection, which soon flowed towards his early and benevolent patrons Augustus and Mæcenas. The former, at once to prove his friendship for the poet and his admiration of his genius, selected him to compose the hymn to be sung in honour of Apollo and Diana at the Sæcular games. This poem is, in all respects, extremely valuable; for not only is it a composition of high intrinsic excellence, but it is the only considerable extant specimen of the lyrical part of the Roman worship. The hymn of Catullus cannot endure any comparison with it, although probably written for a similar occasion. The *Carmen Sæculare*, in most editions, begins with "*Phœbe, sylvarumque potens Diana*," and ends with "*Dicere laudes*." Some scholars, however, among whom is Sanadon, take a far more extensive range. They make the poem consist of three parts, with a sort of prelude or introduction, which is supplied by the first stanza of the Ist Ode of the IIIrd Book. On the first day, say they, were sung the seven first stanzas of the VIth Ode of the IVth Book; on the second, the XXIst Ode of the Ist Book: and on the third, the poem, commonly reputed the *Carmen Sæculare*, followed by an Epilogue, which is furnished by the remaining stanzas of the VIth Ode of the IVth Book. Nearly the same arrangement is adopted by Anchersen. There is no doubt that this arrangement produces a very noble and beautiful structure, and that the fugitive pieces which it has been attempted to collect into a regular whole have connection with the subject; there is not, however, any evidence beyond internal congruity in favour of this ingenious collocation.

*Carmen
Sæculare.*

Lyric
Poetry.

In one sense, the *Carmen Sæculare* is the most valuable production of Horace for illustrating the genius of its author. That the Romans, while they cultivated every other species of the Greek

¹ In Apolog.

² Prop. 1 Eleg. ii. 27.

³ See Prop. 3 Eleg. xx. 8.

⁴ 3 Eleg. iii. Hor. de Art. Poët. 39.

poetry, should have neglected the lyric, is easily explained from the Horace. unpoetical cast of the national character. Though deficient themselves in invention, they could appreciate and imitate the more regulated flights of the Mæonian swan; but when the "Theban eagle" was

Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air,

he was, to their eyes, lost in the clouds above which he was towering. Horace was fully sensible of this; and although his brilliant eulogium on Pindar proves how entirely he understood and felt the beauties of the Theban, he considered a successful effort to imitate his style and sentiment impossible.¹ The attempt, however, was made by Septimius Titius, supposed to be the same to whom Horace addressed the VIth Ode of the IIInd Book, and whom he recommended with so much delicacy and elegance to Tiberius.² Antonius Rufus was equally venturous.³ But the real success of these poets may be fairly estimated from the judgment of Quintilian, who, as was before observed, considers Horace almost the only Latin lyricist worth reading. Although, however, lyrical poetry never *flourished* in Latium, there were occasions when it was necessary that it should be cultivated. These were religious festivals. On the due observation of the ceremonies of religion, the welfare of the State was supposed greatly to depend; and, as the enthusiasm of Roman patriotism is beyond question, it might fairly be supposed that in their hymns, at least, there would be traces of inspiration. The fact, however, is otherwise. The *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace, therefore, is not a composition refined and corrected on a long series of approved models, but a production possessing the highest excellences of its class, written amidst a people, who, with every inducement to cultivate this species of poetry, had totally failed in it. So pleased was Augustus with this composition, that he commanded Horace to celebrate in an ode the victory which Drusus and Tiberius obtained over the Rhæti and Vindelici,⁴ which poem, together with the book of which it forms a part, was published by the emperor's order, in the same year, according to Bentley, with the *Carmen Sæculare*.

Nor was Augustus desirous alone to have his public successes embalmed in the verses of Horace. He read the poet's *Epistles* and *Satires*, and felt chagrined and discontented because none of them were addressed to himself. "I am angry with you," he writes to Horace," because you do not especially choose me to converse with in the principal part of your writings of this nature. Do you fear

Epistles to
Augustus
and the
Pisos.

¹ 4 Od. ii.

² 1 Ep. iii.

³ Ov. iv. Ep. ex Pont. vi. et Burmanni not. Bähr considers *Valgius Rufus* intended. Gesch. der Röm. Lit. s. 146.

⁴ Suet. in Vit. Hor.

Horace.

lest the appearance of my intimacy should injure you with posterity?"¹ To this flattering reproof, Horace replied by the Ist Epistle of the IInd Book, in which he extricates himself from the charge of neglect, with that consummate skill and address which were so peculiarly his own. From this highly valuable composition we obtain materials for the most correct and methodical investigation of the whole history of Latin poetry. We have, in the early part of this memoir, acknowledged our obligation to Horace in this respect; and it is mainly in consequence of this epistle that this obligation is contracted. We have followed its guidance up to the Augustan age; and the present will be the most favourable opportunity of examining, by its light, what was at that time the general state of poetry, and, in particular, that of the drama. The subject and style of *The Art of Poetry* are so similar to those of the *Epistle to Augustus*, that it will be convenient, both for conciseness and perspicuity, to examine them together.

Art of
Poetry, or,
Epistle to
the Pisos.

Dr. Hurd, in his very minute and elaborate commentary on the two great critical epistles of Horace, supposes that the *Epistle to the Pisos* was written with a view to the regeneration of the Roman drama exclusively; that, on this assumption, the poem is reducible to a regular and consistent plan; and that all which it contains concerning other departments of poetry may easily be referred to that digressive character which is essential to the freedom of epistolary writing. No reader will contest the ingenuity of the hypothesis, or the plausibility of many of the arguments by which it is supported; yet it is impossible to rise from the perusal of Dr. Hurd's observations without feeling that his connexions, in many instances, are anything but natural. To find an accurate system in Horace is what is not to be expected; a conversational absence of method and a "graceful negligence" have been pointed out as his distinguishing features, by an author who entered more fully into the spirit of his essays than perhaps any critic or commentator whatever; and with respect to the greater number of his *Satires* and *Epistles*, this opinion neither has been, nor can be, controverted. It does not, therefore, appear probable that Horace intended, in his *Epistle to the Pisos*, an exception to the general style of his other epistolary writings: or, if such has been his intention, never was art more artificially concealed. Later writers, among whom are Colman, Wieland, Mittermayer, Orelli, have thought it the intention of Horace to deter the Pisos, or some one or more of them, from the path of poetry, which they were unqualified to pursue. That some of that family had trodden it, and, in Pliny's opinion, with success, is evident from a letter of that writer to Spurrinna.² It has been too much the fashion to neglect or

¹ Suet. in Vit. Hor.² v. 17.

despise the old scholiasts, whereas they are often the only sources of authentic information. Porphyrius tells us that the *Art of Poetry* was principally compiled from the more methodical work of Neoptolemus: and as this account appears liable to no objections, the most probable conclusion that can be formed on the subject is that Horace intended to convey in a popular form the elements of critical science, as he had already treated those of the science of ethics.

But although it may not be universally admitted that Horace had no other object in writing this epistle than the recovery, if possible, of the Roman drama, it might be expected that in a treatise, however familiar and unmethodical, on poetry, the drama would claim a very peculiar attention; and that this attention would in no small degree be augmented by the extreme degeneracy of that province of poetry at the time when this treatise was written. Without entering on an investigation of the causes of the disease, which appear to have been numerous and complicated, the literary patriot would point out to his countrymen the means of remedy, by recalling their attention to just models, and well-grounded maxims. And this is exactly what Horace has done. Although all his precepts are intended for the Roman poet, he admits no other excellence (except in subject) than that which the Greeks allowed; and experience proves that, however controvertible may be the efficiency of his canons in modern poetry, the Romans, whose main excellence was imitation, succeeded precisely in proportion as they regarded the laws, which, existing before in the reason of things, or in the practice of the Greeks, were digested and elucidated by Horace. While reconducting the dramatist, as well as every other poet, to the study of those authors from whom the best writers for the Roman stage had learned their art, Horace has not been unmindful of his father's philosophy,¹ which taught him to ground his precepts on example: his rules, though general in their form, glance at particular beauties and demerits in Roman authors. The loss of the great mass of Latin dramatic literature makes it sometimes impossible to appropriate his allusions, and, occasionally, perhaps, to perceive them. A curious passage in Cicero enables us to determine the scope of one of these with some certainty. The first judgment which the poet passes on the drama, is on the style of its versification:

Versibus exponi Tragicis res Comica nonvult:
Indignatur item PRIVATIS et PROPE SOCCO
DIGNIS CARMINIBUS NARRARI CENA THYESTÆ.

Cicero,² speaking of the difficulty of understanding the melody of

¹ 1 Sat. iv. 105, *seqq.*

² Orator. lv.

Horace.

poetry adapted to music, quotes the following line from the *Thyestes* of Ennius :

Quemnam te esse dicam ? qui tardâ in senectute—

and adds : “*et quæ sequuntur ; QUÆ NISI QUUM TIBICEN ACCESSIT, ORATIONI SUNT SOLUTÆ SIMILLIMA.*” There is little doubt, therefore, that in this passage the poet designed to illustrate his meaning more particularly by reference to this tragedy of Ennius ; and this observation may serve as a general view of the conduct of the epistle.

It cannot be distinctly ascertained to whom this epistle was addressed : but the conjecture of Dacier is probable ; namely, that Lucius Piso may claim this honour, who was Consul u. c. 738, and his two sons, Cnæus and Lucius.

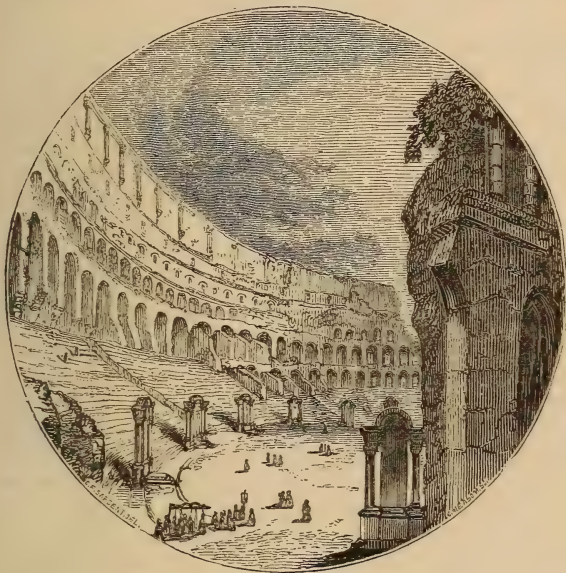
Causes of
Dramatic
degeneracy.

We shall now discuss briefly the causes of what may be called the total extinction of the drama, in an age when every other department of poetry had reached the meridian of cultivation. The want of encouragement afforded to poetry of any kind, which once operated so powerfully against the interests of the drama, was now removed ; and it might have been supposed that Nævius and Cæcilius, Attius and Pacuvius, would have been supplanted in an age when Ennius and Lucilius were superseded by Virgil and Horace. The truth is, we can never hope to reason correctly of the general state of poetry in a nation from that of the drama. The former varies with the cultivation of the few ; the latter, with the promiscuous taste of the people. At Athens, where the existence of a large slave population afforded no inconsiderable leisure to the meanest citizens, and every citizen was an integral part of the government, there were necessarily many opportunities and advantages for forming a just taste among the people ; and to these we may in some measure attribute the encouragement which the drama received at their hands, and the consequent excellence of their dramatists. In the early ages of Roman literature, the case was widely different. While the Attic husbandman was enjoying Aristophanes and Menander, the Roman nobleman was at his plough. This state of things had yet its relative advantages for the drama. As the disregard of literature was nearly universal, there were few literary patrons for poets to cultivate ; and hence they were almost compelled to appeal for their fame to a theatrical audience. Plays, therefore, constituted the principal part of the early Roman poetry : but their judges were too easily pleased, too ignorant of the sources whence the poets drew, and too careless, or indifferent, to allow the drama to attain that vigorous health and mature proportion which it had acquired in Greece. When, therefore, in a happier age, literary, and especially poetical, excellence became the certain path to distinction and honour, the fluctuating decisions of popular caprice

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were, naturally enough, deserted for the steadier countenance of the learned. In the mean time, while learning had been advancing in the higher classes, the ferocity of the lower remained unmitigated ; or, at best, was tempered only by the vices which naturally arose out of an unsettled government, a luxurious aristocracy, and an intercourse with the refuse of mankind from every part of the known world. The Augustan Romans were as little civilised as the audiences of Livius and Nævius ; but they had lost the virtues of uncivilised life, and, with these, the power to appreciate and enjoy every thing intellectual.¹

At no time, indeed, does the Roman public appear to have



The Coliseum.

entertained a very poignant relish for the drama. Plays were acted as part of religious ceremonies ; and the people attended them among the customary exhibitions, of which they were generally the least attractive, because the least intelligible. Even in the age of Terence,

¹ The causes of the neglect which the Romans manifested towards the Drama, especially in the age of Augustus, have been much canvassed. Several probable hypotheses have been assigned by Tiraboschi, and by Frederick Schlegel, in his third lecture on the History of Literature. Mr. Dunlop, in his History of Roman Literature, has some good observations on the same subject ; but he has pillaged most unreservedly from both.

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the golden period of the Roman drama, buffoons and gladiators could at any time divert the attention of an unlettered and savage audience from dramatic entertainments. When the *Hecyra* of Terence was first brought on the stage,¹ the devotion of the mob to boxers and rope-dancers would not allow it to be heard through: when it was produced for the second time, a sudden report of a gladiatorial combat caused an immediate tumult, and compelled the actors to retire. It was soon evident, that a dramatist must trust for his success to something else than the excellence of his poetry or his plot. As among ourselves,

(pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli,)

no trash was so paltry that it could not pass with the aid of spectacle; while Thalia and Melpomene themselves would have been hissed from the stage, had they ventured to appear before the sovereign people without the statutable proportion of spangles and tinsel. That writers of genius, therefore, would descend to a competition with mountebanks and property-men was not to be expected; especially where the result of the contest was so little equivocal.

There is extant a letter from Cicero to Marius,² in which the writer gives an account of the entertainments presented at Rome in the year of the City 698, 110 years after the second rejection of the *Hecyra*; which, as curiously illustrative of the state of the Roman Drama at that time, we shall here partially quote. From this it will appear that the ever-memorable *Blue Beard* is no more to be compared to a Roman spectacle, than Covent Garden theatre to the Coliseum. "If you ask how the games were got up, I must say, most splendidly: not at all, however, to your taste, so far as I may judge from mine."—"All the pleasure of the audience was engrossed in the contemplation of the pageantry: pageantry, the absence of which, I can well conceive, you would not have deeply regretted. What amusement indeed is afforded by SIX HUNDRED MULES in the Tragedy of *Clytemnestra*? or THREE THOUSAND targeteers,³ in the *Trojan Horse*? or the ornamented armour of cavalry and infantry in action? These things command the admiration of the mob, but could have afforded no pleasure to you."—"And where is the pleasure a cultivated mind can derive from seeing a defenceless man mangled by a powerful beast, or a generous beast transfixed upon a

¹ Prolog. in *Hecyr*.

² Ep. ad Familiares, vii. 1.

³ *Craterarum tria millia*. Various corrections have been suggested. Grævius conjectures the right reading to be *cetrarum*. The *cetra* was a kind of buckler made of elephant's hide, principally in use among the Spaniards and Africans. We offer, as a slight improvement on the reading of Grævius, *cetratorum, sc. militum*.

hunting-spear?"—"On the last day was the battle of the elephants; where there was enough for the mob to admire, but little to be pleased with. Indeed there was a feeling of pity, arising from the persuasion that there is some natural sympathy between that animal and man."

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This passage of Cicero brings the history of the Roman Drama very near the time of Horace; it is not matter of surprise, therefore, that, when Folly and Cruelty had taken so entire a possession of the stage, Virtue and Sense should have failed to resume their ground. These seem altogether to have departed with Roscius and Æsopus, the Kemble and Macready of that day, who, by preternatural efforts, kept them awhile in flickering vitality. Indeed the attempt at restoration would have been useless; for in the age of Horace the contamination had reached the highest classes, who no longer sought their pleasure at the theatre in listening to the melody of versification, or in acquiring noble and beautiful ideas, but in gazing on camelopards, elephants, horses, processions, and combats, the exhibition of which would sometimes occupy four hours and upwards at a time. Sometimes indeed the knights personally engaged as gladiators,¹ and performed in plays.² The encouragement which Augustus and Mæcenæ gave to literary merit would never have been resigned by any sensible poet for the precarious and worthless applause of an audience whose restless anxiety for the boxing-match or the bear-baiting might break forth in the midst of his performance. It is not improbable that this state of the Augustan stage has lost us a drama from the pen of Horace. No poet ever felt more deeply the charms of the dramatic Muses; no poet ever drew a juster picture of dramatic inspiration; nor could our own great enchanter of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* have been described more accurately than in the following lines: ³

Ille per extantum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus: et modò me Thebis, modò ponit Athenis.

But Horace judged with Aristotle,⁴ that *acting* is an essential part of the drama, and, where he could not obtain this, he preferred relinquishing dramatic writing altogether, to composing for the closet; a custom which has been always too prevalent when the stage is corrupted, and which is often the surest indication of its corruption. There were no closet dramas in the days of Attius and Pacuvius, of Shakspeare and Jonson; but we have abundance of them now; and something of the same kind appears in the time of Augustus. Fundanius, as we have seen, was pronounced by

Closet
Drama.

¹ Suet. Aug. xliii.

³ Hor. Ep. ad Aug. 210.

² Dio. Cass. liii. 56.

⁴ Poët. *passim*.

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Horace the first, or rather the only, comic poet of his day. The latter, strictly speaking, he was not; he must have been, however, a poet of no inconsiderable comparative excellence: yet it is remarkable that not only no work of his has reached us, but that we are in total ignorance who he was: his works therefore were, in all probability, known to few. But this they could not have been, had they been publicly acted. They were, probably, therefore, not intended for the stage, but were only allowed to circulate among his friends. And this hypothesis derives confirmation from the term "*libelli*," which Horace bestows on them, an expression not frequently applied to dramatic productions.

From Horace's mention of Fundanius, and the silence of all other writers respecting him, there is yet thus much to be gleaned: either he was a closet dramatist, or, though the best comic poet of his age, yet he was an author of very limited celebrity. In



Comic Actor in the Mimes.

Mimes.

either of these cases, the miserably abject state of the drama is evident; for an author of talent would never write dramas merely for the perusal of friends, when the stage could give him justice and reputation: nor can we think very highly of the dramatic excellence of a period when the best comic writer is an author whose name is scarcely known. Moreover, the tragedians of the period, who were not numerous, did not redeem their paucity by their excellence. Titius Septimius, as a cultivator of Pindaric lyrics, was likely enough to have merited Horace's description,

*Tragicâ desævît et ampullatur in arte.*¹

and Puppian, though he drew tears from his audience, has left us a better standard of his true powers, in the sly and quiet laugh which he has elicited from Horace.²

In further confirmation of the hypothesis that the legitimate drama, insulted on her proper ground, the stage, had taken refuge in the closet, we may observe that closet *Mimes*, or Farces, existed in the time of Julius Cæsar. It was usual for the author of these

¹ 1 Ep. iii. 14.

² Ibid. i. 67.

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pieces to sustain the principal character in them; yet Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight, who never designed to perform on the stage, wrote no fewer than forty-three of these. Although mimetic poetry, like the more regular drama, had decayed before the time of Augustus, we have postponed the notice of it to this place, because its history is intimately connected with that depravation of the stage which could not so conveniently have been noticed elsewhere.

In that unsettled and fluctuating state of polite learning which subsided at length into the beautiful and symmetrical fabric of the Augustan literature; when the Greek philosophy and refinement, imported by Lucretius and Cicero, were struggling with the coarser elements of the Roman idiosyncrasy, although there existed no cherishing influence to strengthen and guide their operations to the production of regular and definite excellence; when neither the encouragement of a promiscuous audience, nor the patronage of a literary aristocracy, afforded an outlet to the general fermentation: Poetry, expelled from the stage by Folly, invaded, in retaliation, the province of Buffoonery itself, and raised the old extemporaneous farces to the dignity of compositions. It has been the custom, especially among the late Latin writers, to confound the *Mime* with the *Atellane* play: the difference, however, is not inconsiderable. Mimes were imported from Sicily and Magna Græcia; they were invariably and entirely Latin: they were performed by professed actors, and not by the Roman gentry; and their whole spirit was so essentially different from that of the *Atellanes*, that Cicero almost contrasts the two species of entertainment;¹ for, in writing to Papirius Pætus, he complains that his correspondent had joked with him rather with the coarseness of the *Mime*, than the more delicate raillery of the *Atellane*:—*"Nunc venio ad jocationes tuas, quàm tu, secundum Enomaium Attii, non, ut olim solebat, Atellanum, sed, ut nunc fit, Minum introduxisti."*² True, indeed, it is, that the *Atellane*, in the period which we are treating, had risen from its original foreign and shapeless state into the rank of Latin literature in the more polished compositions of Pomponius and Novius; to the former of whom Rome was indebted for sixty of these plays, and to the latter for forty.³ But the very reason assigned by Valerius Maximus for

¹ ix. Ep. ad Fam. 16.

² Munk gives a different turn to this passage (de Fab. Atell. 125): Matthiæ (Epist. Selectt.) interprets with us. But both agree with us in allowing that it draws a sharp distinction between the *Atellane* and the *Mime*.

³ The fragments of Pomponius and Novius, as well as those of Memmius, ("qui post Novium et Pomponium diu jacentem artem Atellaniam suscitavit," Macrob. Sat. i. 10), have been laboriously collected by Munk; but there is nothing in them of sufficient extent to afford a specimen of these authors. Velleius (ii. 9) calls Pomponius "sensibus celebrem, verbis rudem, novitate a se

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the rank and privilege of actors in the Atellane, which date from its first existence,¹ is the grave character of its humour;² while, from all that can be collected from ancient authors, ribaldry and obscenity were the features of the Mime. Even Martial, who in these can scarcely be surpassed, avows that the Mimes were not less licentious than his own epigrams.³ And Ovid seems to consider them the very climax of licentiousness, when, apologising to Augustus for the freedom of his own writings, he contrasts it with the gross and undisguised impurities of the Mimes:⁴

Quid si scripsissem Mimos obscæna jocantes?

Qui vetiti *semper* crimen amoris habent;

In quibus *assidue* cultus procedit adulter,

Verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro.

* * * *

Scribere si fas est *imitantes turpia* Mimos,

Materiæ minor est debita pœna meæ.⁵

From these verses it appears that not only the character, but the plot of the Mime (which was extremely jejune) was tolerably constant. The same observation has been already made on the Roman regular Comedy: but it may be here extended; for there seem to have been some characters and situations which entered into the essence of the Mime, as is the case with our modern Harlequinades, and was with the ancient Atellane. The principal of these was *Sannio*, the prototype, most probably, of the Italian *Zanni*; for the *Panniculus*, a character which Mr. Dunlop mentions as a constant ingredient of the Mime, "who appeared in a party-coloured dress, with his head shaved, feigning stupidity or folly, and allowing blows to be inflicted on himself without cause or moderation," seems only to be a creation of that ingenious author.⁶ It appears that there was a mimetic actor thus called in the time of Domitian,⁷ who represented the slave of another actor, Latinus, in which character he was not treated in the gentlest conceivable manner; but there seems to be no reason for considering *Panniculus* other than his actual name, since we know that Latinus was a real character.⁸ In all the Mimes there was a principal performer,

inventi operis commendabilem." The "novelty" and "invention," most probably, consisted in the regular and literary form which Pomponius had bestowed on what was before wholly barbarous, and mainly, if not entirely, extemporaneous.

¹ ii. 4. 4.

² Klenze (Zur Geschichte der Altitalischen Volkstämme) will not believe Valerius, and adduces many testimonies to the impurity of the Atellanes; but these all refer to much later periods than that of which Valerius is speaking. At the same time the gravity of the early Atellanes was only comparative.

³ iii. Ep. 78.

⁴ ii. Trist. 497.

⁵ Ovid. ii. Trist. 575. See Lactant. vi. 20, 30.

⁶ Hist. of Rom. Lit. vol. i.

⁷ Mart. i. 5; ii. 72; v. 61.

⁸ Suet. Domit. xv. et Juv. Sat. i. 36; vi. 44.

to whom the rest acted as foils, and who was generally, as was before observed, the author of the piece. His part was regularly composed, but the others assisted him by extemporaneous raillery and gesticulation; and, whenever these failed, the actor left the stage precipitately, and the curtain was drawn.¹ The Planipes (Mimus), Planipedaria, or Riciniata (Fabula), which some authors distinguish from the Mime, in reality only differs from it as the Togata from the Palliata; these were names given to Mimes on Roman subjects; the derivation being from the unbuskined foot, or simple square garment (ricinium) of the actors. Mimes were so popular during the early years of the empire, that they had nearly driven the Atellanes from the stage: whence, perhaps, the confusion between these kinds of composition.

C. Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight, attached to the old Laberius. republican government, had, as we have already had occasion to observe, employed his leisure in the occasional composition of these rude dramatic sketches.² Julius Cæsar, whose object it was to crush the spirit of the Roman aristocracy, and especially of those among them whose regrets and affections lingered with former liberty and independence, offered him 500,000 sesterces to perform his own Mimes. He complied; apparently, less on account of the inducement held out to him than through fear of offending the dictator. When, however, he had consented to appear on the stage, the infamy of his concession came on his mind in all its deformity, and he expressed the bitterness of wounded honour in an indignant prologue, preserved by Macrobius,³ to whom we are indebted for this part of our history, in which he contrasted his

¹ Cic. Orat. pro Cœl., et ibi Variorum Comm.

² Macr. Sat. ii. 7.

³ Ubi suprâ. We append this piece, with a translation.

Necessitas, cujus cursûs transversî impetum
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
Quo me detrusit pæne extremis sensibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla umquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juventâ de statu;
Ecce in senectâ ut facilè labefecit loco
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
Submissa placidè blandiloquens oratio!
Etenim ipsi Dî negare cui nihil potuerunt
Hominem me denegare quis posset pati?
Ergo, bis tricenîs annis actis sine notâ,
Eques Romanus Lare egressus meo,¹
Domum revertar mimus. Nimirùm hoc die
Uno plus vixi mihi quàm vivendum fuit.

Fortuna, immoderata in bono æque atque in malo!
Si tibi erat libitum litterarum laudibus

¹ Perhaps, Laribus egressus meis.

Laberius.

former life with the situation in which he was placed by the dictator's authoritative request, whose persuasive eloquence he panegyricized in a vein of the richest irony. Not content with this, he represented, in the course of the piece, a slave flying from the whip, and exclaiming :

Porro, Quirites, Libertatem perdimus !

And afterwards added

Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent,

on which the eyes of the whole assembly were immediately turned on Cæsar. The fragments which remain of the Mimes of Laberius are neither numerous nor copious enough to afford us the

Floris cacumen nostræ famæ frangere,
Cur, quùm vigebam membris præviridantibus,
Satisfacere populo et tali cum poteram viro,
Non me flexibilem concurvâsti ut carperes ?
Nunc me quo dejicis ? quid ad scenam affero ?
Decorem formæ, an dignitatem corporis,
Animi virtutem, an vocis jucundæ sonum ?
Ut hedera serpens vires arboreas necat,
Ita me Vetustas amplexu annorum enecat :
Sepulchri similis nihil nisi nomen retineo.

Whither hath Fate, whose rushing sidelong sweep
Many have sought to shun, but few avail'd,
Driv'n me, in these my latest hours of life ?
Whom no ambition, no corruption ever,
No fear, no violence, no influence,
Could move in youth from off my stedfast ground,—
How easily in age have I been cast
Down from that eminence by the honey'd speech,
The gentle soft entreaty, speaking forth
The kindly mind of an illustrious man !
Who would endure that I, poor mortal wretch,
Should dare refuse him whom the gods themselves
Presumed not to deny whate'er he claim'd ?
Thus after three-score years of stainless life,
I issue from my doors a Roman knight,
To enter them a mime ! marry, this day,
I've liv'd a day too long. O Fortune, Fortune !
Inordinate alike in good and ill !
If 'twas thy pleasure to employ my pen
Against my fame, why, when the sap flow'd green
Along my limbs, and I could well have pleas'd
The people, and this most illustrious man,
Didst thou not bend me supple to thy purpose ?
Now, whither dost thou hurl me ? What can I
Bring to the stage ? fair feature ? stately form ?
Vigour of intellect ? melodious tone ?—
As crawling ivy saps the strength of trees,
So Age consumes me in the embrace of years ;
And, tomb-like, I have nothing but a name.

means of examining his merits. Aulus Gellius reproaches him Laberius. with a stiff and pedantic phraseology: ¹ the fastidiousness, however, of the Augustan age rejected many words and phrases which, in reality, were more faithfully conceived in the genius of Greek composition than the phraseology sanctioned by the authorities of that philhellenic period. Horace mentions the keenness of his humour together with that of Lucilius: ²

Nempe in composito dixi pede currere versus
 Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor ineptæ est
 Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quod sale multo
 Urbem defricuit, chartâ laudatur eadem.
 Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera: nam sic
 Et Laberi Mimos, ut pulchra poemata, mirer.

Nothing can be more incorrect than to distort this passage into a censure of Laberius; it is indeed a high compliment to his comic and satirical powers, and only distinguishes his Mimes from exact and elegant poems, which they did not profess to be; whereas Lucilius, of whom the poet is writing, assumed higher ground, and therefore justified higher expectations. The author of the Prologue in Macrobius was evidently capable of mimetic excellence.

Laberius was reserved for further mortification. Publius, a Contest of
Laberius
with Publius
Syrus. Syrian freedman, who had gained a considerable celebrity by acting Mimes through the towns of Italy, came to Rome, and challenged all the professors of the art, whom he severally conquered: among these was Laberius. ³ In the decision, which rested with Julius Cæsar, there can be little doubt that the dictator was actuated in some measure by revenge. He turned with a smile to Laberius, and said:

Favente tibi me victus es, Laberi, à Syro:

and gave Publius the palm, and Laberius a ring of gold, and 500 sesterces. Publius then insulted Laberius with another verse:

Quicum contendisti scriptor, hunc spectator subleva,

Laberius sought his place among the knights, but was refused. As he passed Cicero, the orator said, "I would give you a seat, if I were not crowded;" alluding to the number of new senators created by Cæsar. Laberius replied, "I wonder you are crowded, accustomed as you are to occupy two:"—a taunt levelled at Cicero's alleged instability. ⁴

All that now remain of the works of Publius are between eight Works of
Publius. and nine hundred isolated verses, containing apophthegms of great beauty, expressed with peculiar felicity, generally each in a

¹ Noct. Att. xvi. 7.

² 1 Sat. x. init.

³ Aul. Gell., Noct. Att. xvii. 14.

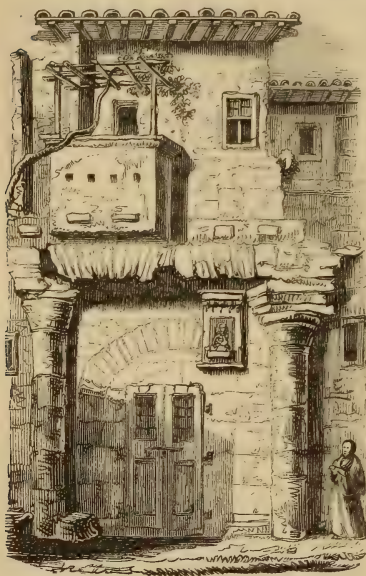
⁴ Macr. Sat. II. iii., VII. iii.

Publius.

single line. The judgment which Seneca passes on them,¹ that they are better suited to tragedy than low farce, will be readily acquiesced in by all readers: nor is it easy to understand how sentiments so noble, so true, and so philosophical, could have amalgamated with the gross materials of the Mime. The truth appears to be that tragic genius, discouraged in its proper field, invaded a province, in which, although adequate development was impossible, nevertheless applause was certain.²

Matius.

Contemporary with Laberius and Publius was Cneius Matius, who wrote Mimiambics, which differed from the Mimes of the two former authors only by being written in seazontics. He also translated the *Iliad* into hexameters.³ After this time the Mime



Remains of the Flaminian Circus.

fell to its former level, and, in the time of Augustus, poets had taken an almost entire leave of the Roman stage. The pieces of the old dramatists, however, were still performed, as those of Shakspeare are among us; the emperor himself loved to exhibit them in the public games;⁴ and it was considered the height of critical ignorance to impugn the excellence of any of them; an attachment to antiquity which Horace justly ridicules.⁵ But if the dramatic Muses were treated with neglect, no attentions were withheld from their sisters. The literary fermentation, ill suppressed by the unfavourable position of politics, had only waited the sanction and encouragement of power to

burst forth: and from those parts of the writings of Horace which are now under our more immediate attention, we may conclude that

¹ Ep. viii.; De Tranq. Anim. xi.

² See Seneca, Ep. cviii. The extant verses of Publius Syrus have been edited by Bentley, together with Terence: and a very copious and elegant edition was published at Leyden in 1708, entitled, *L. Annæi Senecæ et P. Syri Mimi, forsân etiam aliorum, Singulares Sententiæ: Studio et Operâ Jani Gruteri.*

³ Terent. Maur. The translator of the *Iliad* is, however, distinguished from the mimiambist by Bernhardy. *Grundriss der Röm. Lit.* 78.

⁴ Suet., Augustus, 89.

⁵ Ep. ad Aug.

the situation of Augustus and Mæcenas was in no respect preferable to that state of literary persecution which Pope paints with such pathetic humour in the *Prologue to the Satires*. All was one *amabilis insania*.¹ Augustus himself did not escape the infection.² He wrote a poem called *Sicilia* in hexameters, a tragedy intitled *Achilles*, another called *Ajax*, which he destroyed unfinished, some Fescennine verses on Pollio, and a book of epigrams. He was well content, however, to have purchased, at the cost of literary importunities, exemption from troubles of a graver character, and to have shifted the battle-ground from Philippi to Parnassus: and he was pleased to find that, by his encouragement of poetry, he had not only diverted the public mind from political interests and recollections, achieved popularity, and even obtained gratitude; but that he had also excited a spirit favourable to the continuance of all these things. A bloodless civil war had replaced the struggles of political factions; the followers of antiquity talked not of Brutus and Gracchus, but of Ennius and Lucilius; while the partisans of the modern school spoke less of Julius and Augustus than of Horace and Virgil. The rude, but strong and heart-inspiring tones of the old minstrels were contrasted with the less nervous but more tasteful and polished strains of later artists, favourably or otherwise, as the fancy of readers led them. The public feeling found exercise in an institution, which, though it had existed before, was rendered almost necessary by the temper of the Augustan times, and was mainly promoted by Asinius Pollio. This was the meeting of a sort of literary clubs, not unlike Will's Coffee-house in the seventeenth century, for the purpose of recitation; and in this way authors, poets most especially, frequently gave their works to the public. In these the modern party achieved a signal triumph. Such being the character of the time, it is not matter of surprise that a great many names of poets should have reached us of whom we know little more, and of whom the knowledge would, probably, be of little value. A select catalogue, in which Ovid wished

General
view of
Augustan
Poetry.

¹ Mutavit mentem populus levis, et calet uno
Scribendi studio; puerique, patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti cœnant, et carmina dictant.

* * * *

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hor. Ep. ad Aug. 107.

Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctusque pilæ discive trochive quiescit,
Ne spissæ risum tollant impunè coronæ:
Qui nescit, versus tamen audet fingere!—Quidni?
Liber et ingenuus, præsertim census equestrem
Summam nummorum, vitioque remotus ab omni.

Hor. Art. Poet. 379.

² Suet., Aug. lxxxv. Suidas, voc. Αὔγουστος. Macr., Sat. xi. 4. Plin., xxxiv. 10.

Ovid's
Catalogue
of Poets.

posterity to place himself, forms the substance of the poet's last Pontic elegy: to many of the names which compose it we have before adverted, and we shall here give a brief notice of such among the rest as appear best to deserve it.

Domitius
Marsus.

Domitius Marsus was an epigrammatist, and also author of a poem called *Amazonis*, on the exploits of the Amazons. His epigram on the death of Tibullus we have already quoted. It appears to be a portion of an elegy. *Vide* Broukhuy's, *ad locum*.

Rabirius.

He is frequently commended by Martial.¹ Rabirius had celebrated the civil wars of Augustus and Antony;² if the common reading be genuine, he has been compared by Velleius Paterculus to Virgil.³ A portion of his work *De bello Actiaco* has been thought to have been discovered in an Herculean MS. Some, however, suppose this poem to be part of Varius's panegyric on Augustus.

Carus.

Carus was a personal friend of Ovid, to whom the poet wrote the XIVth of his IVth Book of *Pontic Epistles*, from which it appears that he was tutor to the sons of Germanicus. Cornelius

Severus.

Severus was a poet of considerable celebrity. He wrote a poem on the wars in Sicily, as appears from Quintilian; and Ovid ascribes to him tragedies. A spirited fragment of this poet on the death of Cicero is cited by M. Seneca, which that writer pronounces inferior to none of the numerous compositions to which that occasion gave birth.⁴ Quintilian considers him a better versifier than poet;⁵ but would have placed him second to Virgil or Ovid, had he succeeded as well in the whole of his Sicilian war, as he had done in the Ist Book.⁶ His work was interrupted by death. The same critic speaks very highly of his juvenile poems.

Sabinus.

He is often cited by the grammarians for instances of enallage of gender. Sabinus wrote replies to several of Ovid's *Epistles*. They are enumerated, ii. *Amor.*, xviii. Three epistles, purporting to belong to this writer, are found in the *editio princeps* of Ovid's *Heroides*; but as they are not to be found now in any MS., scholars have ascribed them to Angelo Sabino, a scholar of the fifteenth century. Jahn, however, considers them genuine. The "velivoli maris vates" is generally supposed to be Terentius Varro of Atax, already mentioned. The poet "qui Mæoniam Phæacida vertit" is

Varro.

Tuticanus, to whom the XIIIth and XIVth Elegies of the IVth Book of the *Pontics* are addressed. He was the early and intimate friend of Ovid, and they had mutually corrected each other's

Tuticanus.

¹ ii. 71. 77. v. 5. vii. 99. viii. 56. xiv. 157.

² Sen. de Ben., vi. 3.

³ ii. 36.

⁴ Sen., Suas. vii.

⁵ x. 1.

⁶ "Vindicaret sibi jure secundum locum." The context places Ovid immediately before, and therefore it might be thought that *second to Ovid* was intended. But the Heroic Epistles are the work named, which could not in any way be compared with an epic poem. It is not impossible that *second to Virgil* (though as a versifier only) may be meant.

writings. He translated the VIIth Book of the *Odyssey* into Latin. Melissus, as we learn from Suetonius,¹ was the author of a new kind of the Comœdia togata, called “trabeata:” in which characters appear to have been introduced of a higher class than those in the ordinary comedy. In his sixtieth year he began to write books of *Joci*, or *Ineptiæ*, which he composed to the amount of upwards of one hundred and fifty. He was a freedman of Mæcenas, and was appointed by Augustus keeper of one of the public libraries. Tityrus, of course, is Virgil.

Ovid's
Catalogue
of Poets.
Melissus.

Such are nearly all the particulars now extant concerning these Augustan authors. One of the number, Gratus, is mentioned by no other ancient writer, and appears to have been almost unknown, since Oppian and Nemesian, who afterwards wrote on the same subject, speak each of himself as the first bard of hunting. A manuscript of the *Cynegeticon* of this poet was found by Sannazaro in France, and by him was brought to Naples, and there shown to several eminent literary characters. The poem was first printed at Venice, in 1534. In the total absence of testimony concerning this writer, it would be idle to descant on his history or family, which, however, has been done. The name Faliscus was given him by Caspar Barthius “*è codice suo, quem tamen nemo alius vidit*,” as Wernsdorf facetiously observes; but the line

Gratus
Faliscus.

At contrà NOSTRIS imbellia lina FALISCIS²

is commonly thought decisive evidence of his country.

Gratius is not the only Augustan poet who has been fated to be the transmitter of his own fame. Of Manilius, the author of the *Astronomica*, we have no contemporary testimony: his very name is uncertain; Marcus or Caius, Manilius, Manlius, or Mallius; even Quintilian is silent concerning him: but Pliny is supposed to allude to him³ when he mentions with commendation a certain astronomer of this name, who placed a golden rod on the obelisk of Augustus in the Campus Martius, to distinguish the divisions of time by its shadow. But the name is not found in the best copies of this writer. There are two other passages of Pliny, which have been referred to Manilius. By some he is thought to have been the “noble senator” who maintained that the life of the Phoenix coincided with the cycle of “the great year;”⁴ while others discover him in the Manilius Antiochus, who came as a slave to Rome with Publius Syrus and Staberius Eros, and whom the naturalist designates by the ambitious appellation, “astrologiæ conditor.”⁵ It is probable that most of the copies of the *Astronomicon* perished when Augustus destroyed all the books of divination,⁶ except the Sibylline, amounting to upwards of two thousand volumes:

Manilius.

¹ De Ill. Gram. xxi.

² Cyneget. 40.

³ Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 10.

⁴ Nat. Hist. x. 2.

⁵ Ib. xxxv. 58.

⁶ Suet., Aug. xxxi.

Phædrus.



The Obelisk of Augustus.

him "Augusti libertus." He appears to have been persecuted by Sejanus, but for what reason, and in what precise way, is not discoverable. But the nature of his writings, strictly as he disclaimed all personal allusion,³ was such as to excite suspicion in profligate, arbitrary, and captious times. He has the merit of being the first to introduce the apologue systematically into Roman literature: and, although Æsop and Greek models claim most of the value of his matter, his Roman elegance and grace are his own. In the year 1809, Cassitti published at Naples a collection of thirty-two fables, which he ascribed to Phædrus, but which, in the MS. of Niccolo Perotti, Bishop of Manfredonia in the fifteenth century, whence he edited them, are called *Epitome fabularum Æsopi, Avieni, et Phædri*. In Perotti's prologue, *Ad Pyrrhum Nepotem*, too, we are informed,

Non sunt hi mei, quos putas, versiculi,
Sed Æsopi sunt, Avieni, et Phædri,

* * * *

Honori et meritis dicavi illos tuis,
Sæpe versiculos interponens meos.

¹ De Cons. ad Polyb. c. xxvii.² Dial. iii.³ Prolog. ad Lib. iii.

Angelo Mai, however, found the same thirty-two fables in a MS. in the Vatican, and edited them as wholly the work of Phædrus, in 1832. The genuineness of these pieces is much debated. Perotti, indeed, seems to have had small share in the composition. Many of them had been translated into German by the Minnesänger, and adopted by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum*.¹ The style shows great affinity with that of the acknowledged writings of Phædrus.

It is curious to observe how the Augustan poets, who speak of themselves and their celebrity in what they conceived to be the most unlimited expressions, have yet in many instances underrated the extent and duration of their fame. The priest and the vestal no longer ascend the Capitol:² that Capitol is no longer the seat of the family of Æneas:³ but the works of Horace and Virgil are still the admiration of the world, and their perpetuity appears secure. Thus, while Ovid seems to have been content to take his chance with posterity as a single star in a great constellation, he has, in effect, by his surpassing lustre, cast into obscurity all the other luminaries, with the sole exception of his Tityrus. Although the chief celebrity of Ovid, and those circumstances which principally connect his biography with literary history, did not arise until after the death of Horace, we shall but slightly transgress our chronology if we mention them here.

Publius Ovidius Naso was born of an ancient and noble family at Sulmo,⁴ now Solmona, a town of the Pelignian territory,

His birth,
education,
profession.



Ovid.

March 20, in the seven hundred and eleventh year of Rome. He was first educated under Plotius Grippus,⁵ and afterwards studied

¹ Baehr, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* §. 177.

² Hor. 3 Od. xxx.

³ Virg., *Æn.* ix. 447.

⁴ Very full particulars of the life of Ovid, as in the case of Horace, may be collected from the Poet's own writings. In the Xth elegy of the IVth Book of his *Tristia* he has written a professed sketch of his life, from which, where it is not otherwise specified, this account is taken.

⁵ Vit. in Cod. Pomponii Læti, itemque in Cod. Farnesiano.

Ovid. oratory under Marcellus¹ Fuscus and Porcius Latro. He was designed by his father, a Roman knight, for the bar: and, by the talents which he possessed, and the proficiency which he made in the preliminary studies, he seems not to have been ill qualified for the profession.

Declamations. The elder Seneca speaks highly of his declamations,² and has preserved an extract from one of them, observing "Oratio ejus jam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum carmen." This preponderating inclination to poetical pursuits he struggled, at the instance of his father, to repress: but the lines in which he informs us that he was worsted in this conflict are sufficient in themselves to show what must have been the event of a contest between Ovid and the Muses:

Sponte suâ carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos,
Et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.

Poetic
friends.

Accordingly, when he found that neither his bodily constitution nor his mental inclination directed him to the profession for which he was at first intended, he deserted it altogether, and devoted himself to the study of poetry and the society of poets. He mentions at this time among the number of his intimates, Macer, Propertius, Ponticus, Bassus the iambographer, and, lastly, Horace himself. Of these he appears to have been most familiar with Propertius, who, like himself, had relinquished forensic for poetical pursuits, and who occasionally read to him his elegies, which naturally excited the emulation of a breast devoted to poetry and love. Ovid, like Propertius, had attempted epic poetry:³ but the failure of his friend in this species of writing, and his brilliant success in elegy, appear to have determined his hesitating muse. A critical reader of the *Amores* will easily perceive the influence which the spirit of Propertius exercised in those compositions. They contain less of Greek sentiment and expression than the poems of Propertius, who was a professed imitator of Callimachus, Philetas, and Mimnermus; indeed it is a principal beauty of Ovid's versification that he has moulded it with a peculiar regard to the natural melody of his native language: but, with more of originality, they bear a greater resemblance to the elegies of Propertius than to those of any other extant writer. In particular, he seems to have been indebted to this poet for the idea of his Heroic Epistles, as will appear from a perusal of Propertius's *Epistle of Arethusa to Lycotas*.⁴

Amores.

When Ovid, agreeably to the custom of the time, first publicly recited the *Amores*, he was, according to his own account, very young:

Carmina quum primum populo juvenilia legi,
Barba resecta mihi bisve semelve fuit.

¹ *Arellius*, apud Senecam.

² Contr. x.

³ 1 Am. i. Lib. ii. Eleg. i.; Prop. 3 Eleg. iii. *et aliàs*.

⁴ Prop. 4 Eleg. iii.

They originally occupied five books; but his maturer judgment Ovid. reduced these to three. Several elegies were afterwards added, as that on the death of Tibullus, and others, where circumstances are mentioned which prove them to have been composed at a later period. Who their heroine, Corinna, was, has never, as yet, been discovered; we shall, however, presently have to notice some false opinions on this subject.

The life of Ovid, like that of most literary characters, exhibits few prominent incidents. From himself we learn that he was thrice married. His first marriage took place when he was almost a boy, and was soon dissolved as a low and unworthy connexion. His second wife was also divorced, although he makes no charge against her; but his third remained with him until his banishment, in which she was prevented by Augustus from bearing him company. He studied at Athens, as was customary with the youth of his time. He bore the judicial offices of triumvir, centumvir, and decemvir.¹ His tragedies, which have been already alluded to, his second edition of the *Amores*, and his *Heroic Epistles* had seen Heroic Epistles. the light, when in his forty-first year he published his *Art of Love*.² Art of Love. This poem was the ostensible pretext of his banishment ten years after: had that event taken place at the first publication of the work, it would have been little extraordinary, as the tendency of the poem went directly to subvert all those salutary measures for the regulation of public morals which Augustus was taking singular pains to enforce: but Ovid, although, as a Roman knight, he was subject to a moral examination on the part of Augustus, was never molested on the ground of the licentiousness of his writings, until an event occurred, which is hidden in impenetrable mystery, and the investigation of which has afforded amusement for the leisure of the learned. On this account, actually, but professedly Banished to Tomi. on the ground of the licentious character of his *Art of Love*, the Emperor banished him to Tomi, a town on the north of the Euxine. It will be much easier to show what his offence was not than what it was. The earlier commentators on Ovid, and some of the more recent, triumphantly appeal to Sidonius Apollinaris in proof that the cause of Ovid's banishment to Tomos was an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus:³ the verses are these:

Et te, carmina per libidinosa
Notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum.
Quondam Cæsareæ nimis puellæ
Falso nomine subditum Corinnæ.

These lines can, at best, prove no more than that Ovid owed his exile to his licentious verses: and, were it otherwise, the words "Cæsarea puella" by no means distinctly indicate the daughter of

¹ Fast. iv. 383.

² Masson, Vit. Ov.

³ Sid. Apoll., xxiii. 157.

Ovid.

Cæsar: they may signify a female menial. But that the conjecture founded on these verses is incorrect, is evident, were there no other consideration, from the manner in which Ovid himself perpetually speaks of the fatal circumstance, which he always represents as something unintentional and involuntary.¹ He was accidentally witness of some transaction which Augustus wished to be concealed. This is by some supposed to have been a criminal intimacy between Augustus and his daughter Julia; which cannot be true, as Julia had been banished from Rome several years before. Some make the granddaughter, Julia, the object of the illicit passion of Augustus; and there are those who conjecture that Ovid had witnessed some of her debaucheries with other gallants; and this opinion derives countenance from the fact that she was banished from Rome in the same year with the poet. There are, however, strong reasons against this belief, which the reader will find in the elaborate article "*Ovide*" in Bayle's *Dictionary*. A modern writer supposes that Ovid had seen and revealed some part of the Eleusinian mysteries. It is singular that the transaction should be involved in so much obscurity, as the cause of Ovid's exile was no secret at the time.² After a night of inexpressible distress, which the poet could never recal without tears, a night spent in taking leave of his wife, and of two friends who remained with him to the last (his daughter was in Africa), by early morning he was afloat on a tempestuous sea, the gloomy image of his future life on the Getic coast.³

In this banishment from the scene of all his early pursuits and affections he existed, as we learn from his *Tristia* and Pontic elegies, in a state of the greatest misery, with the Muse as his only friend: though even with her in less familiar intercourse than before.⁴ Although he could not resign the study of poetry, he was dissatisfied with his productions, and, at his departure, committed the *Metamorphoses* to the flames.⁵ The work, although it had not received its last polish, was complete in its plan; and had already passed into the hands of friends, whom he afterwards entreated to preserve it. His prosecution of the *Fasti*, six books of which only have reached us, was also interrupted by this misfortune. Masson contends from this verse of Ovid that only six were ever written:

Fasti.

Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos:

but his reasoning is at variance with all grammatical construction, and we are compelled to conclude that time has deprived us of six books of the *Fasti*. Beside these works, Ovid composed *The Remedy of Love*, a *Satire on Ibis*, and *Halieutica*, which have

Other works
of Ovid.¹ 2 Trist. 103. ³ Eleg. v. *et passim*.³ 1 Trist. iii.⁴ 4 Pont. ii.² 4 Trist. x. 99.⁵ 1 Trist. vi.

reached us; and *Epigrams*, a Latin and a Grecian poem on the triumphs of Cæsar, a satire "in malos poetas," and *Phænomena*, which are lost. The *Nux*, the *Medicamina faciei*, and the *Panegyricus ad Pisonem*,¹ are at best doubtful. The other poems attributed to Ovid are manifestly spurious. These are *Consolatio ad Liviam Augustam*; *Elegia de Philomela*; *De Pulice, Elegia*; *Somnium*; metrical arguments of the books of the *Æneid*; *De Vetulâ*, libri iii.; *Catalecta*; *Priapeia*; and the following, lately discovered in a MS. at Bern: *De Pediculo*; *De Annulo*; *De Medicamine aurium*.

Ovid died of a broken heart after a seven years' banishment, and after having vainly employed the interest of his friends with Tiberius to be recalled. He was, however, treated by the natives with every attention, and received from them several immunities.² Ovid's death.

If Ovid, as a man, was unfortunate, as a poet he cannot be altogether so regarded. He was born at the happiest of times for the exhibition of his chief excellence, skill in the mechanical structure of his language. Even in the Julian age he would scarcely have developed this, nor, if he had, would it have been duly appreciated: and immediately after his decease a new school had arisen. Of the mutual adaptation of his time and his genius he was fully sensible:³ and he made good use of his opportunities. When we speak, however, of Ovid's elegance as his principal distinction, it is only because his success in this respect is so transcendent. He was, in imaginative power, perhaps, superior to all other Latin poets; and Milton hesitates not to affirm that, but for the influence of Character of his poetry.

¹ This poem has been attributed to Virgil, Lucan, Statius, &c. The authorship is utterly uncertain. Ovid undoubtedly wrote a poem *De medicaminibus* (A. A. iii. 205.) and the internal evidence of that which we possess is in his favour.

² For a more minute discussion of the history of this poet than can be here given, see the article in Bayle, above alluded to, and Masson's copious Life of Ovid, published in Burmann's edition; and also in a small volume with his Lives of Horace and the younger Pliny.

³ *Prisca juvent alios; ego me nunc denique natum*
Gratulator. Hæc ætas moribus apta meis;
Non quia nunc terræ lentum subducitur aurum,
Lectaque diverso littore concha venit:
Nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes:
Nec quia cæruleæ mole fugantur aquæ:
Sed quia cultus adest, nec nostros mansit in annos
Rusticitas priscis ille superstes avis.—A. A. iii. 121.

These times for me! let others love the old:
 I bless my lot, these suit my genius well:
 Not that they raise from earth the ductile gold,
 Or bring from stranger shores the sumptuous shell;
 Not that Art tames the marble mountains' pride,
 And the dark wave before the mole retires;
 But that fair Culture now hath cast aside
 The rustic rudeness of our pristine sires.

Ovid.

*Meta-
morphoses.*

misfortune on his genius, he would have surpassed Virgil in epic achievement. The *Metamorphoses*, though in part indebted to Greek originals for form and material, are yet a marvellous work of fancy. The stories of Phaëton, of Ceyx and Alcyone, of Jason and Medea, are exuberant with creative force: and the subtle thread which connects the diverse materials in one harmonious and beautiful whole is not less admirable than the structure itself. The *Heroides* manifest a deep knowledge of human nature, especially female; while the turns and expressions are everywhere at once natural and exact;

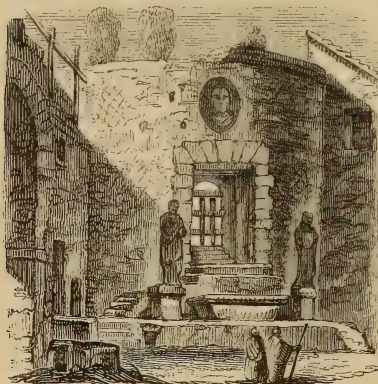
Heroides.

What oft was thought, but ne'er so well exprest.

Of all classical writers, Ovid is nearest to the romantic school, of which he may be called a distant ancestor. Chaucer, Ariosto, and Spenser, owe him obligations; and we are casually reminded of him even by Fouqué.

Horace.

Ovid was the only writer of eminence who prolonged the golden age of Latin poetry beyond the time of Horace: and, were it not that other causes may be assigned, the inferiority of his later poems might seem to have been referable to that sudden languor of the Latin Muse, which the deaths of Horace and Mæcenas, and the



Mausoleum of Augustus.

Devotes
himself to
philosophy.

infirmities and subsequent decease of her patron Augustus produced, and from which she never recovered. The last piece which Horace ever wrote was, most probably, the IInd Epistle of his IInd Book, which he addressed to Julius Florus, a satiric poet of high excellence,¹ and which, in that case, could not have been written long before his death. In it he professes his determination to relinquish the pursuits of poetry for those of moral philosophy,

especially the suitable contemplation of his advancing end. And, perhaps, never was death encountered with more genuine philosophy (in the real sense of the word), than by Horace. He employed his latter days, exclusively, in a study to which he had devoted a considerable portion of his earlier life, the investigation of moral good, and the nature of happiness; an inquiry which he undertook for the advantages of its results, and not from any motives of ambition

¹ Aero., in loc. cit. Cf. etiam Hor., i. Ep. iii.

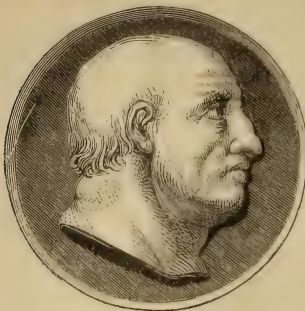
or ostentation; and which he therefore conducted on the principles of right reason and regulated sentiment, without reference to the subtleties and mechanism of any of the philosophical systems then in vogue. He employed what light had been bestowed on him faithfully: and by that blessing, which, we now learn from the highest authority, is always given to the ingenuous and serious inquirer after truth, he made a proficiency in the knowledge of the situation and duties of mankind, rarely, if ever, before attained by unassisted nature; whose inability to discriminate universally between good and evil, and the objects to be severally pursued and avoided, was not unknown to him.¹ And hence his writings exhibit him, although not uninfected with vices which not even religious ignorance, and the customs of a most depraved society, can greatly extenuate; yet, on the whole, possibly the most moral, and certainly the happiest, character of profane antiquity. Horace.

Those who have attempted to assimilate the opinions of Horace to the tenets of any one of the philosophical sects, have been guided rather by detached passages, than by the general tenor of his writings. In one place, indeed, where, in writing to Mæcenas, he gives an account of his method of studying philosophy, he distinctly disavows his intention to adopt any system, till he has examined all.² That, while prosecuting his studies at Athens, the Epicurean philosophy might have first called his attention to the general subject, is highly probable: the supreme excellence of *happiness* (for such was, after all, the Epicurean *ἡδονή*) was the leading principle of Epicurus: and the same principle, refined from the heartless selfishness which mingled with it in the Epicurean system, is the distinguishing mark of what may be called the Horatian philosophy. That Horace had studied the philosophy of Epicurus, we learn on his own authority;³ but nothing is to be inferred with certainty from the appellation which he gives himself in his epistle to Tibullus, “*Epicuri de grege porcum*,” as he is not there discussing his opinions, but rallying himself on his improved condition of body. The XXXIVth Ode of the Ist Book, in which he professes to renounce the creed of Epicurus, in consequence of having seen lightning in a clear sky, is altogether involved in too much obscurity, both as to its occasion and object, to enable us to derive from it any plausible conjecture. But in those parts of his writings which are least liable to cavil, and where he expresses his opinions without ornament or reserve, we find some part of the doctrines of every philosophical school impugned in turn. The Stoics, in particular, he takes every occasion of ridiculing with the liveliest humour;⁴ and he admits the power of the gods wherever the subject requires an opinion to be given.⁵

¹ Hor. 1 Sat. iii. 113.² 1 Ep. i.³ 1 Sat. v.⁴ See, in particular, 1 Sat. iii. and 2 Sat. iii.⁵ 1 Ep. xviii. fin. *et passim*.

Death of
Mæcenas.

The effects of the philosophy of Horace were put to a severe trial by the death of his early friend and best patron, Mæcenas, u. c. 746: nor does it appear that it enabled him to recover the



Mæcenas.

calamity, as he died a very short time after. Mæcenas had, for a long time, existed in what Pliny calls a perpetual fever; he was living in the greatest misery, and yet regarding death as the greatest conceivable of evils; his sleep was procured by wine, distant music, and artificial waterfalls; yet among all these appliances, he was, as Seneca observes, as restless on his down, as Regulus on the rack.¹ His effeminate and luxurious habits had made pain intolerable: but

it is a most ungenerous and unfounded suspicion that this effeminacy is covertly satirized by Horace in the character of *Malthinus*. Horace had, on one occasion, declared the impossibility of long surviving his friend; that one day must bring with it the fall of both;² and the prediction was very nearly fulfilled. The last entreaty of Mæcenas to Augustus was, "*Horatii Flacci, ut mei, esto memor*." Though Mæcenas, as a patron and amateur of literature, fills a large space in the Augustan period, he has no claim to notice as a poet. The *Prometheus*, mentioned by Seneca,³ was probably no tragedy. The *Octavia*, in Priscian,⁴ is probably a corrupt reading. The elegies ascribed to Pseudo-Albinovanus have been attributed to him: but with no sufficient evidence.

Although the account here given of the death of Mæcenas, which we have from Suetonius, is sufficiently clear and intelligible in itself, some scholars have not been content to leave it in its plain and obvious meaning; and notwithstanding they admit that there did not intervene more than a month between the deaths of the two illustrious friends, they place that of Horace first. In order to support this theory, they are obliged to interpret the word "*extremis*," which, in all other passages, signifies at the point of death, "*extremis indicibus*," "*extremis verbis*," implying that the commendation of Horace was found in the will of Mæcenas, where it was allowed to remain, although its object had ceased to require it. The only evidence produced for this fact is contemptible to the last degree, being some pretended verses of Mæcenas on the death

¹ De Prov. iii.

² 2 Od. xvii.

³ Ep. 19. It is there called "*liber*," and the quotation from it is not a verse.

⁴ x. 8.

of Horace, preserved by Isidore of Seville.¹ But as the passage stands in Isidore, it is not verse: neither is it expressly attributed to Mæcenas; nor is it said that Flaccus is the same with Horace. The following is the passage, as it is *corrected* by Sanadon, to support the theory of those who contend for the priority of the death of Horace:

Lugens te, mea vita, nec smaragdus,
Beryllos neque, Flacce mi, nitentes,
Nec percandida margarita quæro,
Nec quos Thynica lima perpolivit
Annellos, neque iaspis lapillos.

If this be a genuine restoration of the original verses, it manifestly proves nothing: but others read "*Lucentes, mea vita,*" &c.

The great literary influence of Mæcenas was, in part, owing to his intimacy with Augustus, and his consequent political position; and, in part, to his love of literature and literary men; in no degree to any literary excellence of his own: least of all would he deserve notice as a poet, though he wrote verses, some of which have been preserved. His style in composition was no less affected than in dress and manner; so that his "ringlets"² and "curling-tongs"³ were proverbial; and Augustus rallied him unmercifully, though scarcely beyond his deserts.⁴ The distortion and dislocation which characterised his prose⁵ would naturally be less conspicuous in metre; but he wanted the poetic inspiration. Seneca, indeed, gives him credit for a lofty and manly genius, which he spoiled by wilful effeminacy and affectation—and cites, in proof, the verse—

Literary
character of
Mæcenas.

Nec tumultum curo; sepelit Natura relictos.⁶

I ask no tomb; Nature entombs her dead.

Yet this has more the air of declamation than of reality or poetry; and the verses which describe his true feelings are in the opposite excess.⁷

Horace, like his friend Virgil, did not escape envy or enmity. Pentilius, Demetrius, Fannius, Tigellius, and the respectable duumvirate Bavius and Mævius, assailed his poetical fame; but he treated them with more than contempt—he crushed them wrathfully. Yet his disposition, though warm and hasty, was forgiving and generous;⁸ and no man was ever more beloved by his friends, or more deserving of their friendship. In person he was short, and, in middle life, stout; his eyes were black, as was his hair, which, however, became grey when he was about forty.

¹ Orig. xix. 32.

² Suet. Aug. 86.

³ Dial. de Orat. 26.

⁴ Macrob. Sat. vi. 4.

⁵ Senec. Ep. cxiv.; Quinct. ix., 4, 28.

⁶ Ep. xcii.

⁷ Ib. Ep. ci.

⁸ Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.—Ib. Ep. xx. 25.

Horace.

Horace was buried next to the tomb of Mæcenas, at the extremity of the Esquiline hill.

We must here leave the history of the most brilliant period of Roman poetry with the biography of the character who most clearly illustrated, and most essentially adorned it. From those readers who think an undue portion of this work has been assigned to this subject, we shall shelter ourselves under its interest and extent; and the same plea will hold with those, if there be any, who, on the contrary, think enough has not been said; for to do entire justice to a subject of such magnitude, is what a work of this nature does not profess. For, in the words of Gesner, speaking of the literary life of Horace alone, "*adeo ab omnibus inde sæculis sategerunt circa Horatii Flacci Eclogas librarii, interpretes, critici, ut possit homo diligens, cui bibliothecæ pateant, faciliè librum mediocrem vel solâ hujus Poëtæ enarrandâ historiâ litterariâ implere.*"¹

¹ Gesner, Præf. in Horatium.



Villa of Mæcenas.

MSS., EDITIONS, &c., OF THE AUGUSTAN POETS.

 HORACE.

MSS. That at Bern is the oldest. For others, see Kirchner. Novv. Quæstt. Horatianæ. Nuremb. 1847.

Edit. Princ. 4to. supposed to have been printed by Zarotus at Milan, 1470. Priority contested by an edition by T. P. Lignamini. There is a folio without name or date, of equal rarity. The first with date is 1474, Mediolani, apud Zarotum. In the same year the works were published at Naples, and the odes and epistles at Ferrara.

Later editions are :—

- Cruquii. Lugd. Bat. 1603.
- Lambini. Paris. 1605.
- Torrentii. Antverp. 1608.
- Bentleii. Cantab. 1711.
- Dacier and Sanadon.
- Gesneri et Zeunii. Lips. et Glasg. 1762-94.
- Döring. Lips. 1803.
- C. Fea. Romæ.
- Vandenbourgii. Paris. 1812.
- Braunhard. Lips. 1833.
- Orelli. Turici. 1843.
- Tate. Horatius Restitutus. Lond. 1837.
- Obbarii. Jenæ. 1848. (The Odes only.)
- Milman (illustr. from the antique). Lond. 1849.

Subsidia :—

- Masson. Vita Horatii.
- Algarotti. Ead.

R. von Ommeren, Horaz als Mensch und als Bürger von Rom. Uebersetzt von Walch. Leipz. 1802. Walckenaer, Histoire de la Vie et des Poésies d'Horace. Paris. 1840. Teuffel, Charakteristik des Horazens. Leipz. 1842. W. E. Weber, Horaz als Mensch und Dichter. Jena. 1844. Kirchner, Quæstiones Horatianæ, Leipz. 1847. Grotefend, Schriftstellerische Laufbahn des Horatius. Hanover, 1849. These are some of the most eminent out of an immense quantity of materials. Each of the above editions may also be regarded in the number of subsidia.

Translations :—

Francis. The entire works. The best edition is that of Valpy, Lond. 1831, as it not only embraces Francis, but a selection from miscellaneous translators.

The Odes. By John Scriven. Lond. 1843.

The best idea to be obtained of Horace, as a lyrist, by the English reader, is from one ode by Milton and a few by Mrs. Hemans. The Satires and Epistles of Pope, and some imitations by Swift, afford the best notion of Horace's ethical and critical writings. But no writer needs to be studied in his own language more than Horace, of whom no translation gives any adequate conception.

VIRGIL.

MSS. Medicean. Vatican.

Edit. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, cir. 1469.

De la Cerda. Madrid. Fol. 1608-1617.

Heinsii. Amstel. 1676.

Masvicii. Leeuwarden. 1727.

Burmanni. Amstel. 1746.

Heynii, (edente Wagner) Lips. 1830.

Marty's Georgicks. London. 1749.

The subsidia to Virgil are mainly found in the editions themselves.

Valpy's *Horæ Virgilianæ* illustrates the theory of the identity between the Greek and Latin languages, but is not further illustrative of Virgil. Heyne contains a complete critical account of the MSS. and editions, which are far more numerous than can be here particularised.

Translations. Works. Dryden.

Æneid. Pitt.

Bucolicks and Georgicks. Warton.

Georgicks. Sotheby.

TIBULLUS.

Edit. Princ. *Tibulli Opera, cum Ovidii Epistolâ Sapphûs ad Phaonem*. Florentius de Argentinâ. (Venetiis?) cir. 1472.

Tibulli, Catulli, Propertii Opera, cum Statii Sylvis. Vindalin de Spira. Venetiis. 1472.

Vulpus.

Brockhusius. Amst. 1708.

Heyne. Lips. 1798.

Tibullus et Lygdamus. Voss. Heidelberg. 1811.

Tibullus. Lachmann. Berolini. 1829.

Lachmann. *Explicuit* Dissen. Götting. 1835.

Subsidia. Ayrmann, *Vita Tibulli*. Vitemb. 1719.

Spohn de *Vitâ et Carminibus Tibulli*. 1819.

De Golbéry de *Tib. Vit. et Carm.* Par. 1824.

PROPERTIUS.

Edit. Princ. 1472. Place uncertain. Folio and 4to.

Broukhusius. Amst. 1702.

Vulpus. Padua. 1755.

Barthius. Lips. 1778.

Burmann. *Trajecti ad Rhen.* 1780.

Kuinoel. Lips. 1804.

Lachmann. Lips. 1816.

Paldamus. Halle. 1827.

Le Maire. Paris. 1832.

Hertzberg. Halle. 1844-5.

OVID.

Edit. Princ.—

Balthazar Azoguidi. Bononiæ. 1471. }

Sweynheym et Pannartz. Romæ. 1471. }

Aldine. Venetiis. 1502.

Bersman. Lips. 1582.

Elzevir. Heinsius. Lugd. Bat. 1629.

Variorum. Lugd. Bat. 1670.

Burmann. Amst. 1727.

Amar. Paris. 1820.

Metam. Gierig. Lips. 1784.

Jahn. Lips. 1817.

Loers. Lips. 1843.

Fasti. Merkel. Berol. 1841.

Tristia. Oberlin. Strasb. 1778.

Amatoria. Wernsdorf. Helmstadt. 1788, 1802.

Jahn. Lips. 1828.

Heroïdes. Loers. Colon.

Subsidium.—Rosmini, Vita d' Ovidio. The editions are, in a great measure, subsidia.

Translations are numerous. We select:—

Metam. Edited by Garth. Lond. 1717.

The contributors were Dryden, Addison, Gay, Pope, &c.

Howard. Lond. 1807.

Epistles, several hands:

Otway, Settle, Dryden, Mulgrave, &c. 1680.

Fasti. Smedley.

GRATIUS FALISCUS.

Ed. Princ. Logi. Aldus Manutius. Venetiis. Afterwards, Augustæ. 1534.

Burmann. Lugd. Bat. 1731. } Poëtæ. Lat. Min.
Wernsdorf.

Translation.—Wase. Lond. 1654.

MANILIUS.

Codd. Gemblacensis, Lipsiensis.

Ed. Princ. Joannes Regiomontanus. Nuremb. cir. 1472.

Scaliger. Lugd. Bat. 1600.

Bentley. Lond. 1739.

Translation.—Creech. Lond. 1697.

PHÆDRUS.

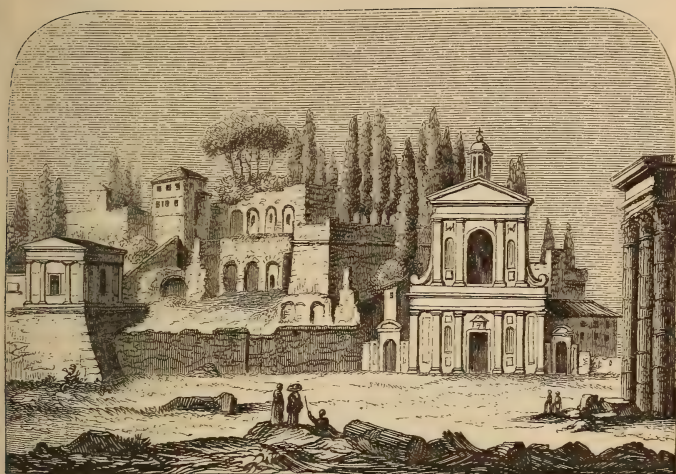
Ed. Princ. Pithœus. 1596.

Orelli. Turici. 1831.



POST-AUGUSTAN LATIN POETS.

PERSIUS	DIED	A.D.	63	} THE NERONIAN AGE.	
LUCANUS		A.D.	65		
PETRONIUS		A.D.	67		
SILIUS ITALICUS . .	LIVED FROM ABOUT	A.D.	{ 25 TO 100	} THE FLAVIAN AGE.	
VALERIUS FLACCUS.	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	77		
JUVENALIS		A.D.	82		
MARTIALIS		A.D.	84		
STATIUS	DIED	A.D.	96		
NEMESIANUS	} . FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	238.		
CALPURNIUS					
AVIENUS		A.D.	370.		
AUSONIUS		A.D.	392.		
CLAUDIANUS	}	A.D.	398.		
PRUDENTIUS					



Remains of the Palace of the Cæsars.

PART III.

DECLINE OF LATIN POETRY.

THE literary annals of every people present us with crises, to account for which has been the labour of the learned and the ingenious. Among these, none is more conspicuous than that which took place on the death of Augustus, and none has excited a greater zeal and diligence of inquiry into its cause and origin; and yet, perhaps, the whole history of Literature does not afford an instance of a revolution so naturally and easily explained. The learned and minute Tiraboschi has expended on this subject no inconsiderable portion of his erudition and philosophy; he rejects all the hypotheses of his predecessors, and, like the surgeon Antistius, who examined the corpse of Julius Cæsar, and pronounced but one wound mortal in twenty-three, allows but one of the causes assignable: this is, the licentious character of the times:

Causes of the
decline of
Latin Poetry.

for the irruption of the barbarians, and the failure of the means of learning, circumstances which the historian adduces among the causes which accelerated the fall of Roman Literature, had no influence in the reign of Tiberius.

Demoralisation of the Romans.

But what, it may be asked, produced this licentious character? and did it not prevail in a very great degree in the reign of Augustus himself? That national vice acts powerfully to the prejudice of excellence in the arts of imagination is an obvious truth; it is not, however, a sufficient solution of the present problem. The civil troubles which, before the accession of Augustus, had desolated Italy, had compelled the people, by depriving them of the means and fruits of industry, to subsist by rapine or military violence; while the conquests of Lucullus, by opening a readier communication with the East, had led to the introduction of the luxuries and vices of that corrupted portion of the globe.¹ It is true that Augustus gave considerable attention to the suppression of these evils; but, to judge from the writings of the most approved and



Tiberius and Livia.

popular authors of his time, his court was very far from being moral: the effects of his legislation, indeed, however salutary as regards external conduct, could not have been sensible on the minds of his subjects to any material extent, before their operation was effectually paralysed by the accession of Tiberius; who, although himself a man of liberal education, and not a little self-complacent on that account, and even a poet, (since we learn from Suetonius² that he composed a lyrical monody on the death of Lucius Cæsar, besides

several poems in Greek,) was as little a patron of true learning as he was of pure morality.

¹ *Jampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
Et linguam, et mores, et cum tibicine chordas
Obliquas, necnon gentilia tympana secum
Vexit, et ad Circum jussas prostare puellas.*—*Juv. Sat. iii. 62.*

² Tib. 70.

It is not easy, however, to see why so much recondite erudition and metaphysical speculation should be employed in the investigation of causes which seem incapable of escaping the ordinary student of history. No such person can be ignorant that the pursuits of science and literature have, in all countries, been cultivated with an ardour jointly proportional to their novelty, and to the encouragement given them by power. The labours of the early poets, especially Ennius, had deeply imbued the Romans with a desire of inspecting the copious sources from which their treasures were derived. The study of the Greek literature was, in consequence, pursued with the greatest enthusiasm: every Greek author was read, and almost every Greek author was imitated. It was exactly at this juncture, when the excellence of literature began to be more generally and more acutely felt than at any preceding period, that the policy of Augustus employed the popular sentiment in diverting from political speculations what little remained of the spirit of old Rome. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural, and, we might say, more necessary, than the literary perfection which followed. Every department of Greek literature which the Romans were capable of appropriating, now attained the highest excellence which its transplanted state would allow. But as the Romans were a people of slender inventive faculties, the resources of Greece were no sooner exhausted, than the main stimulus to literary exertion ceased; and when, about the same period, the patronage which had given action to this stimulus was removed, it is nothing astonishing that we should meet with that languor which is the sure consequence of preternatural excitement, mental as well as bodily, political as well as individual.

Exhaustion
of Greek
literature.

The effect of these circumstances is sufficiently conspicuous even in the later writings of Ovid. His genius and his habits would not admit of his using any other vehicle of his feelings than verse; but the brilliant and luxuriant invention which created the florid fabric of the *Metamorphoses*, and the elegant and elaborate texture of the *Heroic Epistles*, decayed when withdrawn from the sunshine of contemporary fame. Of this decay he was himself perfectly sensible:¹ and all the vaunting anticipations of immortality which he put forth in the peroration of his *Metamorphoses*, had no power to excite him to write for posterity while the countenance of Cæsar was adverse. And if such could be the effect which the mere

¹ Da veniam fesso: studiis quoque fræna remisi:

Ducitur et digitis littera rara meis.

Impetus ille sacer, qui vaturn pectora nutrit,

Qui prius in nobis esse solebat, abest.

Vix venit ad partes; vix sumtæ Musa tabellæ

Imponit pigras penè coacta manus.—4 *Pont.* ii.

The whole of the epistle is a valuable illustration of our present position.

absence of court favour produced on the vein of a poet of great genius, extensive reading, patient labour, and devotion to the opinion of posterity, we might, in the absence of additional facts, form a tolerably correct estimate of the state of poetry under the most brutal and flagitious tyranny which the ancient world ever beheld. The only just subject for wonder is, how it comes to pass that we meet with any one poet of eminence during the rule of the first Cæsars: nothing but the irresistible energy of genius, it might be supposed, could impel a man to place his sentiments on paper, when a look or a gesture might incur the suspicion of a capricious despot, or furnish lucrative employment to an alert and vigilant informer. Even those poets who escaped the fearful results of imperial caprice had little encouragement, at a time in which the highest authority in the state meditated the removal of the writings and statues of Virgil from the public libraries, and the entire suppression of the works of Homer.¹

Germanicus. It is worthy of observation, that the earliest conspicuous victim of the new policy was a poet. The pure faith, the chivalrous honour, the devoted patriotism of DRUSUS GERMANICUS, are themes which can scarcely be mentioned, without a desire to linger on their contemplation; yet it belongs to this department of our work to do no more than mention that he was, as his character would lead us to suppose, a poet. His principal work was a translation of Aratus, an author on whom the Romans were fond of exercising their metaphrastic abilities.² The following elegant epigram is ascribed to his pen:

Thrax puer, adstricto glacie dum ludit in Hebro,
Frigore concretas pondere rupit aquas:
Quùmque imæ partes rapido traherentur ab amne,
Abscidit, heu! tenerum lubrica testa caput.
Orba quod inventum mater dum conderet urnâ,
“Hoc peperit flammis, cætera,” dixit, “aquis.”

A Thracian boy on frozen Hebrus play'd:
The treacherous floor its trustful freight betray'd.
The hurrying waters swept the corse away:
On the sharp ice the fair head sever'd lay.
The mother spake, as to the urn she gave;
“This for the flame I bore; all else unto the wave.”

To him, as a brother of the lyre, Ovid dedicated his *Fasti*; and in this character he is spoken of by the same poet in his epistle to

¹ Suet. Calig. 34.

² This translation has also been attributed to the Emperor Domitian, who, it is well known, affected the title of Germanicus. “Sanè recorder,” says Heinsius, “vidisse me Lutetiæ pervetustum Arateorum codicem, qui Domitiano Cæsari poemata istud aderebat: ut veri omnino simile sit, pro Domitiano Germanicum ob invidiam nominis in plerisque exemplaribus esse repositum.”—*Notæ in Valerium Flaccum, ad init.* Bernhardt concurs in this view. Grundr. der R. L. Anm. 200. So also Rutgers (Varr. Lectt. iii. p. 276), and Grauert (Rhein. Mus. 1827. iv.)

Suilius.¹ His death produced a Monody from the pen of C. Lutorius Germanicus. Priscus, a Roman knight, which, however, proved fatal to its author. For, being by the senate accused of having composed it during the illness of its subject, the unfortunate poet was condemned to death. Not unlike was the fate of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, the consul, historian, and epigrammatist, of whose works, however, only three lines, belonging, apparently, to an astronomical poem, have been preserved. His influence with the army rendered him too formidable for Tiberius to attack; but Caligula put him to death. His writings, possibly, may not have been the cause of his fall; yet history and epigram, at such a period, were more inflammable materials than when Horace trembled for his friend Pollio.²



Drusus Germanicus.

With Germanicus set the sun of the Augustan day. All that we have to record of classical poetry after him is twilight, or a night illuminated awhile by a few splendid constellations, but at length subsiding into the gross and starless darkness of barbarism.

In our sketch of the earlier poetical literature of the Romans, we have already noticed the influence which the Epic and Didactic Muses exercised in Latium, from the time when poetry first began to possess a sensible existence in the language. There were many reasons why this should be the case; their stern and masculine beauty, their regulated and decorous march, and their faultless and undistorted proportions, were calculated to give them, in the eyes of a Roman, attractions far superior to any producible by their less severe, but less *Roman* sisters. The success with which they had been courted by Nævius excited the emulation of Ennius; and his example at once made his countrymen familiar with their beauties, and jealous of his honours. Virgil, at length, by increasing the difficulties of future aspirants to their favours, only increased the motives to emulation. But the main efficient cause which directed the energies of succeeding poets in these channels, is perhaps to be sought in the condition of the period, which naturally suggested to those writers whose prudence bore any proportion to their genius, the necessity of adopting such arguments as had the least connection with existing circumstances.³ Claudius, it is true,

Didactic and
Epic Poetry.

¹ 4 Pont. viii.

² 2 Od. i.

³ Securus licet Ænean, Rutulumque ferocem
Committas: nulli gravis est percussus Achilles,
Aut multum quæsit Hylas, urnamque sequutus.

Juv. Sat. i. 162.

patronised literature, and even asserted literary pretensions; but he did not affect to be a poet, nor could poetry, by any possibility, have attracted his regard. He, therefore, caused no alteration in the poetical character of the time.

There have not been wanting modern Latin imitations of the *Georgics*; a circumstance which may, in some degree, qualify our surprise, when we find an ancient author attempting to *continue* them. Virgil, in his beautiful episode of the old Corycian horticulturist, appears, with consummate art, insensibly led into a digression on trees and flowers; and then, suddenly appearing to discover that he has wandered from the direct track, he exclaims:

Verum hæc ipse equidem, spatiis exclusus iniquis,
Prætereo, atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.¹

Columella.

LUCIUS JUNIUS MODERATUS COLUMELLA, of Cadiz, an author who is generally referred to the time of Claudius, took the hint, and yielded to the importunate entreaties of his friend Silvinus, that he would make the Xth Book of his work on Farming, which was to comprise the art of Gardening, a continuation of the *Georgics*. The work is still extant. It very much resembles the labours of modern Latin poets; the style, the language, and the imagery of Virgil are closely copied; and, whatever may be its merit, it has received from the critics very high commendation. It cannot, however, be denied that the poem of Columella is rather a chaste and elegant study after a great master, than a bold and noble effort of original genius, kindling at the torch of a kindred spirit.

Columella expressed himself *content* to be the *rival* of Virgil; a sentiment which, however chargeable with self-complacency, is modest in comparison of those which were held by almost all contemporary and succeeding Epic writers, whose ridiculous ambition to surpass the most perfect and polished models introduced into Latin Poetry a character of exaggeration and caricature, which conspired with the causes before noticed to accelerate the final ruin of Roman Literature. The author most deeply imbued with this pernicious vanity was Lucan, whose rank among Latin Poets requires us to give a slight sketch of his life, which will also be serviceable in illustrating the state of public feeling in regard to Literature, during the period in which he flourished.

Lucan.

MARCUS ANNÆUS LUCANUS,² the son of Annæus Mella, a Roman knight, and Atilla, was born at Cordova in Spain, A.D. 38, and instructed in philosophy and polite literature by Palæmon, Virginius, and Cornutus. His talents were conspicuous at an early age: Seneca, in his Consolation to Helvia, calls him, "Marcum, blandissimum puerum, ad cujus conspectum nulla potest durare tristitia." His first poetical effort was a panegyric on Nero at the

¹ Georg. iv. 143.

² Suet. Vit. Luc.

quinquennial poetical contest, called the *Neronia*, from its founder, Lucan. in which he is said to have vanquished the Emperor himself: ¹ but it is well observed by Tiraboschi, that Lucan was dead before the second celebration of the *Neronia*; and Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio, are all agreed on the fact that Nero was victor in the first.² Such, at least, is the order preserved by Suetonius; but Statius, in his *Genethliacon*, places first in order the poem called *Iliaca*, or *Hectoris lytra*, (λίτρα).³ His next composition was a Satire called *Incendium Urbis*, on the infamous conduct of Nero in the conflagration at Rome. Afterwards he produced a poem called *Κατάκavσμος*, and then his great work, the *Pharsalia*. He was then recalled



Lucan.

from Athens, where he had been residing, according to the custom of the Roman youth, by Nero, who treated him with familiarity, and bestowed on him the office of *Quæstor*. Although affecting to admire the genius of Lucan, it is probable that the Prince was anxious to maintain a close observation over a young man whose talents awakened his envy, and whose high spirit and free sentiments aroused his fears. The subject of the *Pharsalia* was especially critical at that period; the history of the rise of that intolerable tyranny under which the nation was groaning, and the remembrance of times alike free and happy, could not be contemplated with safety to the imperial despot. Lucan was not content with merely placing this exciting picture before the eyes of his fellow-citizens; he openly advocated the character and policy of Pompey; he as openly execrated the motives and the conduct of the civil war; and, after presenting his readers with a highly-coloured description of the miseries and horrors which it originated, he crowned his period with a compliment to Nero, which, as the Emperor could not fail to perceive, was a tissue of the bitterest irony.⁴ "Crimes and atrocities themselves," says the Poet, "are welcome as the price of Nero!"

¹ "Prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus dedit, quinquennali certamine."—*Suet. Vit. Luc.* This poem is called "Orpheus:" it probably complimented the Emperor on his celebrity as a musician.

² Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. ii. lib. i. cap. x. sez. 4.

³ Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 7.

⁴ Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni
Invenere viam, magnoque æterna parantur
Regna deis, cælumque suo servire Tonanti
Non nisi sævorum potuit post bella gigantum:
Jam nihil, ô superi, querimur! *Scelera ipsa, nefasque*
Hac mercede placent!—et seqq.—*Luc. Phars.* i. 33.

Lucan.

Such being, in all probability, the motives of Nero, and such being the undoubted character of Lucan, it was not to be expected that a reciprocity even of external courtesies could long subsist between them. The real sentiments of the latter were no secret to the Emperor, nor were pains taken to disguise them; the haughty spirit of the poet could not brook the observation to which his conduct was exposed, and he was little anxious to manifest a regard to it. Envy, indignation, and policy, at length prompted the Emperor to suppress the writings of Lucan, and to require him never to write poetry again. The proverbial irritability of the poetic race, combined with the impetuous temperament of the particular poet, hurled back the mandate with defiance, in a bitter Satire on the Emperor and his adherents. At length, in the conspiracy of Piso, Lucan assumed a conspicuous part; and, principally through the total disregard of secrecy, which he, on this, as on all other occasions, evinced, that conspiracy was divulged. On his apprehension his former constancy failed him, and, being required to surrender his accomplices, he named his innocent mother. But his death was determined: his only privilege was the choice of the mode, which he exercised by having the veins of his arms opened. Breathing the true ruling passion of a poet, his last message to his father regarded the correction of some verses, and his last words were a quotation from the *Pharsalia*, which describes the death of a soldier under circumstances similar to his own.¹ This event took place A.D. 65.

Conspires
against the
Emperor.

Is executed.

Character
of the
Pharsalia.

Independently of its intrinsic merits, on the subject of which critics are little agreed, the *Pharsalia* is valuable, as presenting a faithful picture, both of the disposition of its author, and of the literary character of the times. To the former of these must be attributed those historical misstatements and suppressions which favour the cause of Pompey, and which have afforded ample materials for ostentatious censure to modern critics; while the whole character of the poem, turgid, exaggerated, and laborious, and the commendations indiscriminately bestowed on it by succeeding poets of high reputation,² sufficiently indicate the prevalent

¹ So Tacitus, Ann. xv. 70. The passage is supposed to be Phars. iii. 635, *seqq.* where a soldier is described torn in pieces by a boarding-hook in a naval engagement.

² It will not be necessary to transcribe the various "Testimonia de Lucano," which may be found prefixed to almost any edition of this poet. Statius has written 135 hendecasyllabics of the most extravagant eulogy on Lucan; but three will comprise their whole essence:

Attollat refluos in astra fontes
Graio nobilior MELETE Bætis!
Bætin, MANTUA, provocare noli!!

Similarly Martial, (vii. 21.)

Hoc meruit quàm te terris, Lucane, dedisset,
 Mixtus Castaliæ Bætis ut esset aquæ!

taste of the period included between the age of Augustus and the final extinction of the Roman literature and language. Quinctilian, indeed, with his usual superiority to the depraved sentiments of his age, considers Lucan more of an orator than a poet; yet his manner of delivering his opinion plainly discovers how little it was in unison with that of the public.¹ Modern critics are seldom temperate in their views of this writer; while some regard him as equal, and even superior, to Virgil, others consider his poem only as a mass of defects, scarcely relieved by an accidental excellence. His extravagances have been frequently commented on; and we think ourselves discharged from the obligation of retailing the unmerciful preface of Burmann, and the scarcely less intolerant observations of Spence. In all criticisms on the *Pharsalia*, the incompleteness of the work, and the youth of the writer, who died at the age of twenty-seven, must be taken into consideration.

Besides the works above mentioned, Lucan is said to have written a book of *Saturnalia*, ten books of *Sylvæ*, a tragedy called *Medea*, and fourteen *Salcticæ Fabulæ*, or dramatic ballets. Some confound the *Kατάκυσμος* with the *Urbis Incendium*; but we are justified in the distinction made above by the epitaph, or "encomion," written on Lucan by Pomponius Sabinus, who recognises two poems of similar argument:

Hinc "*Sylvæ*," *geminæque* "*Faces*," &c.

His wife, Polla Argentaria, also was a literary character, and is said, not without some colour of probability, to have assisted in the composition of the *Pharsalia*.

Minor Poems
of Lucan.

The uncle of Lucan was the celebrated LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA, the question regarding the genuineness of whose tragedies is one of some obscurity. All the manuscripts uniformly present the title "L. Annæi Senecæ." This renders it difficult to suppose that the work is not genuine, unless we conceive that there existed some other Lucius Annæus Seneca, who might be its author. But Martial,² in speaking of the family, mentions only two as celebrated; Statius mentions none but the philosopher;³ and Quinctilian, also,



Seneca.

Seneca. His
Tragedies.
Whether
genuine?

¹ "*Ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quàm poëtis annumerandus.*"
—Quinct. x. 1.

² Mart. i. 62.

³ Encom. Lucani.

Seneca.

who cites a verse from the *Medea* of Seneca,¹ mentions the philosopher only, concerning whom he observes in another place,² that he excelled in almost every department of learning, and that his speeches, *poems*, epistles, and dialogues, were in the hands of the public. Again he alludes to a discussion which took place between Pomponius Secundus and Seneca, relative to an expression of the tragedian Attius;³ and as Pomponius was himself a tragedian, and a tragedian was the subject of the controversy, it is supposed that Seneca had a nearer interest in the subject than that of a mere *lover* of such literature. The testimony of Martial, it must be confessed, is urged also on the opposite side; in another place he calls the family of Seneca, "*docti Senecæ ter numeranda domus*;" but in reply to this, it is said, that these words are only equivalent to the "*duosque Senecas, unicumque Lucanum*," of the same author, which words allude to Lucius and Marcus. This is, after all, the best testimony that can be adduced against the genuineness of the tragedies of Seneca. The next is that of Sidonius Apollinaris,⁴ who very circumstantially distinguishes between the philosopher and the tragedian:

Non quod Corduba præpotens alumnis
Facundum ciet, hic putes legendum:
Quorum *unus* colit hispidum Platona,
Incassumque suum monet Neronem:
Orchestra quatit *alter* Euripidis,
Pictum fœcibus Æschylum sequutus,
Aut plaustris solitum sonare Thespin.

But the testimony of this author is of very small value. That of Paulus Diaconus is absolutely of none. His words are, "*hujus* (sc. Neronis) *temporibus poëtæ pollebant Romæ, Lucanus, Juvenalis, et Persius, Senecaque Tragicus*;"⁵ there is nothing in this sentence to show that the philosopher was not meant; because the writer is speaking of him only in his poetical capacity. On the whole, therefore, the evidence of antiquity appears favourable to the claims of the philosopher. Be the tragedies of Seneca, however, the production of whom they may, they are poems of great beauty and unquestionable antiquity; and though few readers will be disposed, with Scaliger,⁶ to consider them equal to any Greek tragedies, and superior in brilliancy and elegance to Euripides, fewer will concur in the vituperation of Bernhardt;⁷ and most will allow that they contain, notwithstanding their occasional hardness and turgidity, a great deal of fine poetry and sound philosophy. That they are not the production of modern forgery is clear, since they have been quoted not only by Quinctilian, as cited above, but

¹ Quinct. ix. 2.² Id. x. 1.³ Id. viii. 3.⁴ Carm. x. ad Magn. Fel.⁵ Paul. Diac. Misc. Hist. lib. viii.⁶ Scal. Poet. lib. v. c. 6.⁷ Gesch. der Röm. Lit. § 72.

by Valerius Probus,¹ Terentian,² Luctatius,³ (the Scholiast on Statius,) Seneca, and Priscian.⁴ However, we must admit that the *Octavia*, if written by the philosopher, could never have been published during his life, as it is nothing less than a catalogue of the enormities of Nero, thrown into bold relief by strong poetical colouring.⁵ It is, however, dissimilar in style and inferior in merit to the other tragedies. It might indeed be urged, that instances are not wanting of poets who defied the imperial displeasure; but this is little probable in the case of Seneca, as we shall see when we come to consider his conduct in regard to Claudius.

With much intrinsic value, the tragedies of Seneca possess an additional claim to interest, as the only entire productions of the Latin Melpomene which have survived the injuries of time and barbarism. While they serve to confirm the assertion of Horace concerning the tragic spirit and happy daring of Roman bards, they exhibit throughout, in their stiff, rhetorical, declamatory language, and undramatic character, the strongest evidence that they were composed for the closet, and that, consequently, at this period, the legitimate drama of Rome was nearly extinct.

The correspondent of Seneca, POMPONIUS SECUNDUS, to whom we have before alluded, appears to have been the only person who applied himself earnestly to the reformation of the Roman stage. Quintilian considers him the first of Latin tragedians;⁶ and the elder Pliny, as we learn from his nephew,⁷ had written a life of him in two books. Beside these unexceptionable testimonies to his excellence, we have the no less valuable authority of Tacitus,⁸ for pronouncing him "a man of elegant habits and splendid talents." What is most important in illustration of his opinions of dramatic excellence, is an anecdote of him related by Pliny, which proves that he was an enemy to the prevalent fashion of writing for the closet. Whenever his friends suggested an improvement, he always replied, "I appeal to the public." But this example was unsupported; and accordingly we find no traces of eminent dramatic success after his time, unless we are to except one VIRGINIUS, who wrote comedies both on the old and new school, and Mimiambs, and who is celebrated by the younger Pliny⁹ as a paragon of universal perfection. But Pliny's extravagant commendations, and

State of the
Drama.

Pomponius
Secundus.

Virginus.

¹ Val. Prob. Gramm. Inst. lib. i. de syllab. met. pass.

² Terent. Maur. de met. Bucol. et de met. Hendecas.

³ Luct. lib. iv. Theb.

⁴ Prisc. lib. vi.

⁵ We have confined ourselves, in giving a sketch of this question, to ancient testimony only. Those who wish to prosecute the subject may consult the works of Justus Lipsius, Heinsius, Erasmus, and Scaliger; and Brumoy's Théâtre des Grecs. Also Delrio, Syntagm. trag. lat. Proleg. II.; Klotzsch. Prolus. de Annæo Senecâ.

⁶ Quint. x. 1.

⁷ Plin. iii. 5.

⁸ 5 Ann. viii.

⁹ Plin. vi. 21.

[R. L.]

- Seneca. his expression "*circà me tantùm benignitate nimîâ excessit*," coupled with the gross egotism of the writer, and independent of all other support, justly render this evidence suspicious. MATERNUS, as we learn from the author of the Dialogue *De Oratoribus*,¹ wrote three tragedies, intituled *Cato*, *Medea*, and *Thyestes*; and Martial has this epigram on SCÆVA MEMOR, brother of Turnus the satirist:
- Maternus.
- Memor.

Clarus fronde Jovis, *Romani fama cothurni*,
Spirat Apelleâ redditus arte Memor."²

- Varro. VARRO, also, is thus mentioned by the same author:

Varro, *Sophocleo non inficiande cothurno*,
Nec minus in Calabrâ suspiciende lyrâ.³

Whether "*Calabra lyra*" alludes to Horace or Ennius, is a question which must remain undecided until the works of this poet are found. It seems that he was also a mimographer; and, apparently, composed a mimetic piece, in imitation of the *Phasma* of a certain Catullus mentioned by Juvenal.⁴ From the subjects mentioned,⁵ Bassus would appear to have been a tragedian; and Tucca was so pertinacious an imitator of Martial, that he took to writing tragedies, *because his model had done so*.⁶ The assertion casts a doubt on itself: for from the same epigram we should conclude that Martial had tried his hand in epic, lyric, and satiric composition, which is far from probable. Martial's tragedies, therefore, as well as those of Tucca, had, in all probability, no existence out of this piece of pleasantry. But it is nothing surprising that dramatic poetry should have died out under the empire of the Cæsars. Rather is it wonderful that any kind of literature should have survived. The stage had been a difficulty with all Roman governments; and now, even in the agonies of its dissolution, it continued to wound its oppressors, and make itself feared. Tiberius put to death Mamerus Æmilius Scaurus, in part on account of his tragedy of *Atreus*, in which he imagined the poet had alluded to himself:⁷ and, on the alleged ground of the immodesty and seditious character of the Atellanes, banished the actors from Italy.⁸ Caligula did not hesitate to burn an Atellane poet alive in the arena of the amphitheatre, for a verse which appeared to reflect on him.⁹ Nero, notwithstanding, was attacked from the stage:¹ and it is not unlikely that the Maternus already mentioned was the sophist recorded by Dio Cassius² as the victim of Domitian's jealousy, on account of the freedom of his verses.

¹ Dial. de Orat. ii. 3.

² v. 31.

⁵ Mart. v. 53.

⁷ Tac. Ann. vi. 29.

⁹ Suet. Cal. 27.

² lxvii. 12.

² Mart. xi. 10.

⁴ Sat. viii. 186.

⁶ xii. 94.

⁸ Tac. Ann. iv. 14.

¹ Suet. Nero, 39.

Of the epigrams ascribed to Seneca, it is needless to say more than that they are so exquisitely frigid, that they become sometimes amusing,—as the extremes of heat and cold are said to produce similar sensations. It is scarcely possible to believe that the doggerel which they contain could ever have fallen from the pen of the tragedian, and the undoubted author of a work to which we have before alluded, and which we now come more particularly to consider, the curious and celebrated *Ἀποκολοκύντωςις*. But here it will be convenient to premise a few words on the state of satirical literature in the age of the first emperors.

Seneca's
Epigrams.

The circumstances most favourable to the production of Satire are not always the most propitious to its publication. As the objects of Satire are vice and folly, the wise and virtuous, when vice and folly predominate, of necessity become satirists, and, even where nature denies, indignation prompts the verse.¹ But the misfortune is, that, under these circumstances, the satirist can rarely disclose his opinions with safety; and this was eminently the case in the age of the early emperors. Under those capricious tyrants all literary occupation was unsafe; but to name an individual was almost certain destruction.² The dramatic writers were not the only poetical martyrs. Ælius Saturninus, for writing satirical verses on the Emperor Tiberius, was hurled from the Tarpeian rock;³ Sextius Vestilius, and Sextius Paconianus, suffered death on conviction or suspicion of similar offences; and Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, who had been equally guilty, was with difficulty saved through the intercession of his brother.⁴ Nor was it much less perilous to attack vice in the abstract; the guilty are always disposed to appropriate what they know to be merited; and if, on any occasion, the conscience of the Emperor acquitted a poet, there were those around him whose internal admonitions were less readily pacified. It is therefore a remarkable phenomenon

Satire.



Tarpeian Rock.

that this period produced any satire at all; and it is little matter of surprise that the few whose virtuous indignation sur-

¹ Juv. i. 79.

² Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducis arenâ,—*Juv. Sat. i. 155.*

Whatever these corrupt and inconstructible lines may signify literally, the general meaning is sufficiently clear.

³ Dio. Cass. lib. lvii. *fin.*

⁴ Tac. Ann. vi. 9, 29, 39.

Satire.

passed their worldly prudence were careful, while they gave vent to the ebullition of revolting integrity, to adopt what they regarded a safe degree of obscurity. If this was necessary in the time of Juvenal, as that poet intimates that it was,¹ it was incalculably more so in the period of which we are now treating. Various, therefore, were the methods resorted to by those who felt themselves unable to stem the exuberance of the satiric vein. Lucan concealed it beneath ironical adulation; Persius resorted to obscure and intricate metaphor, and significant personification. During the life of Claudius, Seneca, although he had personal as well as public motives of dislike to that weak and unjust prince, suppressed his real feelings with what may be thought something more, or perhaps less, than fortitude; for, in his letter to Polybius, the freedman of Claudius, written while he was smarting under the Emperor's displeasure, he calls him "the truly gentle," "whose first virtue is clemency," "whose memory comprehends all the maxims of the sages;" and, at last, "the great and most illustrious deity!" But when the base object of his baser adulation was no longer accessible to its solicitations, he seems to have determined to make the most ample possible atonement for the expressions wrung from him by urgent misery and misplaced hope: and he who on earth was a present god, becomes, in the regions of disembodied spirits, the kindred associate of pumpkins! The contrast which the early part of the reign of Nero presented to that of his brutish predecessor afforded a favourable opportunity for undisguised expression of opinion; and this facility seemed increased in the case of Seneca, in consequence of his relative situation with regard to the new monarch. The *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις*, therefore, speaks a plain and unfettered language; it is evidently the production of a hand expatiating and exulting in the removal of its manacle,² and, as it is the only satire of this description which these times have transmitted to us, it would be valuable, even had it no other merit than curiosity. It is also curious as a specimen of the Varonian satire, the nature and origin of which we have elsewhere discussed.

But indeed the *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις* is a piece of great intrinsic merits, not the least of which is its originality, or, at least, its original air; for, whatever the compositions of Varro may have been, it bears not the slightest resemblance to any anterior extant Latin production. The title itself is extremely ingenious, being a kind of caricature of the *ἀποθέωσις*, or *ἀπαθανάτωσις*, by which it is intimated that, instead of being translated to the condition and

¹ Vide Juv. Sat. i. *passim*, *præsertim sub fin.*

² "Ego scio me liberum factum ex quo diem suum obiit ille qui verum proverbium fecerat, aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere."—*Senec.* *Ἀποκολοκύντ. sub init.*

society of the gods, Claudius was more appropriately conveyed to the Seneca. paradise of gourds or pumpkins, things which in life he had most resembled through his grossness and fatuity. The raillery on Geminius, who pretended to have seen Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, ascend to heaven; the council of the gods, and speech of Augustus; the expulsion of Claudius from heaven; his funeral dirge; his descent to the shades, and the discussion which there takes place on the nature of the punishment suited to him; and, lastly, his condemnation to play for ever with a bottomless dice-box, are all strokes of a master. It is by no means improbable that this work determined Nero to remove Seneca at the first favourable opportunity; since it was obvious that, had the satirist survived him, his own memory would have been treated as unceremoniously as that of his predecessor.

Although Seneca had not the fortitude to avail himself, as largely as he might have done, of the genius and the materials which he possessed for satire, others were less circumspect. One of the principal of these was MARCUS ANNÆUS CORNUTUS, if we regard Cornutus. consideration and learning; but his writings of this description must have been very scanty, inasmuch as it has been questioned whether any such ever existed. But Fulgentius Planciades, as quoted by Casaubon in his elaborate treatise on this subject, expressly cites his satire: “Titivillitium: M. Cornutus in Saturâ ait: Titivillitii sat cedo tibi.” As the preceptor of Persius, it is not improbable that he first kindled the spirit of satire in the breast of that poet; but this conclusion has been too precipitately deduced from some verses spoken in his person by Persius, to whom they are supposed to be addressed:

Verba togæ sequeris; juncturâ callidus acri,
Ore teris modico, pallentes radere mores
Doctus, et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo: ¹

for “*doctus*” may simply mean *skilful*, and, even though it should be taken participially, it will not hence follow that Persius caught the satiric fire from any regular production of Cornutus. Indeed Suetonius expressly says of Persius, that it was not until he had completed his scholastic exercises, and read the Xth Book of Lucilius, that his taste for satire became conspicuous; although it will still remain highly probable that his relish for this poet was the result of habits of thinking engendered by his preceptor. But whether Cornutus was as eminent in Satire as in other branches of literary excellence, must now be for ever uncertain. Unquestionable it is that he was a man of great talent and erudition. Suetonius² informs us that he was a tragedian; but his greatest reputation was in philosophy.

¹ Sat. v. 14.

² In Vit. Persii. (This biography is also ascribed to Valerius Probus.)

Cornutus.

Such, however, was the opinion of his universal taste and information, that Nero consulted him on the conduct of a poem which he had just begun on the Roman History. His opinion, unfortunately,



Persius.

happened to disagree with that of the Emperor, who rewarded him with banishment, and (if we may believe Suidas¹), with death. He enjoyed, however, the satisfaction of seeing his pupil Persius accomplish his honourable career. To this eminent satirist the course of our observations will now conduct us.

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS,² descended of an ancient, though plebeian family,³ was born at *Volaterræ*, now Volterra, in Etruria, u. c. 787. Such, at least, is the substance of ancient testimony.⁴ But some moderns conclude that he was born at *Lunæ Portus*, in Liguria, from the following verses, which, in

Persius.

truth, relate to the place of his residence :

Mihi nunc Ligus ora

Intepet, hybernatque *meum* mare, qua latus ingens
Dant scopuli, et multâ littus se valle receptat.

"*Lunai portum* est operæ cognoscere, cives."⁵

He was, however, himself a Roman knight, and connected with the first families in Rome. At the age of six years he lost his father Flaccus; his mother, Fulvia Sisenna, contracted a second marriage, which was dissolved by the death of her husband not many years after. He studied till his twelfth year at the place of his nativity; afterwards he removed to Rome, where he prosecuted his studies under REMMIUS PALÆMON and Virginius Flaccus. The former of these affected to be a poet. He wrote to please the vulgar;⁶ but so preposterous was his vanity, that he conceived that Virgil had been inspired to predict him in the emphatic hemistich,

Palæmon.

Venit ecce Palæmon.

By a low quibble on the name of Varro, (borrowed, as we must

¹ Suid. voc. *Κόρυντος*.

² Suet. Vit. Persii.

³ "Aus einer angesehenen *Ritterfamilie*," says Bähr; (Geschicht. der Röm. Lit. sec. 132). But Casaubon says, apparently with more truth, "Plebeiam [gentem Persii] fuisse fasti suadent, in quibus nemo, quod sciam, ejus nominis celebratur." — *Casaub. Comm. in Pers.*

⁴ Euseb. Chron.; Cassiodor. Fast.

⁵ Sat. vi. 6.

⁶ Scribat carmina circulis Palæmon : —
Me raris juvat auribus placere. — *Mart.* ii. 82.

admit, from Cicero,) he called that most learned of all the Romans a swine; and affirmed that learning was born, and would perish, with himself. He was originally a slave; and his mind appears never to have been emancipated, as even Tiberius and Claudius pronounced him utterly unfit for a guardian of youth. At the age of sixteen, Persius became acquainted with the celebrated Cornutus, whom we have just noticed, whose faithful disciple and friend he ever after continued. Hence it was that he intimately cultivated the acquaintance of many poets and literary men, especially of his fellow-pupil Lucan, whose admiration of his writings was so excessive, that, if we are to believe Suetonius, he with difficulty restrained himself from open commendation when Persius recited. His life, at least the information we possess respecting it, presents no prominent occurrence; he is described by his biographer as handsome in person, gentle in manners, and even of maiden modesty; of temperate habits, and remarkably affectionate to his relations. At his death, which took place before he attained the age of thirty, he bequeathed his library and a handsome sum of money to his preceptor Cornutus; the philosopher, however, retained the books only, and sent back the money to the sisters of his pupil.

That a satirist of the Neronian period should have been allowed to descend to his grave in peace, is an event not altogether unworthy of remark; but, in the case of Persius, Fate, perhaps, did no more than anticipate the tyrant; moreover, the satirist himself was remarkably cautious and guarded, and even did not always trust his own circumspection, but submitted his writings, before publication, to his faithful and judicious preceptor. That he did not spare the Emperor we know from the consent of all tradition respecting his IVth Satire, wherein Socrates is described as inveighing against the vices of Alcibiades. Nothing, however, can be more cautiously managed than this Satire; so incapable was it of self-appropriation, except by conscious guilt, that to have resented it would have been to confess its truth and poignancy. On one occasion he showed to Cornutus his Ist Satire, in which he had ridiculed the literary taste of his times, and in which Nero was by no means spared, although perhaps not described in the verse beginning

Aurículas asini Mida rex habet :

an expression, apparently, as little capable of appropriation as any in the IVth. His preceptor, however, thought otherwise; and altered the verse as it now stands,

Aurículas asini quis non habet ?

From this anecdote Bayle,¹ in a note, which we will not injure

¹ Dict. voc. Perse.

Persius.

by abridgment, concludes, as it appears to us, very justly, that the verses in the 1st Satire said to be quoted from the writings of Nero, could not have been the production of that prince; inasmuch as such conduct on the part of the poet would have been incalculably more imprudent than the very questionable passage which Cornutus compelled him to alter.

It is, doubtless, to this prudent abstinence from the very semblance of personality that the Satires of Persius are partly indebted for that intense obscurity which presents so formidable a counterpoise to their sterling merit. Yet it is impossible always to acquit their author of partiality for the dark and difficult, even where he had no prudential considerations to cry "*σκότισον*," as Casaubon tells us his preceptor Cornutus was accustomed to do. His biographer, no less circumstantial than concise, informs us that he wrote seldom and slowly; which latter circumstance proves that his obscurities cannot be the result of hasty and careless composition. Joannes Lydus attributes them to an ambition of imitating Sophron.¹ We are inclined to believe the hypothesis of Tiraboschi to be no less true than ingenious, that a vain hope of excelling Horace misled Persius, just as the desire of surpassing Virgil seduced his friend Lucan. In an elaborate endeavour to exceed the conciseness and terseness of his model, he encountered a danger which Horace himself had perceived and pointed out.² His difficulties, undoubtedly, have been augmented by time and transcription, as is evident from the high popularity which he enjoyed among his contemporaries³ and immediate successors; and although conceits and metaphors which would have been openly exploded in the age of Horace were studied and applauded in that of Quintilian; yet the great critic, ever superior to the errors of his time, is to be heard with deference, when he tells us that Persius, in a single volume, has earned a considerable proportion of real glory:⁴ while the testimony of Martial, that the fame of this little volume exceeded that of Marsus's *Amazonis*,⁵ is important, when the high opinion which Martial entertained of that poet is taken into consideration.⁶

Cæsius
Bassus.

The Satires of Persius, as we now have them, were revised by Cornutus, and edited by CÆSIUS BASSUS, the intimate friend of the author, to whom the VIth was addressed, and who has been confounded with Gavius Bassus, to whom Fulgentius ascribes a satire.⁷

¹ De Mag. Rom. i. 41.

²

Brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio.—*De Art. Poët.* 25.

³ "Editum librum continuò mirari homines et deripere cœperunt."—*Suet. in Vitâ.*

⁵ iv. 28.

⁶ See page 118.

⁴ Quint. x. 1.

⁷ Voc. Veruina.

This Cæsius has received very high commendation from Quintilian.¹ Persius. After the well-known declaration respecting Horace, that he was the only Latin lyric worth perusal, the critic proceeds: "Si quem adicere velis, is erit Cæsius Bassus, quem nuper vidimus:" but the succeeding passage is still more curious: "sed eum longè præcedunt ingenia viventium." For, as far as other testimony is concerned, we know of no lyrist worthy of being named with Horace. The few that occur will be mentioned as we advance. Some unfinished verses at the end of the work of Persius, (which are supposed to have been the beginning of another satire,) were cancelled. Besides this work, Persius had composed, when very young, a prætextate play, a book called *Ὀδοιπορικὰ*, and some verses on the unfortunate and heroic Arria; all which productions his mother, acting by the advice of Cornutus, caused to be destroyed.

Such are the most important authentic particulars respecting the state of Satire under the dominion of Nero; but it will be convenient slightly to transgress the limits of the period which we are now treating, in order to notice those satirists, the analogy of whose subjects and genius appears to demand our present attention. We cannot advance to these more systematically than by a review of the slender and obscure particulars which exist respecting the writings of PETRONIUS. That this subject, however, has been involved in more difficulty than really belongs to it, we think we shall be enabled satisfactorily to show. Fragments of Petronius had been printed by Bernardinus de Vitalibus, at Venice, in 1499, and by Jacobus Thanner, at Leipzig, in 1500; but in the year 1662, Petrus Petitus, or, as he styled himself, Marinus Statilius, a literary Dalmatian, discovered at Traw a MS. containing a much more considerable fragment, which was afterwards published at Padua and Amsterdam, and ultimately purchased at Rome for the library of the King of France, in the year 1703. The eminent Mr. J. B. Gail, one of the curators of this library, politely allowed Mr. Guérard, a young gentleman of considerable learning, employed in the manuscript department, to afford us the following circumstantial information respecting this valuable codex, which is classed in the library under the number 7989. "It is a small folio, two fingers thick, written on very substantial paper, and in a very legible hand. The titles are in vermilion; the beginnings of the chapters &c., are also in vermilion or blue. It contains the poems of Tibullus, Propertius, and Catullus, as we have them in the ordinary printed editions; then appears the date of the 20th of November, 1423. After these comes the letter of Sappho, and then the work of Petronius. The extracts are intituled 'Petronii Arbitri satyri fragmenta ex libro quinto decimo et sexto decimo:' and begin thus;

¹ x. l.

Petronius.

'cum' (and not 'num' as in the printed copies) 'in alio genere furiarum declamatores inquietantur,' &c. After these fragments, which occupy twenty-one pages of the manuscript, we have a piece without title or mention of its author, which is *The Supper of Trimalcio*. It begins thus: 'Venerat jam tertius dies, id est, expectatio liberæ cœnæ,' and ends with the following: 'nos occasionem opportunissimam nacti, Agamemnoni verba dedimus, raptimque tam planè quam ex incendio fugimus.' This piece is complete by itself, and does not recur in the other extracts. Then follows the *Moretum*, attributed to Virgil, and afterwards the *Phoenix* of Claudian. The latter piece is in the character of the XVIIth century, while the rest of the manuscript is in that of the XVth." The publication of this fragment excited a great sensation among the learned, to great numbers of whom the original was submitted; and by far the majority of the judges decided in favour of its antiquity. Strong as was this external evidence, the internal is yet more valuable; since it is scarcely possible to conceive a forgery of this length, which would not, in some point or other, betray itself. Moreover, forgeries are always most common of those authors, fragments of whose writings are to be found in others, which thus appear to countenance the fraud. But of the writings of Petronius, only a few disjointed words and expressions have been preserved by other authors, and even those have not been copied into the manuscript, as they most probably would have been, were it not a genuine monument of antiquity. The very obscurities which pervade the work are such as might be expected, when we reflect that it is, avowedly, a very small portion, and that this is the only copy which has reached our hands. The difficulty of forging a work like the *Satyricon* will better appear, when it is considered that such attempts have been actually made. A Frenchman, named Nodot, pretended that the entire work of Petronius had been found at Belgrade, in the siege of that town in 1688. The forged manuscript was published; but the contempt which it excited was no less universal than the consideration which was shown to the manuscript of Statilius. Another Frenchman, Lallemand, printed a pretended fragment, with notes and a translation, in 1800; but no scholar was deceived by it.

Assuming therefore, what there seems good reason to assume, that this work is a genuine, though corrupted, monument of antiquity; the next subject for consideration will be the determination of the author. It seems difficult to imagine how scholars could ever have adjudged this honour (if any it be) to any other than Petronius Arbiter, of whom Tacitus¹ gives the following singular account: "The days of Caius² Petronius were passed in

¹ Tac. Ann. xvi. 18.

² The prænomen of this man seems not to have been distinctly known; there

sleep; his nights in the business and relaxations of life. As Petronius. others attain fame by exertion, so he acquired it by sloth; nor was he, like most spendthrifts, considered a profligate debauchee, but rather an elaborate voluptuary. The more negligent and free were his conduct and discourses, the more agreeable was his simplicity regarded. When he was proconsul of Bithynia, and afterwards consul, he showed himself vigorous and equal to business; but, after this, returning to his vices, or his imitations of vice, he became one of the few intimates, and steward of the refinements,¹ of Nero, who esteemed nothing elegant and polite, but what Petronius had previously approved. In this situation he incurred the jealousy of Tigellinus, who beheld in him a rival and a superior in the science of pleasure: and who, appealing to the cruelty of the prince, to which all his other vices were subservient, bribed a slave to report Petronius as the friend of Scevius: then committing all his household to prison, effectually deprived him of a defence. It chanced that, at that time, the Emperor made an excursion into Campania, and advanced as far as Cumæ, where Petronius lay, who resolved no longer to endure the suspense of hope and fear. He did not, however, have recourse to instantaneous death, but, opening his veins, bound them again from time to time. During this process he discoursed with his friends, but not on serious subjects, nor with any view to a reputation for fortitude; and listened, not to discussions on the immortality of the soul and the opinions of philosophers, but to light songs and careless verses. Some of his slaves he emancipated, others he punished; he walked abroad; he took his rest; that his death, although violent, might appear natural. Unlike the generality of the victims of Nero, he did not in his will flatter the prince, or Tigellinus, or any of the men in power; but, having described the imperial debaucheries, with the names of those who shared them, and every new variety of impurity, he sealed the document, and sent it to Nero: taking care, however, to break the signet-ring, lest it should afterwards prove dangerous to the innocent."

There is little ancient testimony beside this concerning Petronius; he is seldom referred to or quoted; but it does not appear that more than one Petronius Arbiter was ever known to antiquity. Nor is it, indeed, probable, since the name was, most likely, strictly

is little doubt that he is intended by Pliny (lib. xxxvii. c. 2) in the following passage: "Titus Petronius, Consularis, moriturus, invidiâ Neronis principis, ut mensam ejus exhæredaret, trullam myrrhinam CCC. H.S. emptam fregit." Plutarch also, in his Treatise "πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου," names him Titus; "Ἡ τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ῥυπαρίαν ὀνειδίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα Τίτος Πετρώνιος." The Scholiast on Juvenal, however, terms him Publius. (Schol. in Juv. Sat. vi. 637.)

¹ "Arbiter elegantiarum," an expression easier to understand than translate, and which is well represented by the French *Maître des menus plaisirs*. From this circumstance Petronius derived his name of Arbiter, which at once identifies him.

Petronius.

personal, as it denoted an office. If the work, therefore, now in our hands, be really the production of a Petronius Arbiter, there can be little difficulty in assigning his identity. The whole cast of the work is exactly what might be expected from a character like that described by Tacitus: extremely licentious, yet very elegant. The former part of this opinion will never be controverted: in the latter we are supported by the majority of scholars and critics; although there have not been wanting those who have drawn arguments against the authority of the work from its barbarisms and false Latinity. But when it is considered that this author has come down to us in a very mutilated state, and chiefly on the faith of a single copy, we have reason to conclude that many of the solecisms and obscurities which disfigure the *Satyricon* are owing to these circumstances. Certain it is that the criticisms of Petronius evince a writer well acquainted, both by taste and study, with the principles of composition; and for these he has obtained the distinguished honour of being placed in the shrine of Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus, by a critic unexcelled by any:

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please :
The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.¹

His poem, too, on the civil wars, written for the purpose of elucidating his critical principles, will bear an advantageous comparison with Lucan, and proves him to have understood, as well as learned, the maxims and uses of literary criticism. Thus the style and subjects of the *Satyricon* confirm, alike the belief of its genuineness, and the arguments which assign the identity of its author.

From what is recorded by Tacitus, it has been generally supposed that the document sent by Petronius to the emperor was no other than that of which we now possess a very small portion. But this opinion we cannot admit. For in the statement of Tacitus, Petronius exposed the prince's minions by name; whereas all the names in the *Satyricon* are *significant*, and, by consequence, fictitious. And whatever may have been the indifference which marked the last days of Petronius, we cannot suppose that nature, under such circumstances, could have enabled him to compose a work in sixteen books, to which extent, as the manuscript informs us, the *Satyricon* actually reached. In the absence of data, we can assign to this work no object, nor can we very satisfactorily investigate its main subject, so brief and unconnected are the portions which remain. It is, apparently, a romance; but, whatever we are to consider it, perhaps there is no work of antiquity, the corruptions and imperfections of which are so little to be regretted.

That the work was intituled *Satyrice*, and not *Satyricon*, appears

¹ Pope, Essay on Crit. 667.

the most probable supposition. *Satyricôn libri*, when the distinction of books was lost, easily became *Satyricon*. Fulgentius¹ mentions two works of Petronius, besides the *Satyricon*, called *Euscus* and *Albucia*. Concerning these we have no further information.

Balzac, in his *Entretiens Littéraires*, (ep. 4, ch. iv.) first presented the world with thirty lines of a Satire from an ancient manuscript, which were thence copied by Burmann into his *Anthologia*, and have been generally considered genuine; though Bernhardt, who speaks of them with a contempt not easily accounted for,² regards them as a forgery of their first editor. The only external evidence of any weight against these verses is Menage's edition of Balzac; in which, under the head “*Ficta pro antiquis*,” occurs a piece of seventy-four hexameters, intituled, “*Indignatio in poetas Neronianorum temporum, ad nobilissimum Sammauranum Montauserii Marchionem, majoris operis fragmentum*.” Among these verses are found the thirty now in question. The discovery of this edition caused Bähr to renounce his opinion of their antiquity; “the remainder of the verses,” he says, “are of that quality, that they can scarcely pass for an ancient production.”³ But the fact of the contrast between these portions of the poem is presumptive evidence that they are not by the same author: nor does there appear any reason why Balzac, if he wished to impose on the literary world, did not at once assert the antiquity of the whole. He might very naturally, however, have amused himself with endeavouring to fill out the genuine fragment. The verses are an animated and indignant survey of the court and policy of Nero; and as they are not to be met with in many collections, and are eminently illustrative of the poetical character of the period, our readers may not be displeased to find them here:—

Ergo famem miseram, aut epulis infusa venena,
Et populum exsanguem, pinguesque in funus amicos,
Et molle imperii senium sub nomine pacis,
Et quodcunque illis nunc aurea dicitur ætas,
Marmoreæque canent lacrymosa incendia Romæ,
Ut formosum aliquid, nigræ et solatia noctis?
Ergo re bene gestâ, et leto matris ovanter,
Maternisque canent cupidum concurrere Diris,
Et Diras alias opponere, et anguibus angues,
Atque novos gladios pejusque ostendere letum?
Sæva canent? obscœna canent, fœdosque hymenæos
Uxoris pueri, Veneris monumenta nefandæ?

¹ De Cont. Virg. Item in Præf. lib. i. Mythologicôn.

² “Das ihm [Turnus] beigelegte trockne *Fragmentum Satiræ in Neronem* könnte von ihm keine sonderliche Meinung erwecken.”—*Grundr. der Röm. Lit. Ann.* 472.

³ Nachträge u. Berichtigungen zur Geschichte, d. Röm. Lit. § 138.

Nil Musas cecinisse pudet, nec nominis olim
 Virginei, famæque juvat meminisse prioris.
 Ah ! pudor extinctus ! doctæque (infamia !) turbæ
 Sub titulo prostant ! et queis genus ab Jove summo,
 Res hominum suprâ evectæ et nullius egentes,
 Asse merent vili, et sancto se corpore fœdant !
 Scilicet aut Menæ faciles parere superbo,
 Aut nutu Polycleti, et parcâ laude beatæ,
 Usque adeo maculas ardent in fronte recentes,
 Hesternique Getæ vincla et vestigia flagri.
 Quinetiam, patrem oblitæ et cognata deorum
 Numina, et antiquum castæ pietatis honorem,
 Proh ! furias et monstra colunt, impuraque turpis
 Fata vocant Titii mandata, et quicquid Olympi est
 Transcripsere Erebo ! Jamque impia ponere templa,
 Sacrilegasque audent aras, cœloque repulsos
 Quondam Terrigenas superis imponere regnis
 Qua licet : et stolido verbis illuditur orbi.

Gaunt famine, banquet-board with poison rife,
 Wan vassals, minions fatted for the knife,
 Peace, (prostituted name for power grown old !)
 And all our hirelings call the Age of Gold,
 And marble Rome in tears and ashes laid,
 (Fair sight, and solace of nocturnal shade !)
 These in their lays shall venal bards parade ?
 Flush'd with success of parricidal rage,
 Prompt with his mother's Furies to engage,
 Furies to Furies, snakes to snakes oppose,
 And blot with darker death the realm of woes,—
 Him shall they sing ?—fierce crime, flagitious joy,
 The desecrated rite, the consort boy ?—
 The Nine, forgetful of their virgin name
 And purity, regard no theme with shame :
 For shame is not.—Foul sight ! the learned band,
 High Jove's pure daughters, forth as harlots stand ;
 Powers above mortal needs and human things
 Sell for vile hire their brave imaginings :
 At Mena's frown, at Polycletus' nod,
 They hail the slave of yesterday a god :
 Love the raw brand that sears the brow with black,
 The chain, and scourge-mark fresh upon the back.
 Oblivious of their sire and race divine,
 And the old honours of their saintly line,
 Furies and monsters they adore ; and call
 Foul Titius' hideous mandates Fate ; and all
 Of heavenly birth to Erebus transpose ;
 Rear impious fanes, and altars dark as those :
 Raise Titans to the heaven whence gods are hurl'd ;
 And wordy nonsense gulls a doting world.

As these lines are anonymous, it is impossible to appropriate them with any certainty. It has been supposed that they are a portion of a Satire written by ANTISTHIUS SOSIANUS, for which that unfortunate man, as we learn from Tacitus, was condemned to

death, which was commuted for banishment.¹ It seems, however, Sosianus. extremely improbable that any writer, whatever his sentiments might be, should have avowed them so plainly, at a time when he must have been aware of the fatal tendency of his avowal. But although scarcely published under the dominion of Nero, there is a freshness about these verses which leads to a belief that they must have been the work of a contemporary. They are, moreover, evidently the production of satiric genius; and Wernsdorf, therefore, not altogether without probability, conjectures them to be the production of a celebrated satirist named Turnus, who lived under Nero, and some following emperors. This author, apparently, was born at *Aurunca*, the native place of the father of Roman Satire; since the expression "*magnus Aurunca alumnus*," which, with good reason, is usually understood of Lucilius, is interpreted, by the Scholiast on Juvenal, of Turnus.² Like Horace, he was Turnus. descended from a freedman; and, like him also, he became powerful at court, under Titus and Domitian. He is mentioned in high terms by Martial,³ and classed with Juvenal by Rutilius Numatianus, an author whom we shall presently notice.⁴ Aurunca appears to have enjoyed an extraordinary fecundity of Satirists; for the Scholiast on Juvenal, in the passage cited above, mentions two others of this place, Lenius and Silius; the former is, probably, the same with Lenæus, whom we have noticed before; and of the latter we only know, on the authority of the Scholiast, that he was a contemporary of Juvenal, of whom we shall now proceed to record some particulars.

The only authentic information which we possess respecting DECIUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS is to be derived from incidental passages in his own writings, and from a sketch, not to be dignified with the title of a "Life," from the pen of Suetonius or Probus.⁵ In the common editions of this slight memoir no mention occurs of the place of Juvenal's birth; but in the manuscript of Vossius, *Aquinum* was assigned; and this opinion derives



Lenius and Silius.

Juvenal.

Juvenal.

¹ Tac. Ann. xvi. 21.

³ Mart. vii. 97, and xi. 11.

² Schol. in Juv. Sat. i. 20.

⁴ Rutil. Num. Iter. i. 599.

⁵ There are three other biographical pieces enumerated by Bähr (Gesch. der Röm. Lit. § 134, Anm. 2); one ascribed to Ælius Donatus; one by an anonymous author, edited by Ruperti; another, edited by Achaintre from a Bolognese MS. The last appears to be of very recent date. The Life by Suetonius or Probus, such as it is, is acknowledged by Bähr to be the main source of information. (Hauptquelle.)

Juvenal.

probability from the Poet's own testimony.¹ The year of his birth was A. D. 59.² He was either the son or fosterchild of a rich freedman. Until he reached his middle age (*ad mediam ferè ætatem*) he amused himself with declaiming; less with a view to public objects than to the gratification of private taste.³ The first occasion which exercised his satire is a disputed subject among critics, whose opinions we shall not attempt to record, much less to examine, but prefer to consider what ancient testimony has left us. The following are the words of his biographer: "Having produced a satire of a few verses, not ill-written, on Paris, the poet and pantomime of Claudius Nero, and the conceited dispenser of the Emperor's dignities,⁴ he thenceforward diligently cultivated that province of literature. At first, however, he did not venture to entrust his poems even to the smallest auditory. But, after a while, he recited several times before a crowded audience, and with great applause; which induced him to transfer into his recent writings a passage which he had composed before :

Seek'st thou the patronage of ancient lines?
The courts of Bareas, or of Camerines?
In vain! an actor now gives wealth, not they;
Power, office, rank, are prices of a play.

The biographer then adds a few words, which comprise his whole history. "A player was at that time in favour at court, and many of his admirers were daily promoted: Juvenal, therefore, incurred suspicion as having covertly satirised the times; (*quasi tempora figuratè notásset*;) and, although at the age of eighty years, was immediately removed from the city, under colour of an honourable promotion, and sent to command a cohort in the remotest districts of Egypt; such a mode of punishment being considered best adapted to a light and jocular fault. In a very short time, however, he became a victim to weariness and melancholy." The chronology of Juvenal's life and writings is involved in considerable confusion; which Professor Ramsay, of Glasgow, in his article "Juvenalis" in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, has ably endeavoured to disentangle. To this, for more exact information, we refer our readers, presenting them here with the Professor's conclusion: "Without pretending to embrace the views of this [Franke] or any previous critic to their full extent, we may safely assume a sceptical position, and doubt

¹ Sat. iii. 319.² Sat. xiii. 17.³ Conf. Sat. i. 15.⁴ "Ejus semestribus militiolis tumentem." The allusion is to Juv. Sat. vii. 88.

Ille et militiæ multis largitur honorem:
Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro.

Paris invested with the dignity of six-monthly tribune, of which, see Plin. iv. 4.

every point which has been usually assumed as true. The narratives Juvenal. contained in the different ancient biographies are so vague and indistinct that they could scarcely have proceeded from a contemporary, or from any one who drew his knowledge from a clear and copious source; while the contradictory character of many of the statements, and the manifest blunders involved in others, prevent us from reposing any confidence in those particulars in which they agree, or are not confuted by external testimony."

To enter on a critical survey of the works of Juvenal, and to compare them with those of Horace and Persius, would be worse than unnecessary here. It has been often done by the profoundest scholars and acutest critics, and seldom, perhaps, with much influence on individual opinion. Whatever be the relative value of the Satires of Juvenal, there never was a doubt on their absolute excellence. His VIIth Satire, however, deserves our especial VIIth Satire. notice, as it professes to be a review of the state of literature at Rome, in which poetry naturally claims conspicuous regard.

There is no decisive external evidence on the chronology of this Poem; all that we know is, that it could not have been written State of Roman Literature. *earlier* than the reign of Domitian, with the exception of the few lines quoted by the ancient biographer; but possibly it was not published till the time of Hadrian. That it was not altogether written under Domitian appears from an anecdote related in it of Statius, which took place in the reign of that prince; and which is spoken of as evincing the ungenerous character of a policy exploded by a new and liberal monarch. The ruinous consequences of this policy to literature, especially to poetry, are depicted with declamatory, but pathetic, eloquence. Poets of reputation and popularity are represented applying for the most menial offices, and the Muse herself in the condition of a mendicant. We will inquire how far this representation is countenanced by history, in reverting to the period from which we have digressed, and taking a survey of the state of poetry during the turbulent reigns of Nero and his successors. With respect to the former, this has been in some measure already performed; we shall here complete our observations on the subject.

The taste which NERO exhibited for poetry was no less fatal to Nero. its interests at Rome than the barbarism and brutality of other princes. Nero, affecting the art himself, regarded all its professors with more or less jealousy. The example of Cornutus sufficiently shows the opinion which he entertained of his own poetical merits, and the danger of provoking the most distant comparisons. The quinquennial poetical contest instituted by this prince, which we have already noticed, might be supposed to have a beneficial tendency; but, as the Emperor himself entered the arena, the result was certain. Competition involved personal danger; and the only

Nero.

means of averting disastrous consequences were the meanest obsequiousness and the profanest adulation. Of the character of the poetry produced by this institution, we may form a very tolerable notion from what is said in the verses ascribed to Turnus, which we have already given : for, even assuming these to be the forgery of Balzac,



Nero and Poppæa.

they only describe what must necessarily have been the case. The prize poetry of the Neronian age was, doubtless, impious as there represented, and dull as those formidable "*Gratulationes*" of awful bulk, which a royal birth or marriage formerly elicited from our own Universities. The policy of Nero, therefore, was not less hostile to poetry in general than to political or personal satire.

Neither is it probable that this prince himself afforded to the Latin Muse those advantages which his jealousy forbade her to accept from others. She was, it is true, of a colder and severer temperament than her sisters in most nations, nor did she require from her votaries that ardent and impassioned devotion, without which it has been impossible for poets in other countries to succeed ; yet if she was too majestic and tranquil to be approached with unchastened warmth and irregular pathos, she was too pure for the worship of the fierce and cruel. As a poet, Nero is called *doctus* by Martial ; and, as far as concerns the mechanism of the art, such he probably was : the pupil of Seneca could scarcely have been other. But it was the common opinion, and as such is recorded by Tacitus,¹ that he received great assistance from others, whom he employed to versify his own ideas, as nearly in his own words as possible, and who sometimes supplied whole verses. The historian, who had seen his poems, confirms the probability of this belief by their internal evidence ; informing us that they were deficient in

¹ Ann. xiv. 16.

spirit and energy, as well as in singleness of style. Suetonius¹ Nero. admits that such a report prevailed, but denies the truth of it, and affirms that he had seen the autograph of some of Nero's poems, which was so much blotted, dashed, and interlined, that it was, evidently, the result of meditation and labour. The common tradition, however, may still be true; he might, as Suetonius asserts he did, have written verses with ease and fluency; (an assertion, by the way, a little at variance with what this author tells us about the elaborate aspect of the autograph,) but it will not hence follow that he never employed the assistance of others. Considering the circumstances of the times, and the critical testimony of Tacitus, there is every reason to suppose that he did so. Concerning the subjects of Nero's poetry little can now be collected. He meditated a poem on the Roman History in four hundred books; he completed one on the Trojan History; and from Pliny we learn that, in one of his poems, he had compared the tresses of his wife Poppæa to amber.² Suetonius³ mentions also a satire by Nero called *Luscio*, against Clodius Pollio, who seems to have richly deserved the castigation of a purer pen. A similar production, directed against Afranius Quinctianus, a character equally infamous, is

Baths of Nero.⁴

mentioned by Tacitus.⁵ The circumstance has not escaped the acumen of Juvenal.⁶

We may here mention, as poets of this reign, Evodus, called

¹ Suet. Nero, lii.² Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 3.³ Dom. i.⁴ Quid Nerone pejus?Quid thermis melius Neronianis?—*Martial*.

What could be worse than Nero, or better than his baths?

⁵ Ann. xv. 49.⁶ Sat. iv. 106.

Nero.

by Suidas “ὁ θαυμαζόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ποίησιν,” though not a line of his works existed in the time of the lexicographer; Andromachus of Crete, a physician, who wrote a poem called *Theriaca*; and Petricus, of the same profession, who composed a piece *de Antidotis*.

The three succeeding princes, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, had neither leisure nor disposition to advance the interests of literature. The reigns of all together did not occupy two years, but their

sanguinary and tumultuous characters were eminently pernicious to the arts and sentiments of peace. Vespasian endeavoured to counteract the evil consequences of the late commotions, and his policy was followed up by Titus, who was himself, as Suetonius informs us, a poet, and occasionally extemporised. Pliny also mentions a noble poem by him, called *Acontia*, on a meteor which appeared in his time.¹ Some idea may be formed of the condition of poets and poetry at this period, from the declaration of Suetonius with respect to the former Emperor: *præstantes poetas . . . COEMIT!*” the reading has been disputed, but the variations are rather attributable to the extraordinary assertion implied in the

Poetry
under the
Vespasians.



Titus.

word, which has confounded transcribers, than to want of authority. Those who allow the reading interpret it “hired;” but surely Suetonius would never have employed an expression unknown, perhaps, in this sense, to any other Latin author, when he had the natural and proper word “*conduxit*” at hand. The truth appears to be that such persons as had never devoted their attention to other than literary pursuits, were reduced by the exigency of the times to dispose of themselves as slaves. Nor will this appear improbable, when taken in connexion with the testimony of Juvenal:²

quàm jam celebres notique poëtæ
Balneolum Gabiis, Romæ conducere furnos
Tentarent; nec sœdum alii nec turpe putarent
Præcones fieri.

When poets of high fame, for food and home,
Hired baths at Gabii, bake-houses at Rome;
Nor thought it humbling to their proud renown,
To act the crier through some paltry town.

¹ Hist. Nat. ii. 25. “Præclaro carmine.”

² Sat. vii. 3, *seqq.*

If such were the fate of admired and popular writers, we may well imagine what must have been the condition of inferior brethren of the lyre.



Arch of Titus.

To the liberality of Vespasian, SALEJUS BASSUS, a poet who has received high commendation from Quintilian and the author of the

Salejus
Bassus



Vespasian.

Valerius
Flaccus,

dialogue *De Oratoribus*,¹ and to whom the *Carmen ad Pisonem* is attributed by Wernsdorf, was indebted for the sum of five hundred sesteritia; and it was to this prince that CAIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS dedicated his *Argonautics*, a poem which some critics consider inferior only to the *Æneid*,² although it has reached us in a state of great corruption, and is recommended neither by originality, brilliancy of invention, nor melody of versification. Apollonius, Ovid, and Euripides, have all been laid under contribution to the production of the work, and the author cannot be denied the merit of having made them his own. The mythological machinery of Homer and Hesiod, which probably always had an esoteric sense, was borrowed, for the most part, in its literal acceptance, by the Roman poets, who employed it either to aggrandise their patrons and families, or to gratify an appetite for the marvellous. Horace perceived this extravagant passion for supernatural agency, and prescribed a prudent rule for its limitation,³ which succeeding poets little regarded, unless we may except Lucan, who preferred other methods of exciting surprise. To such an immoderate length is the interposition of deities carried by Valerius, that perhaps not an instance can be selected from his whole poem wherein an event occurs, or a design arises, unconnected with the operations or suggestions of the Court of Olympus. It is impossible to conceive a scene more ludicrous than that which Orpheus (of course, especially inspired by his mother,) recounts in the IVth Book, where Tisiphone pursues Io into Egypt, and Nile overwhelms the Fury in his waves, while her whips, torches, and serpents, strew the unpyting flood, and the ruthless goddess is seen imploring mercy, with her mouth half filled with water and sand. Jupiter, thundering above, completes the picture. The poem is imperfect; the succession of Domitian probably interrupted a work begun under more favourable auspices. That the author did not survive the reign of this prince is evident from the remark of Quinctilian: ⁴ “*multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus*”; an opinion perhaps less grounded on proved than on promised excellence, as he died young. Of the biography of this poet little can now be collected. The place of his birth has been disputed; he is named in the manuscripts *Setinus*, which has been taken to mean a native of *Setia*, now *Sezze*, in Campania. But as he is called by Martial,⁵ “*Antenorei spes et alumne Laris*,” there is no doubt that he was at least educated at Padua; and *Setinus* was, probably, a family name. From the same

¹ Quinct. x. 1. Dial. de Orat. 5, 9, and 10.

² Dominicus Marius, ad Ov. l. Amor. xi. Casp. Barth. lvi. Adv. c. xi.

³ Nec deus interit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.—*De Art. Poët.* 191.

⁴ x. 1.

⁵ 1 Ep. lxxvii.

writer we learn that Valerius did not find poetry a very lucrative profession.

In the dedication of the *Argonautics*, DOMITIANUS is mentioned as capable of celebrating in verse the conquest of Jerusalem. Domitian and his times.

Whether such a work was ever undertaken, must now be matter of conjecture; certain it is, however, that during the mild sway of his brother, he consulted his popularity by affecting the patronage and cultivation of poetry.¹

The character which history has bequeathed us of Domitian will enable us to ascertain the value of his success far more correctly than all the preposterous adulation of his venal and cowardly contemporaries. It is melancholy to see the great Quintilian, a spirit worthy "the most high and palmy state of Rome," attaching himself to



Domitian.

this worse than despicable herd; addressing the tyrant as the greatest, sublimest, most learned, and perfect of poets; humouring his childish vaunt, that he was the son of Minerva; and crowning the whole by representing his literary reputation only eclipsed by his resplendent virtues!² We may lament over the terrible degradation which this infamous page of the great critic displays, but its preservation dispenses with all prolix commentary on the condition of the times.

But the poetical taste which Domitian affected when a subject, and which proved a copious theme of contemporary adulation,³ was discarded when its motives ceased to operate. His speeches, letters, and decrees, were committed to the composition of secretaries; and his sole study was the life and papers of Tiberius.⁴ In persecution of the liberal arts he rivalled the worst of his predecessors, the Cæsars; but, as poets were not eminently signalised on these occasions, we shall have less to observe on this part of his character. His expulsion of the philosophers from Rome, however, gave

¹ Suet. Dom. ii. Tacit. Hist. iv. 86.

² x. 1. Elsewhere, Quintilian worships Domitian as a god, iii. 7; iv. pref.

³ *Quin et Romuleos superabit voce nepotes,
Queis erit eloquio partum decus; huic sua Musæ
Sacra ferent, meliorque lyra, cui substitit Hebrus
Et venit Rhodope, Phæbo miranda loquetur.*

Sil. Ital. Pun. iii. 618.

——— *Tu, quem longè primum stupet Itala virtus,
Graiaque; cui geminæ florent, vatunque ducumque
Certatim laurus, &c.—Stat. Achill. i. 14.*

See also Martial, *passim*.

⁴ Suet. Dom. xx.

Sulpicia.

occasion to a very spirited and elegant satire, which is still extant, by a noble Roman lady, named SULPICIA. A distich of great point and truth is ascribed to the pen of the same lady also :

Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit hæres !
Pœnè fuit tanti non habuisse duos.

O Flavian race ! 'twere almost worth the cost,
Thy third to lose, thy others to have lost.

She regarded with disgust and indignant purity the profligacy of the court and people, and is celebrated as a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, in praise of which she composed verses, which are highly applauded by Martial. They seem, however, to have been, at least, of a mixed character ;¹ and Ausonius openly calls them licentious.² By some scholars she has been confounded with the Sulpicia, whose elegiac correspondence with Cerinthus is attached to the works of Tibullus ; but the name of her husband was Calenus, and the learned are generally agreed in referring the former Sulpicia to the Augustan age.

Satire.

It does not appear that Sulpicia had any reason to repent her temerity ; yet it is matter of little surprise that Satire was not greatly cultivated during this period. Juvenal, it is true, had written : but his works, perhaps, never passed the most confidential circles in the reign of Domitian, since Quintilian takes no notice of them : and Turnus, possessed already of Court patronage, most probably reposed on his laurels. MANLIUS VOPISCUS indeed, a satirist of this period, was, if we are to believe his panegyrist Statius, a most versatile genius, and managed the lyres of Homer and Pindar with equal facility ;³ and Quintilian, speaking of satirists, observes, "*sunt clari hodieque, et qui olim nominabuntur.*"⁴

Vopiscus.

Suetonius has remarked that the government of Domitian was characterised by an eccentric mixture of virtues and vices ;⁵ an observation illustrated no less in his conduct with regard to literature than in other respects. His aversion to all liberal studies was sufficiently exemplified in his private habits, after his assumption of the purple rendered dissimulation unnecessary ; and the tenour of his political conduct was perfectly consonant with his domestic manners. He, nevertheless, restored the libraries which had perished by fire in the civil commotions, collected books from all quarters, and sent commissioners to Alexandria to transcribe the works preserved in that inestimable repository of learning. He instituted a quinquennial contest in honour of the Capitoline Jupiter,

¹ Cujus carmina qui benè æstimârit
Nullam dixerit esse nequiores :
Nullam dixerit esse sanctiores.—*Mart.* x. 25.

² In Epilog. ad Cent. Nuptialem.

³ 1 Sylv. iii. 101.

⁴ Inst. Orat. x. 1.

⁵ Dom. iii.

in which literary merit was disputed; and he founded at Alba a College dedicated to Minerva, the members of which were obliged to celebrate the *Quinquatria*, which included dramatic entertainments and poetical contests. As he did not, like Nero, interfere in these competitions, their influence on poetry, though slight, was perceptible. But little could be expected so long as there was no individual patronage.

Contentus famâ jaceat Lucanus in hortis
Marmoreis. At Serrano, tenuique Salejo,
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?¹

The cases of the Statii and Martial, however, have been instanced as exceptions to the ordinary policy of Domitian. We will examine this assertion in sketching their biography. The Statii.

Of the writings of P. PAPINIUS STATIUS the Elder nothing is preserved, and our knowledge of their subjects and nature, as well as of their author's history, is derived to us from the monody of his son, which forms the 3rd Poem of the Vth Book of the *Sylvæ*. From this we learn that he was of noble family, and that the honour of his nativity was contested by Naples and *Selle*; by which latter place we can scarcely understand the town so named in Epirus, since it is represented by the poet as the scene of the death of Palinurus, which is placed by Virgil at Velia. The ambiguity is to be ascribed to a silly emulation of the fate of Homer, a resemblance which, probably, never occurred to any except to the Statii themselves. Wherever he might have been born, he established himself early at Naples, where he frequently engaged in the quinquennial contest, and, apparently, always with success;² nor was he less distinguished in the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. He opened a school at Naples, which he rapidly filled; but there is no evidence that he ever came to Rome, although we are told by his son that he educated the children of the first families in the capital. He died at the age of sixty-five. Statius the Elder.

Concerning the subjects of the prize poetry of Statius it would be fruitless to conjecture. He had written a poem on the wars between the Vespasians and Vitellii, and *contemplated* another on the recent eruption of Vesuvius. His celebrity and excellence are certainly not to be estimated by the encomia of his panegyrist, who, independently of the influence of a sentiment more estimable than critical sagacity, was rarely a dispassionate judge of poetical merit.

Speaking of this Statius, Maturantius, who is followed by Gyraldus, observes,³ "*summo honore apud Domitianum habitus est, à quo etiam est auro donatus et coronâ, digno Principe erga*

¹ Juv. Sat. vii. 79. See also Martial, viii. 56.

² Stat. 5 Sylv. iii. 138.

³ In Achilleid.; item Gyrald. de Poet. Hist. Dial. iv.

The Statii.

PRÆCEPTOREM munere." If Statius had received proofs so conspicuous of the imperial favour, doubtless his son would have no less conspicuously published them. And, had he been the tutor of Domitian, none acquainted with the author of the *Thebaid* can doubt that such a circumstance would have been paraded with infinitely greater pomp than the less tangible favours of Apollo and all the Muses. Priests, chiefs, and statesmen, in all the splendour of poetic ornament, are depicted swelling the peaceful triumphs of his ferule, but not a syllable of the Emperor. If by the "crown" and "gold" of Maturantius, he meant the prize which Statius gained at Naples, it was in no sense the Emperor's present; and if, by the phrases, "*Hinc tibi VOTA PATRUM credi*,"¹ and

Mox et *Romuleam stirpem*, proceresque futuros
Instruis,

Maturantius understood Domitian, it is certain that he made his statement on a very insufficient foundation. The education of this prince seems to have been entirely neglected, and his early years were passed in the most abject and sordid poverty.² We cannot, therefore, greatly rely on any story of Court patronage conferred on the elder Statius.

Statius the Younger.

LUCIUS PAPINIUS STATIUS, son of the former, was born, as Dodwell conjectures, A.D. 61, at Naples. Before the death of his father, he had distinguished himself as victor in the Neapolitan poetical games; his first essay, however, in the Capitoline contest proved unsuccessful. But he soon retrieved his honour by three victories in the Alban *Quinquatria*, and, at length, by a conquest on the very theatre of his first reverse.³ On one occasion he had the honour of being entertained at the Emperor's table, a distinction which he has not been backward to record. But the marks of imperial favour which are said to have procured him the envy of Martial, and of almost all his contemporaries, were insufficient to protect him from the most deplorable indigence, since it appears that he was obliged to sell his tragedy *Agave* for bread.⁴ Little, therefore, can be pleaded here in favour of Domitian's patronage of learned men. The faithful and affectionate wife of Statius, Claudia, whose love had given his successes a value not their own, was his best consolation in adversity. He appears to have retired with her to Naples, where, according to the computation of Dodwell, he died, A.D. 96, and at the early age of thirty-five. The story that he was killed by the Emperor with an iron stylus does not rest on any respectable authority. As little evidence exists for the tradition that he was a Christian.

¹ Stat. 5 Sylv. iii. 146.

² Suet. Dom. 1.

³ 4 Sylv. ii. 65, *seqq.* This is not quite clear from the original passage, but it is probable, and is adopted by Tiraboschi.

⁴ Juvenal, Sat. vii. 87.

It is remarkable that Statius, although possessing a considerably extensive literary acquaintance, is not mentioned by any contemporary author, except Juvenal; even Quintilian is silent concerning him. His merit is a point on which modern criticism is sufficiently discordant; if, however, Juvenal speaks truly, his poetry, whether deservedly or not, was decidedly popular in his day. In his *Thebaid*, the work on which he has founded his reputation, he professes to follow, at a reverential distance, the footsteps of Virgil.¹ This is a rare acknowledgment for a post-Augustan poet; how far it is confirmed by the internal evidence belongs not to us to decide. Yet we may remark that the confession is one of less than doubtful sincerity, since the poet, addressing his friend Junius Maximus, has the following passage:

Quippe, te fido monitore, nostra
Thebais, multâ cruciata limâ,
Tentat audaci fide Mantuanæ
Gaudia famæ.²

The composition of this poem occupied twelve years. It is supposed to have been modelled on the poem of Antimachus, as that of Valerius Flaccus was on the *Argonautics* of Apollonius. His *Achilleid*, which, as he tells us, was designed as an exercise previous to a poem on the exploits of Domitian,³ never reached the end of a second book. Some suppose that he drew Achilles after his friend Crispinus Bolanus, to whom he addressed the 2nd poem in the Vth Book of the *Sylvæ*; but this seems founded on a mistaken interpretation.⁴ His *Sylvæ* are a collection of two-and-thirty fugitive pieces, in five books, in various styles, and on different subjects; and, so far from receiving the elaborate polish which their author bestowed on his *Thebaid*, were, as we learn from their several dedications, for the most part composed in the greatest haste, and some almost extemporaneously. The 1st Book of these is dedicated to ARUNTIUS STELLA, of Padua, a poet of some celebrity, though none of his works have reached us. His principal reputation rests on a little piece called *Columba*, similar in style and subject to the *Passer* of Catullus, but superior, if we are to credit Martial,⁵ to that beautiful little gem. He is said, however, to have written several other poems on the Sarmatian victories of Domitian, and on amatory subjects.⁶ He had an awkward custom of

¹ xii. 810, *seqq.*

² 4 *Sylv.* vii. Yet this poet, who hoped to rival Virgil, dared not attempt the praises of *Lucan* in his own metre! Such is his own declaration: "Ego non potui majorem tanti auctoris habere reverentiam, quam quòd, laudes ejus dicturus, hexametros meos timui!"—*Præf. in lib. ii. Sylvarum.*

³ *Achill.* i. 19.

⁴ 5 *Sylv.* ii. 164.

⁵ i. 8.

⁶ *Stat.* 1 *Sylv.* ii. 95, *et ibi comm.* With Wernsdorf, we are unable to find any sufficient ancient authority for the assertions of Vossius and others, respecting these poems on the Sarmatian victories.

Stella.

compelling his guests to write verses ; to this we owe the poem on his marriage with Violantilla by Statius, which, as the author tells us, was completed in two days, and which contains two hundred and seventy-seven hexameters. Although there is as much interest and originality in this as in most Epithalamia, it is not impossible that it has been glanced at by Martial in the following epigram :

Lege nimis durâ convivam scribere versus
Cogis, Stella ; licet scribere nempè malos.¹

Statius was, probably, the object of the same author's spleen, under the name of Sabellus. Certain it is that wherever Martial has mentioned this name, it is with more than the allowed proportion of epigrammatic gall. The conjecture is derived from a comparison of the 20th Epigram of his IXth Book with the poem by Statius on the baths of Etruscus. But it is time to say something on Martial himself.

Martial.

MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS (and, as some more recent authors add, COQUUS,²) was born at Bilbilis, now Calatajud, in Spain, A.D. 43, and educated at Calagurris, now Calahorra, in the same country. His father's name is thought to have been Fronto, and his mother's Flaccilla. But this seems a mistaken interpretation of the 34th Epigram of the Vth Book. These were, more probably, the parents of Erotion. At the age of twenty-one, during Nero's reign, he came to Rome, to complete his education for the bar ; where his epigrammatic talents afterwards procured him high reputation, in the reigns of Titus and Domitian. The same



Martial.

motives which actuated the latter prince in dissembling his aversion for liberal studies during the life of his brother, appear to have had some influence, wherever a comparison could occur advantageous to the memory of his regretted predecessor. Thus the honours which Martial enjoyed at the hands of Domitian were, perhaps, really ascribable to the patronage of Titus. Certain it is that he possessed the "*jus trium liberorum* ;" that he held the office of a tribune, and the dignity of a knight ; and that he had a

¹ ix. 91.

² Lamprid. Sever. 38. ; Joann. Sarisbriens. 6, iii. Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Doctr. iii. 17. But the true reading in Lampridius is perhaps *cocce*, i.e. *quoque*. The other writers have copied the corruption.

country residence at Nomentum. But these advantages appear to Martial. have been more specious than substantial, as he existed in a state of great poverty.¹ After a residence of thirty-five years in the capital, finding little encouragement at the court of Trajan, he resolved to return to his own country, for which purpose he was assisted with money by Pliny the younger, to whose vanity he had judiciously appealed, and who took good care not to conceal the obligation.² Here he married a rich lady, named Claudia Marcella. Whatever favours he may have enjoyed from the imperial hand, they were certainly not sufficient to prevent him from reproaching, when dead, the monster whom, living, his prostituted pen had exalted to the rank of the gods. His opinion of the encouragement afforded to learning at this time may be clearly collected from several epigrams written during the life of his patron. In addressing one Sextus, who, it seems, was anxious to advance himself at Rome by poetry, he is equally undisguised and discouraging :

Insanis ! omnes gelidis quicumque lacernis
Sunt tibi, Nasones Virgiliosque vides.³

Thou ravest ! mark those ragged cloaks and old—
Thy Ovids and thy Virgils there behold.

And to the celebrated Valerius Flaccus he writes :

Pierios differ cantusque chorosque sororum :
Æs dabit ex istis nulla puella tibi.⁴

Off with the Nine, their tuneful choirs and strains !
No lass of them will pay thee for thy pains.

The whole epigram is well worth reading. It does not appear that he enjoyed at Bilbilis the repose which he anticipated ; assailed by the stupidity and envy of his countrymen, he shortly after yielded to fate. The exact date of his death is uncertain ; it was not later than A. D. 104.

The works of Martial now extant are wholly epigrammatic ; twelve books consist of regular epigrams on miscellaneous subjects ; one book is called *Spectacula*,⁵ and alludes to the exhibitions of Titus and Domitian ; another has the title of *Xenia*, and, with a few introductory exceptions, consists entirely of distichs, each describing some article of ornament or luxury, which it was the custom of friends to send to each other on festal occasions. A third book is entitled *Apophoreta*, also composed of distichs, celebrating the presents usually given to guests to be carried home at the Saturnalia. Whether we possess all his writings is uncertain.

¹ xi. 4, *et passim*.

³ iii. 38.

² Plin. lib. iii. ep. ult.

⁴ i. 77.

⁵ The title is one of usage and convenience, but appears in no MS. Bähr. *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.*, § 185.

Martial.

No poet was ever more extensively acquainted with his brethren of the lyre than Martial; and it is not a little remarkable, when the state of the period is considered, that this fraternity should have been as numerous as it was. We will mention the principal names of the poets preserved in his epigrams, annexing such illustrations as ancient notices afford us.

Canius.

CANIUS RUFUS, of Cadiz, was, as is to be inferred from Martial,¹ a very versatile poet, who found himself at home in epic, elegiac, comedy, and tragedy. On the same authority, his wife THEOPHILA

Theophila.

Decianus.

Licianus.

was in no respect inferior to Sappho.² DECIANUS and LICIANUS were both natives of the Peninsula, and therefore not forgotten by Martial in his brief catalogue of illustrious authors;³ the former being of Merida in Portugal, and the other a fellow townsman of

Parthenius.

Varus.

the epigrammatist himself. PARTHENIUS, the chamberlain of Domitian, is frequently mentioned with commendation.⁴ VARUS, like the Cassius of Horace, wrote two hundred lines every day.⁵ Such are the very scanty particulars which subsist concerning these poets, which we have recorded rather with a view to method than for the sake of any very conspicuous advantage derivable from the transcription of such names. The catalogue might easily be enlarged, especially if the names of those poets who have been *censured*, as well as commended, by Martial, were to be allowed a niche in our Biography. But we willingly resign the task of constellating these luminaries to Fabricius and his editors, who have performed it with a patience, as well as a diligence, truly admirable. The learned but incorrect Gyraldus has made a similar assemblage.

Silius
Italicus.

Some names, however, there are which must not be so lightly dismissed. The most conspicuous of these is SILIUS ITALICUS, author of the *Punica*. This poet was born about A. D. 25; and is by some referred to the age of Nero, in the last year of whose government he was consul; but as his poem, so early as the III^d Book, mentions Domitian as sovereign, he will most conveniently be noticed here. The place of his nativity has never been settled. He has been claimed by the Spaniards as a native of their town Italica, and by the Italians for a similar reason, as born at Corfinium, called Italica in the Marsian war. But it is probable that he derived his name from neither of these places, as, according to the unanswerable argument of Stephens, Vossius, and other eminent scholars, the analogy in this case would have given us *Italicensis* and not *Italicus*.⁶ That he was not a Spaniard may very fairly be inferred from the omission of his name by Martial, wherever the poetical worthies of Spain are celebrated; although

¹ iii. 20.

² vii. 68.

³ i. 42.

⁴ ii. 1; iv. 45; v. 6; viii. 28.

⁵ viii. 20.

⁶ See also Aul. Gell. xvi. 13, and Gruter, Inscript. i. p. 385.

he is frequently mentioned by this poet with high commendation.¹ Silius
Italicus. Wherever he may have been born, his usual residence was at Naples, where he possessed an estate. In the time of Nero he had the reputation of an informer; but he afterwards retrieved his character, by his mild and prudent conduct in the friendship of Vitellius, his honourable demeanour in the proconsulship of Asia, and his peaceable and dignified employment of the hours of leisure. When his age allowed him the privilege of a respite from senatorial cares, he withdrew to his Campanian retirement, from which not even the accession of Trajan had power to excite him. An incurable disease of the eye induced him to terminate his life by starvation, at the age of seventy-five, about A. D. 100.

The character of Silius is that of a virtuoso, and is completely a counterpart of Pope's *Timon*. *Erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem.*² He shifted from villa to villa, with a view of improving the elegance of his abode; he had a fine library, and a fine collection of statues. He purchased the estate of Cicero, to whose writings he was particularly partial, and paid honours to the memories of both him and Virgil, whose sepulchre at Naples he had purchased. In consequence, Martial equals him with the latter; at least, if one reading be correct, in the 51st Epigram of his XIth Book. He seems, however, to have inherited a very small portion of the spirit of either; and all his readers will acquiesce in the judgment of Pliny, *scribebat carmina majore curâ quam ingenio*.

The biographer of Silius (for so we may term CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, since it is by his pen that the most numerous and authentic particulars on this subject have been perpetuated) must not pass wholly unnoticed in this place,³ not only as a person whose addiction to literature has procured us information on the state of poetry in his day, but as also a poet himself. Of this talent, as indeed of all his other universal attainments, he frequently informs us.⁴ When he was only fourteen years of age he composed a Greek tragedy. When detained in Icaria by unfavourable winds, this island became the subject of his muse, and forth came a volume of Latin Elegies. He then made trial of heroics; and, last of all, he produced his hendecasyllabics, of which he talks perpetually. It was not immediately that he discovered how so undignified a metre could be made to comport with that which the world, of course, expected from a Pliny. Fortunately, however, he stumbled on an epigram by Cicero, which put him on reflecting that many

¹ iv. 14; vii. 62.

² Plin. lib. iii. ep. 7.

³ A biographical sketch of Pliny (who belongs rather to prose than poetry) will be found in Dr. Arnold's paper in this volume, on the literature of Trajan's time.

⁴ Plin. i. 13; iv. 6, 14; v. 3, 10, 11, *et præsertim*, vii. 4.

Plinius
Secundus.

illustrious orators had amused themselves in a similar manner. No sooner did he ascertain such to have been the ordinary practice of eminent literary men, than he set to work in good earnest, and produced a volume of hendecasyllabics, some of which, so far as he leads us to conjecture, appear to have been somewhat coarsely seasoned, in order to invite comparison with Catullus. The occasion which led to the formation of this work, he has thought right to record in verse as well as prose. We shall not burden the reader with the whole passage, which, though short, is sufficiently tedious; part, however, may not be unacceptable as an efficient consolation for the ravages of time.

Quùm libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti
Ausus de Cicerone darè palmamque decusque,
Lascivum inveni lusum Ciceronis, et illo
Spectandum ingenio, quo seria condidit, et quo
Humanis salibus multo varioque lepore
Magnorum ostendit mentes gaudere virorum.

These verses, which their author evidently considered choice, sufficiently prove that he was ignorant of the commonest technicalities of versification, and stand forth conspicuous on the exquisitely smooth and polished texture of his prose, like the island rocks from the surface of the still and limpid Ægean. The mind of Pliny was by no means cast in a poetical mould. He wrote verses because he conceived it necessary to his literary reputation; an idol to which he sacrificed every other passion and prejudice. What, however, must be our opinion of the *poet* who could prefer the perusal of Livy to the spectacle of Vesuvius in eruption?¹ and, still more, who could hope by this avowal to excite the admiration of Tacitus?

But though Pliny is certainly not entitled to the highest honours of the Latin Parnassus, to him we are indebted for information regarding several poets, whose familiarity he possessed or courted: for such was his ambition of a literary immortality, that he made the acquaintance of every literary aspirant in Italy, and has taken especial pains to inform the world of the fact. His friends were not equally generous in return, and seemed, for the most part, insensible of the great honour and distinction which they were enjoying. The testimony of Pliny, however, as we have had previous occasion to observe, must always be taken with some qualification. He was a trader in praise; and his commendations were, in general, either speculations or payments; in the latter he was liberal, and in the former, adventurous.

Voconius.

This remark premised, we will first proceed to notice VOCONIUS ROMANUS, who occupies a conspicuous station among the friends

¹ vi. 20.

and correspondents of Pliny; several biographical particulars of this writer are recorded in the XIIIth Epistle of his IInd Book. The Emperor Hadrian, according to Apulejus, ordered this line to be engraven on his tomb :

Lascivus versu, mente pudicus erat.

If this account were correct, the modest Nine were not always so select in their expressions as might be hoped and expected from ladies of their station and character; for Pliny affirms that his language was like the Muses themselves composing in Latin.¹ But if he were the same mentioned by Martial, (lib. vii. ep. 28,) under the name of Voconius Victor, as he is generally supposed to have been, he did not deserve even the sorry reservation of his Imperial apologist. PASSIENUS PAULLUS, a Roman knight, is recommended to our notice and interest as the countryman and lineal descendant of Propertius, and his disciple in the school of elegiac poetry. He was afterwards an imitator of the lyrics of Horace. POMPEIUS SATURNINUS was a genius of that universal character which apprehended, by Pliny's account, to many more of his friends; we are, however, here concerned with his verses alone, of which this writer gives us the following description: "Facit versus, quales Catullus meus aut Calvus.—Quantum illis leporis, dulcedinis, amaritudinis, amoris inserit! sanè datâ operâ molliusculos, leviusculosque, duriusculos quosdam: et hoc, quasi Catullus meus aut Calvus."² Another poetical prodigy, OCTAVIUS, is addressed in the Xth Epistle of the II^d Book. ARRIUS ANTONINUS wrote Attic Greek *better than the Athenians themselves*; ³ but his epigrams were but indifferently translated by SECUNDUS.⁴ That the praises of SENTIUS AUGURINUS should have filled an entire letter will seem nothing wonderful, when we read the following verses from his pen.

Canto carmina versibus minutis
His, olim quibus et meus Catullus,
Et Calvus, veteresque: sed quid ad me?
UNUS PLINIUS est mihi! priores
Mavult versiculos, foro relicto,
Et quærit quod amet, putatque amari.
ILLE PLINIUS, ILLE! Quid CATONES?
I nunc, qui sapias, amare noli!

TITINIUS CAPITO celebrated the actions of eminent men.⁵ APOLLINARIS is also mentioned by Pliny and Martial in terms of respect, although, from the prevalence of the name, it is not quite certain

¹ Epistolas quidem scribit, ut Musas ipsas Latinè loqui credas.

² i. 16.

³ iv. 3. Non medius fidius ipsas Athenas tam Atticas dixerim.

⁴ v. 10.

⁵ i. 17.

Bruttianus.

that they allude to the same person. We scarcely know whether we are justified in enrolling on our list *LUSTRICUS BRUTTIANUS*, since he appears to have written in Greek only; but that his epigrammatic powers were not trivial, we may fairly conclude from the prayer of Martial to Thalia, that she would allow him, provided Bruttianus condescended to epigrammatize in Latin, to occupy the second place. Martial, like his friend Pliny, was prodigal of his panegyrics; but none acquainted with his character can doubt his sincerity here. It was the fashion of that age, still more than that of the Augustan, to imitate the heroes of the brief but pointed anecdote of Horace:

Fratres erat Romæ consulti rhetor, ut alter
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores;
Gracchus ut hic illi foret, huic ut Mucius ille.¹

Hence authors have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of posterity, who, probably, but for these extravagant eulogies, might have attained a respectable situation on the records of fame. It has been often observed that Pico Mirandola, whose vaunting epitaph extends his glory to the Antipodes, is scarcely known beyond the limits of Europe; and thus *LUCIUS*, who is termed by Martial "the glory of his time,"² and who is, without scruple, equalled with Horace, is only a shadow and a name: and *UNICUS*, who yielded in the poetic art to his brother only,³ is now his rival in obscurity alone. One of the most pleasing pictures which the elegant pen of Pliny has drawn for us is what might be called the Old Man's Day, the description of a day with his friend *VESTRIUS SPURINNA*, who seems to have spent his time in a manner at once amiable and dignified, and who, we there learn, wrote lyrics with wonderful beauty, sweetness, and gaiety.⁴

Review of
the Flavian
age.

The advocates of Domitian's liberality in the encouragement of learning certainly possess an apparent advantage in the imposing array of poetical names which the writers of that period supply; enough, however, appears to have been advanced to prove that, whatever may have been the cause, it cannot reasonably be sought in the spirit of the Imperial Government. Were any further argument on this subject necessary, we might appeal again to Pliny, who, while he informs us that in one year scarcely a day in the month of April passed without a poetical recitation,⁵ at the same time laments the scantiness of the auditory, and commends the poets for their resolute contempt of an idle or disdainful public. The most satisfactory explication of the whole phenomenon is the impulse afforded to poetical studies by the munificence of the

¹ Hor. ii. ep. ii. 87.

³ Mart. xii. 43.

² Mart. iv. 55.

⁴ iv. i.

⁵ i. 13.

Vespasians. The whole reign of Domitian extended only to fifteen years; a period insufficient to extinguish the hopes, and annul the ambition, of those who had experienced or witnessed the effects of a patronage truly princely and worthy the sovereigns of the world. We shall not find that the succession of a confessedly happier reign procured for the Muse those advantages which a more tyrannical system denied. The same hopes and the same objects were no longer extended; and Genius passed from disappointment to decay.

Review of
the Flavian
age.

The mild and benignant character of the Government of NERVA Nerva. promised a favourable opportunity for the development and prosecution of the arts and studies of peace; but the brevity of his reign, which little exceeded a twelvemonth, frustrated his benevolent designs. Nerva was himself a poet; Pliny the younger excuses his own light poetry by his example;¹ a circumstance which acquaints us with the character of his writings. Nero, as appears from Martial,² complimented Nerva with the title of "the Tibullus of his age;" and although the eulogy either of Martial or Nero is no very irrefragable proof of real merit, this circumstance is not valueless, inasmuch as it affords us certainty that the works of Nerva were elegiac. Martial³ mentions his modesty, and reluctance to publish; qualities which perfectly harmonize with all that we know of the character of Nerva.



Nerva.

If Juvenal, in his VIIth Satire, speaks (as many, not without probability, suppose) of Trajan, we must regard that prince not only as a liberal rewarder of poetical merit, but as a diligent investigator of worthy objects for his patronage. We have, however, before observed that Hadrian is not improbably the "Cæsar" of this poem. But little reliance can be placed on the historical fidelity of a poet addressing a prince on whom all his hopes and objects depended. Enough has been already said on the character of all similar testimony from the pen of Pliny the Younger. The following passage, however, is striking, especially as it displays the view which a contemporary took of the policy of Domitian in this respect: "How honourably," says Pliny to Trajan, "dost thou regard the preceptors of eloquence! what reverence dost thou entertain for the teachers of wisdom! How have liberal studies, beneath thy auspices, recovered their animation, their life-blood,

Reign of
Trajan.

¹ Plin. v. 3.

² viii. 70; ix. 27.

³ Ubi suprâ.

Reign of
Trajan.

and their home ! *studies which the barbarism of past days punished with banishment, when a prince whose conscience condemned him of every enormity, drove into exile all intellectual pursuits, well knowing their hostility to vice, and influenced not more by hatred than by dread of them.* But thou hast granted these pursuits thy embraces, thine eyes, and thine ears ; for thou performest what they suggest, and lovest them no less than they witness thine excellence."¹ "It is sincerely to be lamented," observes Gibbon, "that, whilst we are fatigued with the disgustful relation of Nero's crimes and follies, we are reduced to collect the actions of Trajan from the glimmerings of an abridgement, or the doubtful light of a panegyric."² There can be little doubt that a disposition to value and advance the studies of civilization accompanied the good sense and benevolence of Trajan ; much, however, as has been said on the subject of his literary patronage, it will be vain to trace it in its effects. Most of the poets (for it is with them alone that we are here concerned) who adorned his reign of twenty years, had already published under his predecessors ; Juvenal is the only conspicuous writer of this description who may be considered an exception ; and even he had written before. Two causes will sufficiently explain this paradox ; the example of the prince, and the indolence of the rich. The patronage of Trajan was afforded to literature in general, less from an abstract love of the object, than from a conviction of its political advantages, which, in the case of poetry, are certainly unobtrusive, and by some philosophers and legislators have been regarded as doubtful. This monarch was no poet himself, and the first incitement to poetical ambition was consequently wanting. Neither did the wealthy and influential portion of the citizens second, as far as it went, the good example of their head ; and poets, weary of protracted neglect, sank around in despondency and silence.³ Juvenal and Martial, we know, experienced in this reign the

¹ "Quem honorem dicendi magistris, quam dignationem sapientiæ doctoribus habes ! ut sub te spiritum, et sanguinem, et patriam, receperunt studia ! quæ priorum temporum immanitas exsiliis puniebat, quum sibi vitiorum omnium conscius Princeps inimicas vitis artes, non odio magis quam reverentia, relegaret. At tu easdem artes in complexu, oculis, auribus habes : præstas enim quæcunque præcipiunt, tantumque eas diligis, quantum ab illis probaris."—*Plin. Paneg.* xlvii.

² Rom. Emp. ch. iii.

³ Ingenium sacri miraris abesse Maronis,
Nec quenquam tantâ bella sonare tubâ.
Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones,
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.

Mart. viii. 66.

Quis tibi Mæcenas, quis nunc erit, aut Proculejus,
Aut Fabius ? quis Cotta iterum ? quis Lentulus alter ?

Juv. Sat. vii. v. 94.

bitterest discouragement : indeed it is impossible that the incessant projects of aggrandizement which occupied the mind of Trajan could allow him, however inclined, to bestow any efficient culture on the arts and studies of peace and leisure. The Capitoline poetical contest, it appears, was continued. We are indebted to an inscription still preserved in the town of Guasto, formerly *Histonium*, for a very interesting anecdote of a juvenile poet, whose genius was excited and rewarded by this institution. From this it appears that LUCIUS VALERIUS PUDENS, a boy of that place, only thirteen years of age, was crowned victor in the Capitol, A.D. 106, by the unanimous suffrage of the judges. A statue of brass was erected to him by his countrymen in the time of Antoninus Pius. Without detracting in any degree from the honourable and meritorious distinction of the youthful adventurer, we may be permitted to observe that his success affords a presumption, either that the competitors were few or indifferent, or that the honour itself was slightly regarded.

Valerius
Pudens.

The character of HADRIAN has been drawn so correctly, so forcibly, and at the same time so compendiously, by his biographer,

Hadrian.

Ælius Spartianus, that the words of this author will be the best possible comment we can supply on the effects of his accession.

"Idem severus, lætus; comis, gravis; lascivus, cunctator; tenax, liberalis; simulator, sævus, clemens; et semper in omnibus varius."¹

From the influence of a mind so perversely constituted no permanent or substantial advantages could be expected to accrue to any department of literature. Yet was Hadrian a man of great accomplishments, and a poet; his pieces were, for the most part, amatory; and he wrote a poem called

Catacriani, which, as we learn from his biographer, was extremely obscure,² and the title of which, notwithstanding the attempts of scholars to make it significant, is now become no less mysterious than its contents. This work was an imitation of Antimachus, a poet for whom he entertained a very high admiration, and whom he preferred to Homer, as he did Ennius to Virgil. He endeavoured to revive the acted drama; and for this purpose granted the services of the court actors to the public.³ He was liberal of rewards and



Hadrian.

¹ C. 14.

² Ibid. 16.

³ Æl. Spart. 19.

Hadrian.

honours to literary professors; but these afforded small encouragement to merit, so long as he treated their owners with ridicule, contempt, and indignity, on the ground of his own superior attainments. Indeed, literary pursuits and professions of all kinds were not more safe than honourable; for the Emperor, in order to pamper his own vanity, and mortify the self-complacency of authors, would often publish rival compositions, the superiority of which it would have been the most reckless imprudence to deny. Thus Favorinus, being reprehended for the introduction of a word which he afterwards removed, replied to his friends, who reproached him for his obsequiousness, "You advise me ill, if you wish me to doubt the superior learning of one who has thirty legions at command."¹ A poet named Florus, however, was less circumspect, and addressed to the Emperor the following lines:

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

Hadrian chanced to read the verses in good humour, and took no other revenge than a prompt repayment, together with similar interest:

Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.²

But the experiment was dangerous, and, probably, solitary, to say nothing of its bad taste and want of decent courtesy. The anecdote, if authentic, which there is no reason to doubt, furnishes a curious illustration of the literary relations of prince and people at the time.

There is still extant an Epitaph by Hadrian on his horse Borysthenes, which has been edited as follows by Salmasius after Casaubon,³ and which is illustrative of his style and versification.

Borysthenes Alanus
Cæsareus veredus,
Per æquor et paludes
Et tumulos Etruscos
Volare qui solebat,
Pannonios nec ullus
Apros eum insequentem,
Dente aper albicanti
Ausus fuit nocere,
Vel extimam salivâ
Sparsit ab ore caudam,
Ut solet evenire:

¹ C. 15.² Ubi suprâ.³ Vide utriusque notas ad *Æl. Spart. Hadr.*

Sed integer juventâ,
Inviolatus artus,
Die suâ peremptus
Hic situs est in agro.

Hadrian.

Borysthenes, the Alanian,
Imperial Cæsar's hunter,
O'er champaign and o'er moorland,
And o'er Etruscan hillocks,
That used to fly so lightly,—
Pannonian boars when chasing
Whom never boar might venture
With tooth of polished whiteness
To gash as he swept past him,
Or with his foam to sprinkle
One tail-hair of the courser,
As chances oft to happen,—
In prime of youth and beauty,
With every limb unblemished,
On his own day departing,
Beneath this turf reposes.

A more celebrated piece of Hadrian's is his address to his departing soul, the popularity of which is not easily accounted for; though, as a painful illustration of heathen darkness and misgiving at the most solemn of anticipations, it is far from valueless:

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Poor soul of mine! poor fluttering thing!
This body's mate and guest!
Ah, whither art thou hastening,
All pallid, stark, and shivering?
Nor fain, as erst, to jest?

The adopted successor of Hadrian, L. Cejonius Commodus, *Ælius Verus*, called by him *ÆLIUS VERUS CÆSAR*, was a great admirer of poetry, and a poet. The character of his poetry may best be collected from his favourite authors. Ovid and Appian were the companions of his pillow, and Martial he styled his Virgil.¹ His son, the Emperor Verus, was also a poet, although far from eminent.²

It might be supposed that, beneath the tranquil and beneficent sway of the Antonines, the Latin Muse, though already feeble and expiring, might have rallied her exhausted energies, and stood

Verus
Antonius.Age of the
Antonines.

¹ *Æl. Spart. Vit. Æl. v.*

² "Melior quidem Orator fuisse dicitur quam Poëta: imò (ut veriùs dicam) pejor Poëta quam Rhetor."—*Julii Capit. Verus. Imp. ii.*

Age of the
Antonines.

forth again to the world in the perfect beauty and chaste proportion of her Augustan maturity. "The love of letters, almost



Antoninus Augustus Pius.

inseparable from peace and refinement, was fashionable among the subjects of Hadrian and the Antonines, who were themselves men of learning and curiosity. It was diffused over the whole extent of their empire; the most northern tribes of Britons had acquired a taste for Rhetoric; Homer, as well as Virgil, was transcribed and studied on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; and the most liberal rewards sought out the faintest glimmerings of literary merit."¹ Yet, in the words of the great historian to whom we are indebted for the above picturesque glance at the literary condition of this period, "the name Poet was almost forgotten;" "while a cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste."² This consummation, however, is easily accounted for. The protracted realities of neglect and penury had at length dispelled the visions, and chilled the aspirations, of Genius; which, like Youth, may struggle awhile with unkindness and sorrow, but which is equally endangered by their premature influence, and equally irrevocable by subsequent attentions. Had Augustus himself occupied the throne of the Antonines, no eminent superiority could have been expected; but neither was the kind of encouragement afforded to literature by these princes calculated to foster imaginative excellence. Poetry, indeed, was utterly neglected; the stage had fallen into the hands of the populace, and was a mere vehicle of impurity;³ and the philosophers and orators who were the objects of Imperial patronage were those who best retained the maxims of their predecessors, not those who reasoned most freely on their knowledge, or studied to become critics in the

¹ Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ch. ii.

² *Ibid.*

³ "A theatro separamur, quod est privatum consistorium impudicitiae, ubi nihil probatur quàm quod alibi non probatur."—*Tertull. de Spect.*

subject for themselves. But, without attempting a metaphysical discussion of the causes which induced the rapid decay of poetical merit in and after the period of the Antonines,—a digression which, however seducing to a writer on this subject, is not expected in a brief summary of facts,—the effect is indisputable; and the names which we shall now have to record will only be detailed in their chronological order, without attempting to classify where there is no connexion.

The state of poetical literature during the sway of the Antonines may be conveniently gleaned from the following fact: Aulus Gellius, who appears to have been intimate with all the eminent literati of his time, speaks with the most extravagant commendation of the poet JULIUS PAULLUS, calling him the most learned man whom he could remember.¹ To the same testimony we are indebted for a notice of ANNIANUS,² who, as we learn from Ausonius,³ composed Fescennine Carols.

Age of the
Antonines.

Paullus.

Annianus.

The lethargy which succeeded the decease of Marcus Aurelius cannot excite surprise. The Emperors were not unfrequently unskilled in the national tongue; rarely patronised literature at all; and most rarely of all, poetry.⁴ Commodus, in one sense, was a patron of the Muses, as his conduct gave rise to many lampoons.⁵ Pertinax, indeed, gave the sanction of his presence to poetical recitations.⁶ Geta affected a high zeal for literary pursuits, and his favourite author was Q. SERENUS SAMMONICUS, who wrote a poem on Medicine, still extant.⁷ But the style of this prince's acquirements may best be estimated from the questions which he put to grammarians concerning the noises of animals, and the strictly *literary* dinners which he gave, wherein only dishes beginning with one letter were allowed.⁸ CLODIUS ALBINUS wrote Georgics, and *Fabulæ Milesiæ*. But encouragement and example appeared equally fruitless until the reign of Alexander, who attempted a more vigorous patronage, with somewhat more of the appearance of success. The language, however, had undergone important corruptions, and Alexander was not best qualified to remove them. By an inversion of the fate of Telephus, the speech and literature

Serenus
Sammonicus.

Clodius
Albinus.

¹ Noct. Att. i. 22, v. 4, xix. 7.

² Ibid. vii. 7.

³ Præf. in Cent. Nupt.

⁴ We give the following specimen of Imperial poetry from the pen of Macrinus, in answer to an epigram written on the occasion of his refusal of the name of Pius, and his acceptance of that of Felix:—

Si talem Graium retulissent fata poetam,
Qualis Lātinus Gabalus iste fuit,
Nil populus nōsset, nil nōsset curia, MAGNO
Nullus scripsisset carmina tetra ΜΗΗ!!!

Jul. Capit. Macr. xi.

⁵ *Lar. apud. Vit. Comm. xiii.*

⁶ *Jul. Capit. Pert. xi.*

⁷ *Jul. Capit. Gord. Jun. ii.*

⁸ *Jul. Capit. Get. v.*

Clodius
Albinus.

of Rome were rapidly decaying beneath the influence of the same causes which had brought them to the high perfection they had once enjoyed. The Greek language was now indeed triumphant. That Lucretius and Cicero, expounding for the first time the doctrines of the Greek Philosophy in a language which possessed no equivalent expressions, should borrow from the rich and various stores of Greece, was only to be expected. But what originated in necessity was continued through affectation; and a spirit similar to that which is now working the ruin of our own language prevailed. This spirit was rather sanctioned than checked by Augustus, who considered the naturalisation of a Greek word or phrase an acquisition to the language; with more taste indeed, but not less error, than the Gallicising writers of our own times. Horace himself was not indisposed to regard the practice with toleration.¹ A perusal of the letters of Pliny (whose character, certainly, was favourable to the diffusion of a corruption propagated by pedantry and vanity), sufficiently testifies the progress which this destructive propensity had made in the course of half a century. Alexander, unhappily, was so addicted to Greek literature that he almost despised that of Rome;² so that his policy, as might be expected, in no manner improved the purity of the language. His favourite Latin authors were, however, the Poets,³ and these might certainly have enjoyed his patronage if willing to claim it, as we know from the case of Q. Serenus Sammonicus, son of the poet of that name just noticed, and whose poetical abilities recommended him to the notice of the Court. Bernhardt conjectures that the Poem on Medicine, mentioned above, should be ascribed to the younger Sammonicus.⁴

Sammonicus
the younger.

Septimius.

The name of Serenus has greatly perplexed literary historians. Crinitus and Henry Stephens make A. Serenus and Q. Septimius distinct poets, and Gyraldus adds another Serenus. But Marius Victorinus⁵ and Sidonius Apollinaris⁶ speak of Septimius Serenus as one person; and some verses are quoted as the work of Septimius and Serenus, by the poetical grammarian, TERENTIANUS MAURUS. But the age of Terentian himself is not accurately determined, although generally referred to the period which we are now treating. Lachmann and Niebuhr refer him to the *end* of the third century. Vossius and Fabricius conjecture that he was no other than the Præfect of Syene, mentioned by Martial in the eighty-seventh Epigram of the first Book; and on this supposition Wernsdorf, after Gronovius and others, ventures to identify this Septimius with Septimius Severus, the correspondent

Incidental
notice of
Terentian.

¹ De Art. Poët. 52.

² Lamprid. Alex. ii. et xxviii.

³ Ibid. xxxiv.

⁴ Grundr. der R. L. Anm. 424.

⁵ Gramm. lib. iii. p. 2578, edit. Putschii.

⁶ Epist. ad Polem.

of Statius, and proposes there to read Serenus for Severus. The extant works of Septimius are some fragments on rustic subjects, from several little pieces called *Opuscula Ruralia*; and to him is attributed, by Wernsdorf, the celebrated *Moretum*, more commonly ascribed to Virgil. The *Falisca*, mentioned by the grammarians, were probably no other than the *Opuscula Ruralia*. They gave their name to the Faliscan measure, which consists of a dactylic trimeter followed by an iambus. Sammonicus also enjoyed the favour of the two first Gordians, father and son, to the latter of whom he was tutor, and who were themselves poets; the elder having composed, when yet a boy, an Epic in thirty Books, called the *Antoniniad*, on the life and exploits of the Antonines, Poems called *Halcyonæ*, *Uxorius*, and *Nilus*, and a translation of Aratus and Demetrius,¹ being a kind of *rifaccimento* of the poetry of Cicero, as Pope remodelled the works of Donne; while the younger amused himself with lighter productions.² Their successor, BALBINUS, colleague of Maximus or Pupienus, is called, by his biographer, Julius Capitolinus, eminent among the poets of his time;³ but the praise is of small absolute value. GALLIENUS also was celebrated for his poetical talents, and gained the palm from one hundred competitors for an *Epithalamium*, part of which has been preserved in his life by Trebellius Pollio. None of the emperors of this period actually persecuted the Muses except Philip the Arab, whose savage law is still extant in the Justinian code:⁴ "*Poëtæ nullâ immunitatis prærogativâ juvantur.*" No important consequences, however, resulted from this temporary improvement in the general character of the imperial government. The climate, indeed, was mild and genial, but the soil was poor and stubborn. This assertion is best exemplified by considering the age of Carus and his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, by whose time the action of this improved artificial temperature had forced into light a few sickly productions, which it will be requisite to notice.

Incidental
notice of
Terentian.

The
Gordians.

Balbinus.

Gallienus.

The two former of these princes were little addicted to intellectual pleasure; yet their education was liberal, and they were not insensible to the excellence of literary pursuits, and the value of a poet's praise. The mild and amiable NUMERIANUS was a poet by choice and feeling; according to his biographer, Vopiscus,⁵ he surpassed all the poets of his time. This may either allude to his

Numerian.

¹ "Cuncta illa quæ Cicero ex Demetrio et Arato," &c.—*Jul. Capit. Gord. Maj.* iii.; but some for *ex Demetrio*, read *de Mario*.

² Julius Capitolinus passes the following criticism on his writings: "Non magna, non minima, sed media, et quæ appareant esse hominis ingeniosi, sed luxuriantis, et suum deserentis ingenium."—*Gord. Jun.* iv.

³ *Jul. Capit. Max. et Balb.* vii.

⁴ *Lib. x. tit. lii. 3.*

⁵ *Vopisc. Numer.* xi.

Numerian.

abstract reputation, or to his successes in the poetical contests, which had now been revived, and in which he bore a conspicuous part. History is seldom identified with just criticism in the matter



Numerian.

Aurelius
Apollinaris.

of literary sovereigns; still less can a dependent vassal be expected to pronounce an impartial decision on the merits of his absolute master. In the present instance, however, there is no violence in the supposition that the historian or the judges recorded an unprejudiced opinion. The poetry of some of this prince's contemporaries has been spared by the caprice of Time, and renders the possibility of his superiority perfectly consistent with the usual standard of imperial mediocrity. We have not the good fortune to possess the iambics of AURELIUS APOLLINARIS, who celebrated the

Nemesian.

exploits of Carus, and whom, according to the flourish of Vopiscus,¹ Numerian, with a similar poem, "flashed into obscurity as if with a sunbeam;" but the works of M. AURELIUS OLYMPIUS NEMESIANUS, of Carthage, author of *Halieutica*, *Cynegetica*, *Nautica* (and possibly a poem, *De Aucupio*, of which we possess two fragments²), whom he fairly vanquished, are partly extant, and certainly, in this case, dispense with all the difficulties of the hypothesis, that a poetical monarch may be tried by impartial contemporary judges.

Of the *Cynegetica* of Nemesian only three hundred and twenty-five lines have reached us: whatever judgment may be formed on their merits by modern critics, it is certain that the Emperor's triumph was by no means lightly esteemed by his contemporaries. Nemesian, indeed, received far greater honours than ever had been enjoyed by Horace, Virgil, or Ovid; whatever we are to understand by the corrupt passage in which his distinctions are recorded, they were evidently extensive and remarkable.³ To this poet is ascribed, by Wernsdorf, the fragment on the labours of Hercules, usually

¹ "Velut radio solis obtexit."—*Vopisc. Numer. xi.*

² Some read "Ixeutica" for "Nautica," in the passage of Vopiscus.

³ "Omnibus coloniis illustratus emicuit."—*Vopisc. Numer. xi.* Casaubon corrects *coronis*; it is the most probable reading which has been offered, and is now generally adopted. Mr. Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, A.D. 283), refers this eulogium and the authorship of the *Halieutica*, &c. to Numerian. But even his altered punctuation makes such a reference very awkward, and almost ungrammatical; to say nothing of the unquestionable fact, that Nemesian wrote a poem called *Cynegetica*, while there is no external proof that Numerian wrote anything of the kind.

printed with the works of Claudian. The property of this trifle is Nemesian. in no respect important; but those who think the subject worth further prosecution may read the arguments of the learned critic in the second volume of his *Poetæ Minores*. The same scholar, on the most solid and convincing grounds, has restored the four Eclogues commonly assigned to this author to T. CALPURNIUS Calpurnius. SICULUS, a poet of the same period, and, if we may trust universal tradition, an object of the patronage of Nemesian. Wernsdorf, who seems to have exhausted on the illustration of both these poets all the ample stores of his learning, and all his excursive powers of conjecture, stoutly denies the identity of Melibœus with the author of the *Cynegetica*; his argument, which is defended at some length, may be entirely comprised in the fact, that the Melibœus of Calpurnius is everywhere represented as a person of great power and influence at court, which Nemesian is not known to have been. Little, however, is known of the biography of Nemesian; and the few particulars which can be collected rather favour than oppose the opinion that he was a person of rank and influence. Ulitius even conjectures that he was related to the imperial family.¹ Under such circumstances there scarcely appears to be sufficient reason for disturbing an ancient and consistent tradition. But if the claims of Nemesian be unfounded, where is Melibœus to be sought? Wernsdorf is not a little perplexed in discovering a character of this period equally conspicuous for illustrious rank and poetical pre-eminence, and at last fixes on C. JUNIUS Incidental notice of Tiberian. TIBERIANUS, of whose literary qualifications and patronage Vopiscus speaks highly, in his introduction to the life of the Emperor Aurelian. "But Melibœus was himself a poet." So also was Tiberian; for Fulgentius Planciades quotes a verse from an author of this name,² and even cites his tragedy of *Prometheus*;³ but there is no evidence whatever to prove that the biographer and grammarian alluded to the same person.

The *Eclogues* of Calpurnius, eleven in all, are (if we may be allowed the paradoxical expression) more Virgilian than those of Virgil. Not only are they almost a cento of the phrases and sentiments of that poet, but his misapprehension of Theocritus has been implicitly adopted, and even advanced. The injudicious mode of allegorising has been throughout observed; and this enables us to glean from them a few unconnected particulars respecting their author. From a needy adventurer he appears to have become, by the interest of his patron Melibœus, a person of consideration at the Imperial Court, principally in consequence of his poetical merits. It is not improbable that he was the same

¹ Comm. ad tit. *Cyneg. Nemesiani.*

² De Serm. Antiq. voc. *Sudus.*

³ Myth. lib. iii.

Incidental
notice of
Tiberian.

with Junius Calpurnius, styled by Vopiscus the Imperial Remembrancer; the variation of the *prænomen* being by no means an insuperable objection, as we have seen in the instance of Petronius. Whether he is to be identified with the poet whose comedy, *Phronesis*, is cited by Fulgentius,¹ is not so clear. The conjecture of Sarpe, that Calpurnius was the Serranus of Juvenal, and the friend of Persius, scarcely merits this brief recording notice.

The style of Calpurnius, even more than that of Nemesian, indicates a new era in the poetical history of the Latin language. The resources of Greece being now exhausted, no object of imitation remained but the Latin authors themselves; a situation which necessarily placed an uninventive people in a state of rapid deterioration. The language also had materially degenerated; and writers ambitious of reputation were compelled to embrace the expression of a happier age; a necessity which produced an appearance of art and labour, without effectually escaping the infection of colloquial corruption. Poetry, however, had again become fashionable; and the continuance of a virtuous and pacific government might have cheered with a few forced flowers the bleak winter of the Roman poetical history; but the murder of Numerian, and a reign of military excitement and tumultuous glory, banished the Latin Muses for ever from the echoes of Albunea and the haunts of Tibur. Their reappearance on the shores of the Propontis deserves a more particular consideration.

Effects of
Christianity
on Poetry.

The effects of Christianity on the poetical spirit have been discussed under a great variety of forms. The study of truth, it has been argued, is frequently unfavourable to the action of a warm and enthusiastic imagination, the reveries of which it reprobates and dispels. The poet, to succeed, and his reader, to be pleased, must lend themselves for a season to the influence of illusions, which the earnest contemplation of abstract truth will render it difficult to create or experience. If Lucretius felt unable to treat his subject poetically, without invoking the aid of one of those powers whose agency it was the object of his work to deny, and if Tasso was sensible that his page required other embellishments than the sober colours of fact, there must, it should seem, exist a strong incompatibility between the faculties of demonstration and invention. But, above all other, religious truth must, apparently, be the most adverse to the spirit of poetry. The Christian poet must discard all the beautiful creations of Mythology; or, should he retain them, as in the impious and absurd combinations of Camoens, he will excite no feeling corresponding to that scarcely disbelieving awe with which even the most philosophical of heathen readers must have perused the inspired pages of Homer. To com-

¹ Voc. *Nasiterna*.

bine consistent fiction with religious truth must be the work of a Milton or a Tasso; a genius that can "breathe empyreal air:" nor would it be difficult to show that even Milton and Tasso have been sometimes mastered by the mightiness of their themes.

Effects of
Christianity
on Poetry.

Such are the arguments most frequently adduced to prove the deteriorating influence of Christianity on the poetical character. Whatever truth may be contained in the observations themselves, we are now about to consider a portion of poetical history which will clearly show that tendencies of an opposite nature have been quite sufficient to counterbalance all the disadvantages resulting from the opposition of evangelical fact to poetical fiction. The conversion of the Empire to Christianity is not more remarkable as a political than as a poetical era; the corrupt state of the language, and the turbulent condition in which the newly established religion found the people, being, apparently, the only obstacles to a complete renovation of Latin poetry. The stupendous miracles of the Sacred History, the whole administration of the great plan of human redemption, the sufferings and the triumphs of the Church, exercised and elevated the original genius of Prudentius; while the refinement of taste and intellect, which is always consequent on the influence of Christianity, astonishes us in a most corrupt period of the language with the pure and truly classical poetry of Claudian. To this refinement, and to that elevation which man receives from communion with the supreme Spirit,—a communion which, in its highest form, produced the noblest poetry, that of the Holy Scriptures, would we ascribe the poetical revolution which succeeded the conversion of the Empire.

A consummation of this nature neither was, nor could be, immediate. Most of the Christian writers, however, from the first establishment of the religion, had been poets. We have still some verses by CYPRIANUS, *De sanctæ crucis ligno*; and there also exist five hexameter books against Marcion, a poem on the last judgment, pieces called *Genesis* and *Sodoma*, and a remonstrance with an apostate Senator, which are all ascribed to the muse of TERTULLIANUS. The first Christian Emperor, indeed, although a patron of learning, was no poet;¹ his son Constantius attempted versification, but Ammianus Marcellinus speaks very contemptuously of his productions in this way.² Yet the influences of a more humanised

Cyprian.

Tertullian.

¹ We have no account of any poetical compositions of Constantine. Porphyry, the poet, indeed speaks in his panegyric thus:—"Inter belli pacisque virtutes, inter triumphos et laureas, inter legum sanctiones et jura, etiam Musis tibi familiaribus aded vacas ut inter tot Divinæ Majestatis insignia, quibus invictus semper in primis es, hujus etiam studii in te micet splendor egregius." But the speaker is a panegyrist and a poet.

² "Quum à rhetoricâ per ingenium desereretur obtusum, ad versificandum transgressus, nihil operæ pretium fecit."—*Ammian. Marcell. xxi. 16.*

policy were conspicuous in the number of poets who endeavoured to adorn their respective ages. Of these we shall attempt to give some account.

Lactantius.

The eminent LUCIUS CÆLIUS LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS, to whom religion and literature are deeply indebted, will naturally claim the first notice, although his poetical works are, at most, few, and the genuineness of all the poems ascribed to him has been questioned. The *Phoenix* appears, on all grounds, to be justly ascribable to this author. The consent of MSS., and the improbability that this poem should otherwise have been found in company with the writings of Lactantius, seem reasons sufficient to establish his claim, in the absence of opposite evidence. Many scholars, however, have hesitated to confirm this apparently unexceptionable testimony,¹ principally on account of the silence of the poet on the subject of Christianity, and his allusions to the Gentile fables of Deucalion and Phaëthon. It is not, however, a necessary consequence, that a poetical believer in the Greek Mythology cannot be a Christian; although it is nothing impossible that the *Phoenix* may have been written before the conversion of its author. Certain it is, that the opening description of the country of the *Phoenix* has been compiled at least from indirect Jewish tradition; and the word *magnities*, for *magnitudo*, which is the reading of all the MSS., appears to assign this poem to some African writer, this termination being then common with the Latin writers of that country, and adopted elsewhere by Lactantius himself, in the word *minuties*.² The *Carmen de Paschâ* and the *Passio Domini* are now generally allowed to be the productions of a much later writer, VENANTIUS HONORIUS FORTUNATUS, in whose works they are found. Jerom³ ascribes to Lactantius a work called *Symposium*, and an hexameter poem intituled 'Οδοιπορικόν. The latter is lost. A poem supposed to be the former, is published in his works. It consists entirely of a collection of enigmas in dactylic hexameter tristichs. There is, however, an important variation in the reading of the first line. Many copies have

Fortunatus.

Hæc quoque *Symposium* de carmine lusit inepto :

which, if correct, does not intitle the poem *Symposium*, but directly ascribes it to the pen of some Symposium. Fabricius expressly asserts that all the MSS. prefix the name of Symposium as the author;⁴ and Sigebertus Gemblacensis speaks of Symposium the Epigrammatist.⁵ Wernsdorf therefore attributes this collection to

¹ Ittig. Biblioth. Patr. ad Clem. Ep. i. ad Corinth. Buchner, ad Hymn. de Resurrect. Sirmondus, notæ in Theodulfum.

² Institt. iv. 12.

³ Cat. Scriptt. Eccless. Firmianus.

⁴ Bibl. Lat. iv. 1. sec. 7.

⁵ De Scriptt. Eccless. cap. 132.

CÆLIUS FIRMIANUS SYMPOSIUS, a contemporary of Lactantius, to whose pen we are indebted for two little pieces on Fortune and Envy respectively. PENTADIUS, also of the same period, is supposed to be the author of several Elegies and Epigrams ascribed by extant MSS. to a writer of that name. The only peculiarity about the former is, that the last hemistich of the pentameter verse is always the same with the first of the hexameter. It would be injustice, however, to this poet not to mention that the following fragment is attributed to him, although the internal evidence by no means favours his claim.

Non est, falleris, hæc beata, non est,
 Quod vos creditis esse, vita non est :
 Fulgentes manibus videre gemmas,
 Aut testudineo jacere lecto,
 Aut plumâ latus abdidisse molli,
 Aut auro bibere, aut cubare cocco,
 Regales dapibus gravare mensas,
 Et quidquid Libyco secatur arvo
 Non unâ positum tenere cellâ :
 Sed, nullos trepidum timere casus,
 Nec vano populi furore tangi,
 Et stricto nihil æstuare ferro :
 Hoc quisquis poterit, licebit illi
 Fortunam moveat loco superbus.

'Tis not,—thou thyself deceivest,—
 Happiness, what thou believest :
 Glittering jewels on thy fingers ;
 Ivory ¹ couch, where Languor lingers,
 'Mid soft depths of down reclining ;
 Golden cup, or purple shining ;
 Kingly feast on groaning table ;
 Bursting garners, all unable
 To confine their Libyan treasures :
 Happiness he trulier measures,
 Who, above men's crimes and errors,
 Shares no factions, dreads no terrors ;—
 He may hurl,—and he alone,—
 Fortune from her haughty throne.

Contemporary with Lactantius was FLAVIUS the grammarian, whose name has been strangely converted by modern critics into Q. Rhëmmius Fannius Palæmon, and thus by some confounded with the same Palæmon whom we have already noticed, and to whom the poems of Priscian have been attributed. According to Jerom,² he accompanied Lactantius to Nicomedia, at the request of the Emperor Diocletian, and was celebrated for a metrical treatise on medicine.

¹ We have taken a liberty with the word *testudineo*, which does not affect the spirit of the verses.

² De Scriptt. Eccless. 30 ; item in Jovinian., lib. ii.

Porphry
the Less.

A notorious, although by no means gifted, poet of the age of Constantine was PUBLILIUS OPTATIANUS PORPHYRIUS. The compositions of this author, and the character of his life, do not make a very laborious search into his chronology expedient; there is, however, a little confusion on the subject of dates, which we shall endeavour to rectify without reference to any of the various hypotheses invented for the solution of this difficulty. He appears, then, in the year of the Christian era 326, to have addressed to the Emperor a gratulatory poem on the occasion of the twentieth celebration of his accession. Before this time, however, he seems to have dedicated another poem to the Emperor; for whose reception of which Porphyry thanked him in a letter still extant. After these transactions he was banished, but was subsequently recalled in the year 328,¹ in consideration of a panegyric on his imperial master. He appears to have been a person of some note, since he is styled in the Emperor's letter *frater carissimus*, and is thought to have exercised the office of *Præfectus urbis*.

The works of Porphyry are conceived with infinite labour. They are all subjected to some arbitrary law, being either acrostichs, or representing by metrical interlineations the form of a ship, a shepherd's reed, the monogram X , or some fanciful device. They have, therefore, as may naturally be supposed, no higher merit than that of ingenuity. He was probably an epigrammatist, as some epigrams by an author of this name are cited by Fulgentius.²



Constantine the Great.

Juvenius.

Under Constantine and his sons flourished C. VETTIUS AQUILINUS JUVENIUS, a Spanish priest, whose *Historia Evangelica*, in four books of heroic metre, is still extant, remarkable for its minute fidelity and general purity, but written, like the poem of Silius,

¹ Hier. chron. eo anno.

² De Cont. Virgil. et Myth. ii. 4.

“majore curâ quàm ingenio.” We scarcely know whether we are to class among the poets an author of these times, **COMMODIANUS**, Commodian. who wrote in accentual hexameters a book of instructions for Gentiles, Jews, and Christians, still extant, and of course more remarkable for piety than elegance. An entire sense is included in short sentences, the initial letters of which, being joined in their order, give the titles of the stanzas or divisions. In the age of Constantius flourished **MARIUS VICTORINUS**, a native of Africa, Victorinus. who taught rhetoric at Rome, where he became a convert to Christianity. He wrote a poem on the martyrdom of the Maccabees, some hymns, and some poetical commentaries. Hymns also are ascribed by Jerom to the celebrated **HILARIUS**, and some of St. Hilary. those which are still used in the Latin Church bear his name; but, as Dupin conjectures, without sufficient foundation.¹ **DAMASUS**, Damasus. Bishop of Rome, also claims notice as the author of several poetical pieces on the martyrs, and the Psalms; some of these are still supposed to be extant. The poems commonly attributed to Damasus are mostly of an epigrammatic form. The life of Julian the Emperor was also written in verse by **CALLISTUS**.² Callistus. If we are to receive the critical as well as historical testimony of Jerom, we must suppose **MATRONIANUS** equal to any of the ancients; but we Matronianus. have not the means of criticising for ourselves. In the reign of Valentinian, **ATTILIUS**, or **CÆCILIVS SEVERUS**, wrote a book called Severus. *Ὀδοιπορικόν*, which appears to have been a kind of Varronian satire. The celebrated **AMBROSIUS**, Bishop of Milan, was the author of The Ambrosii. several hymns still used in the Latin Church; and part of the controversy between his namesake of Alexandria and Apollinaris was conducted in verse. More particular accounts of some of these poets will be found in the ecclesiastical portion of this volume.

But the first eminent poet who flourished after the reign of Avienus. Constantine was **RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS**. The age and country of this writer have been disputed. Tradition or conjecture has assigned to Spain the honour of his birth; but this opinion is unsupported by written testimony, and even contradicted, if the inscription found in the Cæsarean villa refer to this poet, which there seems small reason to doubt. From this we learn that he was the son of Musonius Avienus,³ or the son of Avienus and descendant of Musonius, accordingly as we punctuate the first line; that he was born at Vulsinium, in Etruria; that he resided at Rome; that he was twice proconsul; that he was the author of many poetical pieces; that his wife's name was Placida; and that he had a large family. The same epigram contradicts the notion, too precipitately grounded on some vague expressions in his writings, that he was a Christian; for it is nothing else than a

¹ Dupin, Eccles. Hist. vol. iv. tit. “Hilaire.”

² Socrates, iii. 21.

³ Festus Musonî soboles prolesque Avieni.

Avienus.

religious address to the goddess Nortia, the Fortune of the Etrurians. This conclusion is also deducible from a short metrical account which Avienus gives of his pursuits in the country, wherein he informs us that he employed a portion of every day in prayer to the gods,¹ as well as in poetical pursuits; and his son Placidus, evidently, was not educated in the Christian religion, nor can it be supposed that he would have composed the following epitaph on a Christian father:

SANCTO PATRI FILIVS PLACIDVS.

Ibis in optatas sedes, nam JUPITER æthram
Pandit, Feste, tibi, candidus ut venias.
Jamque venis! tendit dextras CHORUS inde DEORUM,
Et toto tibi jam plauditur ecce polo.

Mount, Festus, to the great desir'd abodes!
Jove opes thy way through his unclouded sky!
Thou com'st! their hands the council of the gods
Extend, and all applaud thee from on high.

Jerom speaks of Avienus as of a recent writer;² we can scarcely therefore, with Crinitus, place him in the reign of Diocletian. The death of Jerom happened in 420, in his ninety-first year: on the supposition, therefore, that Avienus flourished about the middle of that father's protracted life, we have referred him in our chronology to A.D. 370, or the period of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.

His writings.

The extant and acknowledged works of this poet are versions of the *Φαινόμενα* of Aratus and the *Περὶ ἡρώων* of Dionysius; and a portion of a poem *De orâ maritimâ*, which includes (with some digressions) the coast between Cadiz and Marseilles. The forty-two fables rendered from Æsop into elegiac verse, and sometimes ascribed to this author, are now generally assigned to FLAVIUS AVIANUS, a contemporary writer. The other poems generally believed to be the work of Avienus are an epistle to Flavianus Myrmecius, an elegiac piece *De cantu Sirenium*, and some verses addressed to the author's friends from the country. A poem, *De urbibus Hispaniæ Mediterraneis*, is cited by some Spanish writers as the work of Avienus;³ but it is generally supposed to be the forgery of a Jesuit of Toledo. Servius⁴ ascribes to Avienus iambic versions of the narrative of Virgil and the history of Livy; which observation of the grammarian, together with a consideration of the genius and habits of this poet, renders it not altogether

Incidental notice of Avianus.

¹ "Luce Deos oro," is the reading of the best MSS. But some have "Manè Deum exoro," &c.

² In Epist. ad Titum, v. 12.

³ See Nicolaus Antonius, Bibl. Vet. Hisp. ii. 9.

⁴ Ad. Virg. Æn. x. 272 and 388.

improbable that he is the author of a very curious Latin epitome of the *Iliad*,¹ which has reached us, and which throws some light on the poetical history of the time.

Epitome of
the *Iliad*.

The revival (if so it may be called) of poetical studies under the Byzantine emperors and their western colleagues, found the public mind in a very untoward condition. The spirit of slavish imitation (at no time foreign to the Roman character) had made active progress between the ages of the Antonines and of Carus, and appears to have reached its crisis under Theodosius. The preposterous ambition of surpassing Virgil and Horace, which had long kept possession of the Roman Parnassus, was exchanged for an equally preposterous veneration of the great names both of Greek and Roman antiquity; and a blind consecration of the errors of distinguished writers depreciated the homage, as it multiplied the faults, of their servile successors. Every literary character was a poet, if the mere composition of verses can confer that sacred title; while every poet was a literary character,—ambitious rather of showing his familiarity with the ancient classics, and his profound and indiscriminate admiration of all their pages, than of securing his own fame by the productions of a cultivated imagination. The *Periegesis* of Avienus, which most critics call a liberal translation, might, perhaps, more properly, be termed a servile original. Like his versions of Livy and Virgil, it was less a translation than a metaphor; the timid performance of a writer who dreaded to explore an untrodden path, without the slightest intention of relinquishing those pretensions to originality, which, in the then corrupt state of poetical taste, were as easily allowed as asserted.

State of the
Poetical
mind.

The prevalent passion for metaphrastic writing received encouragement from the circumstances of the times. When Homer and Virgil were less felt than revered, and more read than understood, it was natural that readers should desire a less laborious introduction to the destined objects of their admiration than an actual perusal of the authors. The whole substance of the *Iliad* in little more than a thousand very readable lines, could not, under such circumstances, fail to be acceptable. Hence the *Epitome of the Iliad*, judicious in its selections, pertinent in its additions, and not inelegant in its language, attained to high reputation in the middle ages, was frequently quoted for Homer, and amply used by poets and fiction-writers; and indeed remained, until the revival of learning, the only Homer generally known in the western world.

Meanwhile the example, no less than the conduct, of the Court, was employed in the encouragement of poetical pursuits; although

¹ This poem is sometimes in MSS. merely called "Homerus de bello Trojano," or, "de destructione Trojæ;" sometimes it is ascribed to "Pindarus Thebanus;" a manifest mediæval gloss.

Valentinian.

Gratian.

not without a tincture of that degenerate taste which prefers the amusements of ingenuity to the excursions of fancy. The composition of a nuptial cento was not regarded an unworthy employment by the Emperor VALENTINIANUS. So partial, indeed, was that prince to these ingenious trifles, that we are still indebted to his authority for the similar combination of ingenuity and indecency perpetrated by Ausonius. GRATIANUS was also a poet,¹ and received his education from this celebrated writer, who is supposed by the ablest critics to have panegyrised his imperial pupil in the following lines :

Bellandi fandique potens Augustus, honorem
Bis meret ; ut geminet titulos, qui prælia Musis
Temperat, et Geticum moderatur Apolline Martem.
Arma inter, Chunnosque truces, furtoque nocentes
Sauromatas, quantum cessat de tempore belli
Indulget Clariis tantum inter castra Camœnis.
Vix posuit volucres stridentia tela sagittas ;
Musarum ad calamos fertur manus, otia nescit,
Et commutatâ meditatur arundine carmen.²

Augustus, lord of eloquence and wars,
With Phœbus and the Nine combines the Getic Mars.
'Mid Hunnish strife and Sauromatian guile,
At every pause he courts the Muse's smile.
Scarce has he laid the barbèd reed aside,
Ere on the verse the tuneful reed is plied ;
He wields alternate, and without repose,
The reed that charms his friends, the reed that wounds his foes.

From the conclusion of this poem Achilles appears to have been the imperial theme :

Sed carmen non molle modis : bella horrida Martis
Odrysii, Thressæque viraginis arma retractat.
Exsulta, Æacide ! celebraris vate superbo
Rursùm ! ROMANUSQUE TIBI CONTINGIT HOMERUS.

But no soft lay ! the Odrysian Lord of arms
He sings, and fierce Bellona's martial charms.
Joy, son of Æacus ! in stately strain
A Roman Homer gives thee life again !

Ausonius.

But we owe a few words to the panegyrist himself. The most authentic particulars respecting DECIUS MAGNUS AUSONIUS are to be found in his own writings, and more especially in the second of his *præfatiunculæ*, wherein he treats the subject professedly. His father was physician to the Emperor Valentinian ; he was also a Roman senator, and member of the municipal council of Bourdeaux, at which place the poet was born, A.D. 309. Had his education been solely confided to paternal attentions, it is probable that no record of him in this place would have been necessary,

¹ Aurel. Vict. xlvii.² Epigr. i.

as the senior Ausonius, although well read in Greek literature, was but indifferently acquainted with Latin; but, by the exertions of his maternal uncle, ÆMILIUS MAGNUS ARBORIUS, himself a poet, and the reputed author of an elegy, still extant, *ad nympnam nimis cultam*, and those of the grammarians Minervius, Nepotian, and Staphylus, the disadvantages of our poet's circumstances were abundantly removed. From these eminent men he acquired the principles of grammar and rhetoric; his success in the latter of these arts induced him to make trial of the bar; but the former was his choice, and in 367 he was appointed by the Emperor Valentinian, as we have already observed, tutor to the young prince Gratian, whom he accompanied into Germany the following year. He became successively Count of the Empire, Quæstor, Governor of Gaul, Libya, and Latium, and first consul. He married Attusia Lucana Sabina, daughter of an eminent citizen of Bourdeaux, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. After his consulship he appears to have withdrawn from public affairs, and to have lived on a private estate, where he died, at the age of 83. That he was a professed Christian can admit of no doubt; and some of his Christian pieces are so pious and beautiful that he might have gained the reputation of somewhat more, had he not disgraced his pages with language and sentiments unbecoming a pagan of decency.

Incidental notice of Arborius.

The extant poetical works of Ausonius are:—1. A book of epigrams. 2. *Ephemeris*, or the transactions of a day. 3. *Parentalia*, tributes to the memory of deceased friends. 4. *Professores*, short metrical memoirs of the professors of Bourdeaux. 5. *Epitaphia Heroum*, epitaphs of the heroes who fell in the Trojan war, and some others. 6. Tetrastichs on the characters of the Cæsars as far as Heliogabalus. 7. *Ordo Nobilium Urbium*. 8. A kind of drama on the seven wise men of Greece. 9. *Idyls*; poems of the most multifarious kind. 10. Eclogues; principally astrological. 11. Epistles.

Writings of Ausonius.

The poetry of Ausonius, like that of Avienus, is alike distinguished by poverty of argument, verbal conceits, profusion of mechanical ingenuity, and imitation, or rather compilation, of the ancients. It is valuable, however, to the literary historian: its variety alone affords us a considerable insight into the state of poetry in that age; and the station and pursuits of the author allowed him that familiarity with contemporary poets which has imparted to his works the character of poetical memoirs. Of this advantage we shall now avail ourselves.

The most remarkable, on all accounts, among the poetical intimates of Ausonius was PONTIUS PAULLINUS, the celebrated bishop of Nola, for such we shall consider him, until we know on what authority Gyraldus and Crinitus have grounded their distinction.¹

St. Paullinus.

¹ See Gyal. de Poet. dial. v. Crinitus, in vitâ.

Paullinus.

This pious and learned person was born in or near Bourdeaux, about A.D. 353, and was educated by Ausonius, who led him, as he himself informs us, to the mysteries of the Muses. On account of the paternal tenderness which Ausonius everywhere expresses towards his pupil, and the filial respect exhibited in turn by the grateful Paullinus, which sometimes induces them to use the words *pater, filius, &c.*, it has been supposed that Paullinus was the grandson of Ausonius; but this opinion is improbable, and destitute of further foundation. He was certainly Consul, and that previously to his tutor; but, as his name does not appear in the consular tables, it is probable that he was substituted in the room of some other. He afterwards was baptised by Delphinus, Bishop of Bourdeaux; and, having distributed his estate among the poor, settled at Barcelona, where he was ordained priest on Christmas-day, A.D. 393. From this retreat his tutor in vain endeavoured to recal him, and wrote, occasionally, in a strain of disappointed affection at his silence. These metrical letters received similar answers, abounding in terms of the most grateful respect and Christian affection. Paullinus afterwards accepted the see of Nola, and there remained till that city was sacked by the Goths, A.D. 410. It was probably at this time, and not on the invasion of the Vandals, which did not take place until forty-four years after, that the circumstance occurred which Gregory relates, that the bishop, having expended his whole estate in ransoming prisoners, at length disposed of his person in exchange for the son of a poor widow, and was sent into Africa, where his rank being disclosed, he was immediately restored. Paullinus married a lady named Therasia, of whom he speaks in terms of the highest affection. He enjoyed the friendship of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Martin, St. Jerom, and many of the distinguished churchmen of that period. It is probable that he was the uncle of another Paullinus, author of a poem still extant, called *Eucharisticon*.

His writings. The extant poetical works of Paullinus are:—1. Epistles. 2. An Elegy to Celsus, and other Lyrics. 3. A Sapphic Ode on Nicetas the Dacian. 4. An Epic Sketch on the Life of John the Baptist. 5. Metrical Version of some Psalms. 6. An Epithalamium. 7. Some birth-day pieces. His hexameter history out of Suetonius has perished. Ausonius might have been sincere, when, speaking of the verses of Paullinus, he observed,

Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo :
Assurget Musæ nostra Camæna tuæ :

since in sentiment, and even in elegance, few will compare his stiff and puerile compositions with the natural, simple, and unambitious effusions of his pupil. A specimen of the writings of St. Paullinus will be found in the ecclesiastical division of this volume.

A conspicuous acquaintance of Ausonius was ATTICUS TYRO

DELPHIDIUS, whose history he has briefly sketched among the Professors of Bourdeaux. This poet, at an early age, was a successful competitor in the Capitoline contest, and afterwards a candidate for the epic laurel. Not content, however, with the tranquil retreats of the Muses, he embraced, apparently, the cause of Procopius, who rebelled against the Emperor Valens in 365; and, but for the entreaties of his father, Attius Patera, a celebrated rhetorician, would certainly have lost his life. He afterwards taught rhetoric, but with great carelessness; and died in the prime of life, without the affliction of beholding his wife and daughter adopt the heresy of Priscillian, for which the former was beheaded. Ausonius speaks, also, with great warmth of admiration of Proculus,¹ who refused to publish his verses; and of Alcimus Alethius,² a poet, and writer of the life of Julian, but whether in verse does not appear. The satires of Tetradius he prefers to those of Lucilius;³ and Crispus he ranks with Horace and Virgil;⁴ but these eulogies are well understood. Theon, whom some represent as the intimate friend of Ausonius, and on that account charge the latter with gross familiarity in his epistles, seems really to have been only the butt of the poet, who attacked his plagiarisms, his bad verses, his vitiated elocution, and even his personal defects, with an irony which, however transparent, not improbably prevailed on the imbecility of his victim to confide himself to the friendship of his correspondent, whose bad faith could only be equalled by his bad taste.

Delphidius.

Procullus.
Alcimus
Alethius.Tetradius.
Crispus.
Theon.

[A volume, under the title of Dionysii Catonis *DISTICHA de Moribus*, has largely exercised the conjectural powers of the critics. Erasmus, in a preface which he wrote to it, doubts whether it be not the work of many different hands. Malschius, in his similar preface, inclines to a belief that the title should run "Dionysius, Cato *de Moribus*;" and imagines it to have proceeded from the pen of one Dionysius, (a common name for slaves in Rome,) who sought to give authority to his own apophthegms, under the great name of Cato; and whom he supposes, from internal evidence, to have lived under Trajan and the Antonines. Boxhornius, Cannegieter, and Barthius have discussed various hypotheses at a length very disproportionate to the slight importance of the subject; but Withof has exceeded all in his huge Dissertation, which will be found, together with those mentioned above, in the reprint of the Edition of Arntzenius, 1754. Withof argues for the claim of Q. Serenus Sammonicus, whose writings appear to have been familiarly known to Geta, (*Spartianus*, 5,) and Alexander Severus, (*Lampridius*, 30,) and are honourably mentioned by Spartianus, when he relates the murder of their author by Caracalla, while at a banquet, *cujus libri plurimi ad doctrinam extant*, (*Caracalla*, 4.)

Dionysius
Cato.¹ Epig. xxxiv.² Proff. ii.³ Epist. xv.⁴ Proff. xxi.

The
Disticha.

These *Disticha*, from whatever hand they may proceed, are first mentioned by the physician Vindicianus, in a letter to the Emperor Valentinianus; and they are plainly not to be attributed either to Cato the censor, or Cato of Utica, since the names of Virgil, Macer, Ovid, and Lucan are mentioned in them. Their morality is pagan, and their style frigid and unpoetical; nevertheless they have obtained a very undeserved reputation, and have not only been frequently reprinted with an extensive apparatus of criticism, but have been translated into a variety of languages. Maximus Planudes, a monk of Constantinople, clothed them in Greek at the beginning of the XIVth century; and no less a pen than that of Joseph Scaliger was subsequently engaged on the same unproductive task. Besides these, there are two other Greek versions. The *Disticha* were printed at Cracow, in Polish and German, in 1561. Corderius and many others turned them into French; and, in English, Caxton printed in 1483, *The Booke called Cathon, translated out of Frenche into Englyssh, in thabbay of Westminstre*; for a copy of which volume the Duke of Devonshire paid 100 guineas. They occur again in 1557 and 1560; and in 1585, we find *Short sentencez of the wyz Cato, translated out of Latin into English by Will Bulloker in tru ortography*. John Brinsley, in 1612, did them into English "grammatically." Sir Richard Baker, in 1636, produced *Cato variegatus*; and John Hoole, in 1659, printed them "with one row Latin and another English." Benjamin Franklin published a new English translation at Philadelphia, in 1735; and although he attributes it in his preface to a nameless writer, the version very probably was his own; and in 1759, they appeared at Amsterdam, in Greek, English, German, Dutch, and French.¹

Claudian.

By the gradations which we have described, under the cherishing influence of Christian sentiments and imperial protection, the spark of poetry, which long had smouldered unperceived amidst the wrecks of barbarism and contest, had awakened into a flame, which neither the rude breath of war, nor the chilling influences of ignorance, could utterly extinguish. Since the fatal day of Allia, never had the Empire suffered such reverses, as when the Augustan Muse revisited the light at the potent call of CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS. This highly-gifted person was born at Alexandria, in Egypt,² and possibly died there. Few other particulars of his life have been preserved. He was in favour with the eminent statesmen of his day, and especially with his hero, Stilico; and it is much to the

¹ The paragraph between brackets is reprinted from the article *Distich*, in the lexicographical part of the *Encyclop. Metr.*, 1st. edit. It is by the late Rev. Edward Smedley; and is here introduced as pertinent to the subject and period.

² Spain and Florence have claimed the honour of Claudian's nativity. But if his own testimony is of any value, he was certainly born in Egypt; and Suidas calls him Ἀλεξανδρεύς.

honour of Honorius and Arcadius, the emperors under whom he Claudian. lived, that a statue of brass was erected to him. The following inscription, discovered at Rome, is supposed to have been the dedication on the pedestal:

CL. CLAVDIANL V. C.

CL CLAVDIANO V C TRI
BVNO ET NOTARIO INTER CETERAS
VIGENTES ARTES PRAEGLORIOSISSIMO
POETARVM LICET AD MEMORIAM SEM
PITERNAM CARMINA AB EODEM
SCRIPTA SVFFICIENT ADTAMEN
TESTIMONII GRATIA OB IVDICII SVI
FIDEM DD NN ARCADIVS ET HONORIVS
FELICISSIMI AC DOCTISSIMI
IMPERATORES SENATV PETENTE
STATVAM IN FORO DIVI TRAIANI
ERIGI COLLOCARIQ IVSSERVNT.

EIN ENI BIPFIAIOIO NOON
KAI MOYCAN OMHPOT
KΛATΔIANON PΩMH KAI
BACIAHC EΘECAN.

TO CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS,

A MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MAN;¹
TRIBUNES AND IMPERIAL SECRETARY;
AMONG OTHER HIGH LITERARY CLAIMS,
BY FAR THE MOST GLORIOUS OF POETS.
THOUGH THE POEMS COMPOSED BY HIM
SUFFICE TO ETERNIZE HIS MEMORY,
YET, AS A TRIBUTE TO THE FIDELITY OF HIS JUDICIOUS COUNSEL,
THE MOST FORTUNATE AND MOST LEARNED EMPERORS
ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS,
AT REQUEST OF THE SENATE,
HAVE COMMANDED THIS STATUE TO BE ERECTED,
AND PLACED IN THE FORUM OF TRAJAN.

ROME AND HER KINGS SET CLAUDIAN HERE; COMBINED
IN HIM WERE HOMER'S MUSE AND MARO'S MIND.

The poems of Claudian, for the most part, consist of what might be called epic sketches, did not their elaborate polish forbid us to use the term; but their brevity will scarcely admit them to the dignity of the *Epopœia*. These are:—1. The Consulship of Olybrius and Probinus. 2. The War with Rufinus. 3. The Third, Fourth, and Sixth Consulships of Honorius. 4. Epithalamia. 5. The War with Gildo. 6. The Consulship of Theodorus. 7. The

¹ On this rendering of the abbreviation V. C., see the next page.

War with Eutropius. 8. The Consulship of Stilico. 9. The Gothic War. 10. A Panegyric on Serena. 11. The Rape of Proserpine. 12. The War with the Giants. Besides these, there is preserved a collection of Idyls, Epistles, and Epigrams, some of which can scarcely be genuine, as they are most strictly Christian; while not only Augustine and Paulus Orosius¹ assert that Claudian was a pagan, but one of his own epigrams, in *Jacobum, magistrum equitum*, sufficiently attests his contempt of the Christian religion. It is probable that these poems are the work of CLAUDIANUS MAMERCUS, of Vienne, of whom Sidonius Apollinaris speaks in terms of the highest commendation.

Mamercus.

Contemporary with Claudian, (and scarcely, perhaps, a less illustrious name,) was QUINTUS AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS. As a more detailed account of this poet will be found in the treatise on ecclesiastical Latin poetry, we shall only remark in this place that his merits are very fastidiously overlooked. His style will certainly bear no comparison with that of Claudian, and scarcely with that of any of his contemporaries, who all felt themselves obliged to attempt the language of a happier period. Prudentius evidently wrote more for pleasure and for duty than for fame; and his Latin may be considered a fair sample of the real state of the language at the time of the Gothic invasion. But this defect is abundantly compensated by a vein of the most fertile poetical enthusiasm, and his lyrics alone entitle him to honourable mention among Latin poets.

Rutilius.

A conspicuous poetical writer of this age was CLAUDIUS RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS, (or, as the name is given by Zumpt, Rutilius Claudius Namatianus,) a native of Gaul, although of what place cannot be with certainty determined. His father was a man of rank, and Proconsul of Etruria. In the MSS. the letters V. C. are added to his name; by which is generally understood *Viri Consularis*; but as his name nowhere appears on the *Fasti*, and the passages adduced from his work point rather to the office of *Præfectus urbis*, Wernsdorf supposes this abbreviation to signify *Viri Clarissimi*. Yet it is very possible that the passages alluded to led the transcriber into the belief that Rutilius had been Consul. Certain it is that the poet enjoyed the office of *Præfectus*. The rest of his life is involved in considerable obscurity. His poem, called *Itinerarium*, (or, according to Zumpt's edition, *Carmen de reditu suo*,) descriptive of his journey to Gaul, was written in 417. There can be no doubt that he was a pagan when he composed this work; his manner of speaking of the monks might possibly, though improbably, be used by a Christian; but a Christian of that time would have been careful to separate their fanaticism from his

¹ Aug. de Civ. Dei, v. 26. Paul. Oros. vii. 34.

religion. His reflections on the Jews and their sabbath are equally convincing. Nevertheless, Wernsdorf entertains the strange supposition, that the *Christian poetry* of Rutilius came into the hands of Theodulf of Orleans, who mentioned him among other poets of the church, in the following lines :

Sedulius, *Rutilius*, Paulinus, Arator, Avitus,
Et Fortunatus, tuque, Juvence tonans.—iv. i. 13.

But assuredly Theodulf knew more of his metre than to place Rutilius in such a situation. The name is certainly corrupt, and should be, most probably, Rutilus.

The excitement which temporary patronage had afforded to genius was, however, soon withdrawn, and the inundations of barbarism swept from the Roman world the fast-expiring sparks of the poetic fire. The beginning of the Vth century witnessed the second decline of classical Roman poetry, and the end of the same period its utter dissolution. Not, indeed, that there were wanting writers of Latin verses ; but the language had been almost everywhere extinguished as a *native* dialect, and its purity so materially impaired, that the few who aspired to literary excellence wrote the language of a departed age. Few words will sum the poetical history of this era, which is rather a barren catalogue of names than an historical narrative. To this period, probably, we may refer the grammarian Phocas, who composed (before Priscian wrote) a metrical Life of Virgil, introduced by a Sapphic Ode. To it certainly belong FLAVIUS MEROBAUDES, author of *Panegyricus in Consulatum Aëtii*, and some lyric and elegiac poems ;¹ PRISCIAN, the grammarian, who wrote poems, *De Laude Imp. Anastasii*,² *De Ponderibus et Mensuris*, *Periegesis e Dionysio*, and some lyrics ; MARCIANUS CAPELLA, author of the *Epithalamium of Philology and Hermes*, and some epigrams ; PROSPER TYRO, whose beautiful little address to his wife is still extant ; SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, a writer who imitated a purer period with some success ; and several ecclesiastical poets, of whom notices will be found in the next division of this volume. For the poetical spirit now found refuge in the Church, where it lingered under peculiar forms long after it had disappeared from the World : and to this phase of Latin poetry a special department of this work is now assigned, as it is altogether a different thing from subsequent classical imitations, and, though contemporaneous, wholly independent of them, and possessing an inherent vitality. It was therefore necessary to the completeness of our subject that mediæval hymnology should not be passed over. From this period, however, we may date the extinction of all

Poetry of the
Vth century.

¹ Edited by Niebuhr, from a palimpsest.

² Edited by Endlicher, from a palimpsest.

Poetry of the
Vth century.

classical Latin poetry. A Boëtius, a Corippus,¹ or a Venantius, occasionally borrowed light from the contrasting darkness around him ; a Luxorius imitated coarsely the coarse productions of better days ; but the Roman Calliope lay shrouded and sepulchred until Petrarch and Dante called into existence from her ashes the less majestic, but not less beautiful, Erato of Tuscany.

¹ A poem by this author, called *Johannis*, was in 1820 discovered at Milan by M. Mazzuchelli. It is extremely valuable, as it affords information respecting a period wherein all other history fails. As a poem, it is not undeserving attention. Corippus also wrote *De Laudibus Justini Augusti minoris*.



MSS., EDITIONS, &c., OF THE POST-AUGUSTAN POETS.

COLUMELLA.

- Ed. Princ. Jenson. Venet. 1472. In the "*Rei Rusticæ Scriptores*."
 The Tenth Book, separately. Romæ. Cir. 1472.
Scriptores Rei Rust. Gesner, impr. by Ernesti. Lips. 1773.
 Schneider. Lips. 1794.

LUCAN.

- Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz, under superintendence of Andrew,
 Bp. of Aleria. Romæ. 1469.
 Bersmann. Lips. 1584, 1589.
 Grotius. Antwerp. 1614; and Lugd. Bat. 1626.
 Cortius. Lips. 1726.
 Oudendorp. Lugd. Bat. 1728.
 Burmann. Lugd. Bat. 1740.
 Bentley. Strawberry Hill. 1760.
 Renouard. Paris. 1795.
 Illycinus. Vindol. 1811.
 Weber. Lips. 1821—1831.
 Weise. Lips. 1835.
 The most complete subsidia to this author are supplied by Weber's edition.
 Oudendorp and Burmann contain much that is valuable.

PERSIUS.

- Ed. Princ. Hahn. Romæ. (But this date not printed.) Cir. 1470.
 There are a great number of editions before 1500.
 Casaubon. Paris. 1605.¹ Re-edited by Duebner. Lips. 1839.
 König. Götting. 1803.
 Passow. Lips. 1809.
 Achaintre. Paris. 1812.
 Orelli. *Eclogg. Poëtt. Latt.* Turici. 1833.
 Plum. Havn. 1827.
 Jahn.¹ Lips. 1843.
 Heinrich.¹ Lips. 1844.

PETRONIUS.

- (For the early bibliography of this author see what is said in the account
 of him, pp. 153, seqq.)
 Burmann. Amst. 1743.
 Antonius. Lips. 1781.

¹ These form a complete body of subsidia as well.

Subsidia :—

- Janelli. Codex Perottinus.
 Niebuhr. Klein. Historisch. Schrift. i. p. 337.
 Weichert. Poëtt. Latt. Reliqq.
 Studer } Rheinisch. Mus. (Neue Folge), vol. ii.
 Rider }

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

- Ed. Princ. Ugo Rugerius and Doninus Bertochus, fol. 1472. Second Edition. More rare, S. Jacobus de Ripoli, about 1431. Florentiæ.
 Burmann. Lugd. Bat. 1724. (The most complete.)
 Harles. Altenb. 1781.
 Wagner. Götting. 1805.
 Lemaire. Paris. 1824.
 The VIIIth Book, with critical notes, &c., by Weichert. Misn. 1818.

SILIUS ITALICUS.

- Ed. Princ. Andrew, Bp. of Algeria, editor; Sweynheym and Pannartz, printers. Romæ. 1471. There are three other editions by the same, 1471, 1474, 1480.
 Cellarius. Lips. 1695.
 Drakenborch. Traj. ad Rhen. 1717.
 Ruperti. Götting. 1795.

JUVENAL.

- Edd. Princ. Six are mentioned; but the following three have claims which cannot be adjusted.
 A folio in Roman characters, without date or name.
 A 4to in Roman characters, without date; name Ulricus Han. Therefore printed at Rome.
 A 4to in Roman characters, without name or date of place. 1470.
 Supposed to be Vindelin de Spira's.
 There are many old editions. The most valuable for practical purposes are :—
 Henninius. Lugd. Bat. 1695.
 Ruperti. Lips. 1819.
 Achaintre. Paris. 1810.
 Weber. Weimar. 1825.
 Heinrich. Bonn. 1839.

Subsidia :—

- Franke's two dissertations. Lips. 1820; and Dorpat. 1827. Hermann. Disputatio de Juvenalis Satiræ VII^{mæ} temporibus. Gött. 1843.
 Pinzger, in Jahn's Jahrbücher für Philologie, vol. xiv. p. 261.
 Düntzer, sixth suppl. vol. to the same, p. 373. Döllen, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Satiren des J. Jun. Juvenalis. Kiew. 1846.

MARTIAL.

There is a curious MS. of Martial in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. There are three Editiones Principes, all without date and name; one supposed to be the work of Ulrich Han. The first dated edition, thought by some to be the princeps, was printed at Ferrara, 1471. After this there are a good many early editions.

Gruterus. Francofurti. 1602.

Scriverius. Amst. 1629.

Raderus. Col. Agr. 1628.

Schrevelius. Cum notis Variorum. 1670.

Lemaire. Paris. 1825. "The most useful on the whole."—*Prof. Ramsay*.

Schneidewin. Gren. 1842. (Very complete, and contains an account of MSS.)

STATIUS.

Editio Princeps Sylvarum. No name or date. About 1470. These poems are found with Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, in 1472, 1475, 1481; and with Catullus in 1473. By Domitius Calderinus. Rom., Arnold Pannartz. 1475.

Markland. Lond. 1728.

Hurd. Lips. 1817.

Sillig. Dresd. 1827.

Ed. Princ. Thebaïdos et Achilleïdos. No name or date. Probably about 1470. Many editions in the 15th century.

Ed. Princ. Operum. No name or date. After 1475.

Lemaire, in Latin Classics. Paris. 1825–30.

NEMESIAN.

Ed. Princ. Aldi Hæredes. Venet. 1534.

Poëtt. Latt. Minn. Burmann. 1731.

—————Wernsdorf. 1780.

Stern. Gratii Falisci et Olympii Nemesiani carmina venatica cum duobus fragmentis de aucupio. Hal. Sax. 1832.

CALPURNIUS.

The works of this author are edited with other writers by Logus, Ulitius, and Havercamp. Also in

Poëtt. Latt. Minn. Wernsdorf. 1780.

Schmid. Nemesiani et Calpurnii Eclogæ. Mitav. and Lips. 1774. (This vol. contains the works of Calpurnius only, the Eclogues attributed to Nemesian being by him.)

Beck. Lips. 1803.

Grauff. Bern. 1831.

Gläser. Götting. 1842.

AUSONIUS.

Ed. Princ. Girardinus. Venet. 1472. Ed. Princ. Mosellæ, Ugoletus. Parmæ. 1499.
 Venetiis et Burdig. 1580. Tross. Hamm. 1821.
 Tollius. Amst. 1671. Böcking. Berolini. 1828.
 Souchay (in usum Delph.) 1730.

AVIENUS.

Ed. Princ. Venet. 1488. Friesemann. Amst. 1786.
 Madrit. 1634. Giles. Oxon. 1835.
 The works of this writer also appear in Hudson's *Geographici minores*,
 Maittaire's *Opera Poetarum Latinorum*, Matthiæ's *Aratus*, and Bern-
 hardy's *Geographici Græci minores*.

CLAUDIAN.

Ed. Princ. Vicent. 1482.
 Camers. Viennæ. 1510.
 Camers, cum notis Cluverii. Paris. 1602.
 Barthius. Francof. 1650.
 Heinsius. 1650 and 1665.
 Gesner. Lips. 1759.



THE
ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN POETRY
OF
THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE
REV. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A.

WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE, EAST GRINSTEAD.

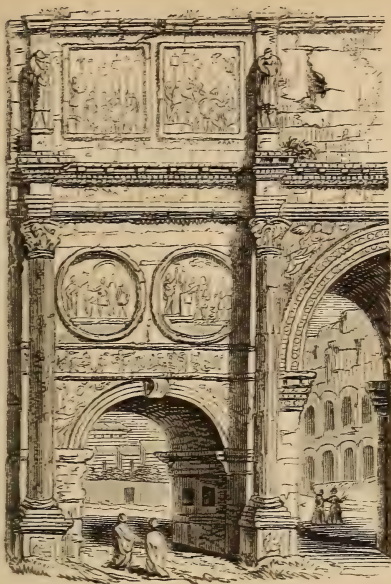
ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN POETS.

DECOMPOSITION PERIOD.

COMMODIAN	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	270
JUVENCUS		A.D.	332
S. HILARY		A.D.	360
S. AMBROSE		A.D.	400
PRUDENTIUS	BORN	A.D.	348
S. PAULINUS	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	400
SEDULIUS		A.D.	430
DRACONTIUS		A.D.	450
ARATOR		A.D.	540
S. GREGORY		A.D.	600

RENOVATION PERIOD.

FORTUNATUS	DIED	A.D.	609
V. BEDE	BORN	A.D.	666
S. THEODULPH OF ORLEANS	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	750
CHARLEMAGNE	ACCEDED TO THE EMPIRE	A.D.	800
S. PETER DAMIANI	LIVED FROM A.D. 1002 TO	A.D.	1072
S. FULBERT OF CHARTRES	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	1020
MARBODUS OF RENNES		A.D.	1035—1123
HILDEBERT OF TOURS		A.D.	1057—1134
S. BERNARD	LIVED FROM A.D. 1091 TO	A.D.	1153
ADAM OF S. VICTOR	DIED ABOUT	A.D.	1190
THOMAS OF CELANO	FLOURISHED ABOUT	A.D.	1230
S. THOMAS AQUINAS	DIED	A.D.	1274



Arch of Constantine.

ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN POETRY.

IN proceeding from the classical to the mediæval times of Latin poetry, we must bear in mind, as a fundamental principle, that the language which we shall now consider is not a mere barbarous *patois*, the corruption of a purer dialect, unworthy of study, and irreducible to rule. Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry has a language of its own; no more to be compared with, or judged by, the dialect of Virgil or Horace, than Ariosto or Camoens can be. It has rules, subtle, elaborate, rules, of its own; it has a grammar of its own; its ornaments are original; its diction unborrowed; and we venture fearlessly to say that in strength and freshness it surpasses the Latin poetry of a more classical age; poetry whose inspiration, form, metre, and ornaments were essentially Greek. But, in like manner as the Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Italian languages, before they attained to their present *status*, did necessarily pass through a stage of

Mediæval
Latin, a real
and new
language,

formed
gradually,

and revivify-
ing the
remains of
the old,

by falling
back on the
most ancient
form.

The creation
of the
Church,

necessarily
new,

it cannot be
blamed for
novelty.

barbarism in their formation from the old Latin, so it was with mediæval poetry. If we may use the words without irreverence, it was sown in dishonour, that it might be raised in glory; it was sown in weakness, that it might be raised in power. It could not at once reject the shackles of metre; it could not at once arrange its own accentual laws; and it took centuries in developing the full power of the new element that it introduced, namely, rhyme. Great writers as existed before this was done, we feel that they have not a language flexible to their thoughts, nor worthy of their works. And it is a curious thing that, in rejecting the foreign laws in which Latin had so long gloried, the Christian poets were in fact merely reviving, in an inspired form, the early melodies of republican Rome;—the *rhythmical* ballads which were the delight of the men that warred with the Samnites, and the Volscians, and Hannibal.

Nothing can be truer than Mr. Trench's words:¹ "But it was otherwise in regard to the Latin language. That, when the Church arose, requiring of it to be the organ of her Divine word, to tell out all the new, and as yet undreamt of ideas, which were stirring in her bosom; demanding of it that it should reach her needs, needs which had hardly or not at all existed, while the language was in process of formation—that was already full formed, had reached its climacteric, and was indeed verging, though as yet imperceptibly, toward decay, with all the stiffness of commencing age already upon it. Such the Church found it—something to which a new life might perhaps be imparted, but the first life of which was well nigh overlived. She found it a garment narrower than she could wrap herself withal, and yet the only one within reach. But she did not forego the expectation of one day obtaining all which she wanted, nor yet even for the present did she sit down contented with the inadequate and insufficient. Herself young and having the spirit of life, she knew that the future was her own—that she was set in the world for this very purpose of making all things new—that what she needed and did not find, there must in her lie the power of educing from herself—that, however, not all at once, yet little by little, she could weave whatever vestments were required by her for comeliness and beauty. And we do observe the language under the new influence, as at the breath of a second spring, putting itself forth anew; the meaning of words enlarging and dilating; old words coming to be used in new significations, obsolete words reviving, new words being coined—with much in all this to offend the classical taste, which yet, being inevitable, ought not to offend, and of which the gains far more than compensated the losses. There was a new *thing*, and that being so, it needed that there should be a new *utterance* as well. To be

¹ Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 5.

offended with this is, in truth, to be offended with Christianity, which made this to be inevitable."

We shall make no apology for quoting another passage from the same eloquent writer.¹

"We can trace step by step the struggle between the two principles of heathen and Christian life, which were here opposed to one another. As the old classical Roman element grew daily weaker in the new Christian world which now had been founded; as the novel element of Christian life strengthened and gained ground; as poetry became popular again, not the cultivated entertainment of the polite and lettered few, a graceful ornament of the scholar and the gentleman, but that in which all men desired to express, or to find expressed for them, their hopes and fears, their joys and their sorrows, and all the immortal longings of their common humanity;—a confinement became less and less endurable within the old and stereotyped forms, which, having had for their own ends their own fitness and beauty, were yet ordained for the expressing of far other thoughts and feelings and sentiments, than those which now stirred at far deeper depths the spirits and the hearts of men. The whole scheme on which the Latin prosodiocal poetry was formed, was felt to be capricious, imposed from without; and the poetry which now arose demanded—not to be without law; for, demanding this, it would have demanded its own destruction, and not to be poetry at all; but it demanded that its laws and restraints should be such as its own necessities, and not those of quite a different condition, required."

It invented
its own laws,

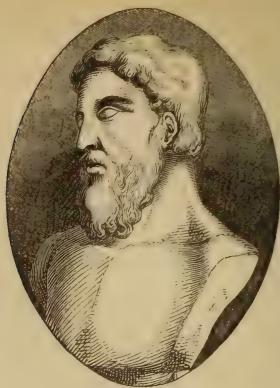
Thus the Church threw herself on the original genius of the Latin language:—on the universal recognition of accent, in preference to the arbitrary and national restrictions of quantity:—her hymns were intended to be sung, and this again developed the musical powers of sound, and hence principally rhyme: and thus a new language sprang up under her hands.

and deve-
loped rhyme.

We may therefore divide ecclesiastical poetry into two periods: the first, in which the progress of decomposition was, with whatever promise of restoration, painfully going on: the second, when the new life had actually begun. The first ends with S. Gregory the Great, who died A.D. 606; the second may commence in France with Venantius Fortunatus, who lived somewhat earlier.

We will first take a glance at the principal writers of the former period.

¹ Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 11.



St. Jerom.

FIRST PERIOD.—THE DECOMPOSITION.

It is remarkable that one of the earliest writers of Christian verse should have completely emancipated himself from the shackles of metre ; it is perhaps more remarkable that his successors should not have seen somewhat of the advantages which this new system opened for them, and should have relapsed into classicism. COMMODIANUS, by birth an African, who lived about A.D. 270, has left a poem called *Instructiones*, the subject of which is an Apology for Christianity. It is written in hexameters, which are to be read accentually, without any reference to quantity ; and is divided into eighty sections, each being headed with a short title, which forms an acrostich for the verses subordinate to it. Nothing, in the way of poetry, can be more utterly worthless ; but there are a few allusions which render it valuable to the Christian antiquary, and a vein of pious simplicity pervades the whole. The thirty-eighth section may serve as a specimen :—

Commodia-
nus,

the first
accentual
writer.

JUDÆIS.

I mprobi semper et durâ cervice recalces,
V inci vos non vultis, sic exhæredes eritis.
D ixit Esaias incrassato corde vos esse.
A spicitis Legem, quam Moses allisit iratus :
E t idem Dominus dedit illi legem secundam :
I n illâ spem posuit, quod vos subsannati reicitis ;
S ed ideo digni non eritis regno cælesti.

The clue to the author's name is obscurely given in the last section. The heading is *Nomen Gazæi*: the acrostich:—*Itsirhc svcidnem sunaidommoc*: i. e., if read backwards, *Commodianus, mendicvs Christi*. It is supposed that *Gazæus*, derived from *gaza*, treasure, is a kind of punning allusion to Commodianus, which may in like manner be derived from *commodum*; and that the title, *mendicvs Christi*, pursuing the same train of thought, may have reference to the Apostle's words. "What things were gain to me, those I counted loss for CHRIST."

Commodianus.

His acrostichs.

CAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS JUVENCUS.—Almost all that is known of him is, that he was a Spaniard, and that he flourished about A.D. 332.¹ The only work which we can certainly ascribe to him is the *Evangelical History*: a heroic poem in four books (3226 lines), harmonising our LORD'S Life from His Birth to His Ascension. There have been besides attributed to him:—

Juvencus:

(1). A Versification of the Book of Genesis, in heroic metre (1441 lines), very poor, and certainly of later date. (2). A poem on *the praises of the Lord*, possibly of Juvencus. (3). The *Triumph of Christ* in Hell, of which more presently.

The *Evangelical History* maintains a low mediocrity throughout; never degenerating into any very miserable poverty, never for a moment rising into anything like sublimity. Although Juvencus professes to give a harmony of Gospel History, he principally follows S. Matthew; and is more concerned with the deeds than with the words of our LORD. In one² passage he is valuable to Biblical scholars, as agreeing with the Italic version, where it widely departs from the modern reading. He keeps Virgil pretty closely in his eye, and takes fewer licences of quantity than any other Christian poet, a fact which, as we have seen, is at best equivocal praise. He seems to have been a pious and well read man; but without a spark of real poetry. Perhaps his Prologue contains some of his best lines.

his Evangelical History:

¹ S. Jerom, in the addition to the Chronicle of Eusebius, says, under the year 332: "Juvencus Presbyter, natione Hispanus, Evangelia versibus explicat." And Juvencus himself writes, at the end of his work:

Hæc mihi pax Christi tribuit, pax hæc mihi sæcli,
Quam fovet indulgens terræ regnator apertæ
Constantinus, adest cui gratia digna merenti;

which proves that the poem must have been written after the defeat of Licinius, A.D. 324.

² S. Matthew, v. 27—9. The Italic addition, "Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere, et de majore minores esse," is thus given:

At vos ex minimis opibus transcendere vultis,
Et sic e summis lapsi comprehenditis imos.

Juvenecus.

Immortale nihil mundi compage tenetur,
 Non orbis, non regna hominum, non aurea Roma,
 Non mare, non tellus, non ignea sidera cœli.
 Nam statuit Genitor rerum irrevocabile tempus
 Quo cunctum torrens rapiet flamma ultima mundum.
 Sed tamen innumeros homines sublimia facta,
 Et virtutis honos in tempora longa frequentant,
 Accumulant quorum laudes nomenque poetæ.

* * *

Nec metus, ut mundi rapiant incendia secum
 Hoc opus : hoc etenim forsân me subtrahet igni
 Tunc, quum flammivomâ descendet nube coruscans
 Judex, altithroni Genitoris gloria, Christus.

The *Triumph*
 of *Christ*
 not his.

The *Triumph of Christ* is in a far higher strain, and has something quite Miltonic in its conception. Satan is represented as convoking an infernal council, when our LORD, having expired on the Cross, is about to descend into hell. Resistance is allowed to be in vain.

Nec mora : cum sonitu postes cecidere solutis
 Cardinibus, magnamque dedit collapsa ruinam
 Janua, et admittunt concussa palatia Christum.

While Furies and Gorgons are flying in confusion—

Sed gaudent animæ sanctæ, manesque piorum ;
 Primus Adam ante alios palmas ad sidera lætus
 Exhibet, et Dominum devotâ est voce precatus :
 Expectate venis miseris, O Sancte Redemptor,
 Da requiem, finemque malis : fer ad astra redemptos.

Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and a long line of Old Testament Saints salute the Conqueror of Death, while

Regius ante alios vates, notissima proles
 Stirpis Iesseæ, citharam tangebât eburno
 Pectine, et ad numeros unâ omnes voce precati
 Dulce melos pangunt concordî carmine vates.
 Ante alios juvenes, Christum qui nuper ad undas
 Tinxerat, hic lætis concentibus agnifer ibat :
 Salve Erebi Victor, Domitor salve inclyte mortis,
 Destructor scelerum, salve, O fortissime Vindex
 Amissæ vitæ ; salve, O Spes una salutis,
 Aspice plasma tuum, sancte et venerande Creator,
 Et post tot gemitus nos duc ad regna polorum.

Christ's words of comfort and the resurrection follow in brief ; and the poet concludes by telling how, as warriors and kings hang up their trophies, so our LORD set up his Triumphal Cross, with the spoils of his enemies dependent therefrom :

Fronde aliâ inferni dirempti janua pendet,
 Postibus attritis, cum cardinibusque, serisque.
 Fronde aliâ ira Dei, et sibi mens male conscia pendent,

Omnia quæ Christi roseo sunt tersa cruore.
 Fronde aliâ Patris primævi syngrapha pendet
 Dilaniata modis miseris deletaque prorsus.¹

Juvencus.

It must be confessed that the paraphrases, so very necessary to his subject, employed by Juvencus to designate our LORD, are varied and elegant. Huic *Auctor vitæ* tum talia reddit Iesus—Tum sic discipulis *vitæ spes unica* fatur—*Respicit eternæ justorum gloria vitæ*—*legum* sed tum *servator* Iesus incipit—*Progreditur Templo terrarum lumen* Iesus—*Regnantis semper Domini certissima proles*.

S. HILARY, Bishop of Poitiers, passes for the author of several hymns: many of which are clearly later by many centuries than the middle of the fourth, in which he flourished.² The following is the commencement of the Hymn which seems attributed to him on the best authority:

S. Hilary :
 uncertainty
 about his
 hymns.

Lucis Largitor splendide,
 Cujus sereno lumine
 Post lapsa noctis tempora
 Dies refusus panditur :

O glorious Father of the light,
 From whose effulgence, calm and bright,
 Soon as the hours of night are fled,
 The brilliance of the dawn is shed :

Tu verus mundi Lucifer ;
 Non is, qui parvi sideris
 Venturæ lucis nuntius
 Angusto fulget lumine :

Thou art the dark world's truer ray :
 No radiance of that lesser day,
 That heralds, in the morn begun,
 The advent of our darker sun :

Sed toto sole clarius,
 Lux ipse totus et dies,
 Interna nostri pectoris
 Illuminans præcordia.

But, brighter than its noontide gleam,
 Thyself full daylight's fullest beam,
 The inmost mansions of our breast
 Thou by Thy grace illuminest.

¹ Notwithstanding the arguments which would prove Juvencus to be the author of this poem, its ascription to him in MSS, its conclusion, so exactly like that of the Evangelical History,

Hos hominum Christus sævos absorbit hostes,
 Ut neque jam possint ultra damnare fideles,
 His equidem tentare datum, sed vincere nostrum est,

which equally seems to allude to Constantine,—and in spite of the recurrence of one or two uncommon words in both writers, we cannot but think that the entire difference of the rhythm, and the great poetical superiority, clearly show a different authorship. And the very nature of the idea would incline us to bring the poem down as late as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In accordance with this view, is the singular use of the word *Agnifer*, as applied to S. John Baptist, which appears taken from mediæval pictures.

² Thus Sir Alexander Croke : “ Saint Hilary, who was Bishop of Poitiers from the year 355 to 368, a man of genius. . . . The rhymes in his verses are very regular and perfect, as in the *Epiphany*,—Jesus refuisit omnium Pius Redemptor gentium : Totum genus fidelium Laudes celebrent dramatum.” It is because the rhymes here *are* so very perfect, that it is impossible, as we shall presently see, that this hymn, and others like it, could have been written by S. Hilary.

S. Ambrose : If we were able to determine with certainty the genuine Hymns of S. AMBROSE, we should obtain a point of incalculable service for the investigation of ancient Hymnology : the compositions



S. Ambrose.

which have been attributed to him are almost countless, and range from the fourth to the fourteenth century. Indeed, such was his fame as a hymnographer, that the words *Ambrosianum* and *Hymnus* were, at one time, nearly synonymous. Cardinal Thomasius, who had perhaps as good means of forming a judgment as any scholar, considers the following as most justly attributable to him. 1. *Deus creator omnium.* 2. *Eterne rerum conditor.* 3. *Jam surgit hora tertia.* 4. *Bis ternas horas explicans.* 5. *Veni, Redemptor gentium.* 6. *Jam sexta sensim volvitur.* 7. *Ter hora trina volvitur.*

8. *Hic est dies verus Dei.* 9. *Christe, qui lux es et dies.* 10. *O Rex eterne Domine.* 11. *Mediæ noctis tempus est.* 12. *Fulgentis auctor ætheris.* 13. *Deus, qui certis legibus.* 14. *Splendor Paternæ gloriæ.* 15. *Eterne lucis conditor.* 16. *A solis ortus cardine.* 17. *Obduxere polum nubila cœli.* 18. *Squalent arva soli pulvere multo.* 19. *Christe, cœlestis medicina Patris.* 20. *Eterna Christi munera.* To this we add, 21. *Agnes, beatæ Virginis.* Of these we may, from the nature of things, as shown in the preceding section, exclude those which rhyme regularly—and (from the consideration of the most clearly authenticated hymns of S. Ambrose) those which are not metrical. For both these reasons we may reject the Hymn marked 9, which is clearly a comparatively late composition ; and, for want of metre, those numbered 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15. Again, 17 and 18 have not the least touch of S. Ambrose's manner : nor has 19, which also several times offends against the laws of prosody. We are therefore reduced to ten hymns, and one of these, 16, is certainly not altogether of S. Ambrose.

difficulty of
determining
his true
hymns.

For a general character of the Bishop's poetry, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Trench's very able critique. "It is some little while before one returns with a hearty consent and liking to the almost austere simplicity which characterises the hymns of S. Ambrose. It is felt as though there were a certain coldness in them, an aloofness of the author from his subject, a refusal to blend and fuse himself with it. The absence too of rhyme, for which the almost uniform use of a metre, very far from the richest among the

Their
austere
simplicity,

Latin lyric forms, and one with singularly few resources for producing variety of pause or cadence, seems a very insufficient compensation, adds to this feeling of disappointment. The ear and the heart seem alike to be without their due satisfaction. Only after a while does one learn to feel the grandeur of this unadorned metre, and the profound, though it may have been more instinctive than conscious, wisdom of the poet in choosing it; or to appreciate that noble confidence in the surpassing interest of his theme, which has rendered him indifferent to any but its simplest setting forth. It is as though, building an altar to the living God, he would observe the Levitical precept, and rear it of unhewn stones, upon which no tool had been lifted. The great objects of faith in their simplest expression are felt by him so sufficient to stir all the deepest affections of the heart, that any attempt to dress them up, to array them in moving language, were merely superfluous. The passion is there, but it is latent and repressed, a fire burning inwardly, the glow of an austere enthusiasm, which reveals itself indeed, but not to every careless beholder.”¹

S. Ambrose

and sublimity.

Perhaps the most sublime hymn of S. Ambrose is the following. The translation is from the Hymnal of the Ecclesiological Society.

Veni, Redemptor gentium :
Ostende partum Virginis :
Miretur omne sæculum :
Talis decet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine,
Verbum Dei factum est caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.

Alvus tumescit Virginis :
Clastrum pudoris permanet :
Vexilla virtutum micant :
Versatur in Templo Deus.

Procedit e thalamo suo,
Pudoris aulâ regiâ,
Geminæ gigas substantiæ,
Alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus ejus a Patre,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem :
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Æqualis eterno Patri,
Carnis stropheo² cingere,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Come, Thou Redeemer of the earth,
Come, testify Thy Virgin Birth :
All lands admire,—all time applaud :
Such is the birth that fits a God.

Begotten of no human will,
But of the SPIRIT, mystic still,
The WORD of GOD, in flesh arrayed
The promised fruit to man displayed.

The Virgin's womb that burden gained
With Virgin honour all unstained :
The banners there of virtues glow :
God in His Temple dwells below.

Proceeding from His Chamber free,
The Royal Hall of chastity,
Giant of two-fold substance, straight
His destined way He runs elate.

From GOD the FATHER He proceeds,
To GOD the FATHER back He speeds :
Proceeds—as far as very hell :
Speeds back—to Light ineffable.

O equal to the Father, Thou !
Gird on Thy fleshly mantle now !
The weakness of our mortal state
With deathless might invigorate.

¹ Sacred Latin Poetry.

² We are inclined, however, to believe that *trophæo*, because the more difficult, is also the more genuine reading ; in which case we may translate, “Gird on Thy fleshly trophy now.”

S. Ambrose.

Præsepe jam fulget tuum,
Lumenque nox spiret novum,
Quod nulla nox interpolet,
Fideque jugi luceat.

Thy cradle here shall glitter bright,
And darkness breathe a newer light,
Where endless faith shall shine serene,
And twilight never intervene.

In the Hymns of S. Ambrose we have very frequent rhymes,—not as a necessity, not perhaps as an accurately defined beauty, but as an almost unconscious development of the new system. Thus we find

Eterna Christi munera
Et Martyrum victorias . . .

Ecclesiarum principes
Belli triumphales duces . . .

Terrore victo sæculi
Pœnisque spretis corporis,

all in one hymn. It is curious from that time to observe the increasing importance attaching itself to rhyme.

Prudentius.

MARCUS AURELIUS CLEMENS PRUDENTIUS, the prince of primitive Christian poets. After all that has been written on his life, little more is known than that which he himself tells us in his preface to the *Cathemerinon*. A native of Spain, but of what city is uncertain, he was born A.D. 348,¹ and educated for the law.

Ætas prima crepantibus
Flevit sub ferulis : mox docuit toga
Infectum vitis falsa loqui, non sine crimine.

He then was magistrate in two cities, probably in Spain :

Bis legum moderamine
Frænos nobilium rex imus urbium :

and lastly he obtained a military appointment, such as a civilian might hold (*militiæ civilis, palatinæ, or præsidialis*) under the Emperor. At length, in his fifty-seventh year, he applied himself to Christian poetry, with a success unparalleled up to his time and for long afterwards.

His poems may conveniently be divided into two classes—the heroic and the lyric. In the former he possesses no distinguishing excellence ; he is tame, prosaic, unimpassioned—argues feebly, and

¹ The old reading—

“ Oblitum veteris Messaliæ consulis arguens,
Sub quo prima dies mihi,”

puzzled the commentators, inasmuch as no such consul as Messalia could be found. *Messaliæ* was seen by Dupin to be a corruption of *Me Salia*. Salia was consul in 348.

reflects in a common-place manner. In his hymns it is that he Prudentius.
lives. His heroic poems comprise :

1. The *Apotheosis* ; a defence of our Lord's divinity against His heroic poems.
various heretics ; the Patripassians (1—177) ; the Sabellians
(178—320) ; the Jews (321—551) ; Judaising Christians and
Gnostics (552—952) ; the Phantasiasts (952—1063) ; and con-
cludes with a spirited allusion to the Resurrection :—

Qui jubet ut redeam, non reddet debile quicquam,
Nam si debilitas redit, instauratio non est.
Quod casus rapuit, quod morbus, quod dolor hausit,
Quod truncavit edax senium populante veterno,
Omne revertenti reparata in membra redibit.
Debet enim mors victa fidem, ne fraude sepulchri
Reddat curtum aliquid :
Pellite corde metum, mea membra, et credite vosmet
Cum Christo reditura Deo : nam vos gerit ille
Et secum revocat : morbos ridete minaces :
Inflictos casus contemnite : atra sepulchra
Despicite : exurgens quo Christus provocat, ite.

He that commands return, will render back
No mortal weakness : for, where weakness is,
There restoration is not. That which chance
Hath spoiled, or long disease, or grief hath drained,
Or wearing eld hath maimed by slow decay,
Shall all return and all return repaired.
For conquered death is pledged, the tomb's contents
To render undiminished
Away with fear, each member ! Know that all
With Christ shall be restored : He tends you now,
And He will render back. Then mock disease :
Contemn each fatal chance : despise the tomb :
And where a rising Lord invites you, go.

2. The *Hamartigeneia*, on original sin, against the Marcionites ;
it contains 966 lines.

3. The *Psychomachia* ; an allegorical poem on the contest of
Faith with its various enemies in the soul (915 lines).

4. The *Dittochæum* ; a series of four-line stanzas on some of the
principal histories of the Old and New Testament.

5. Two books against Symmachus, the distinguished prefect of
the city, and the apologist to Valentinian, Theodosius, and
Arcadius for Pagan rites.

These poems will always be read as curious relics of that primi-
tive age ; but to that we must confine our praise. Far different is
the case with the two lyrical works of Prudentius, the *Cathemerinon*
and the *Peristephanon*.

The *Cathemerinon*—or, as we might now call it, the Christian His lyric poems.
day—contains the following hymns :—1. At Cockcrow (100 lines) ;
2. For the Morning (112) ; 3. Before Food (205) ; 4. After Food
(102) ; 5. For the kindling of the Paschal Light (164) ; 6. Before

Prudentius. Sleep (152); 7. For a Fast (220); 8. After a Fast (80); 9. An occasional Hymn (114); 10. At Funerals (172); 11. Christmas Day (116); 12. The Epiphany (208). It is manifest that all of these were far too long to be employed in ecclesiastical services; but portions of, and more especially centos from, them have been and still are employed by the Western Church almost daily. That at a Funeral is the noblest of all. We will give some extracts from it, and attempt a translation, in the metre of the original, but unshackled by rhyme. The poet thus begins:—

Deus, ignee fons animarum,
Duo qui socios elementa
Vivum simul et moribundum
Hominem, Pater, effigiasti :

God, fiery fountain of spirits,
Who, elements twofold combining,
Both living each mortal createdst,
And tending towards dissolution :

Tua sunt, tua, Rector, utrâque :
Tibi copula jungitur horum :
Tibi, dum vegetata coherent,
Et spiritus et caro servit.

They are Thine, both the one and the other;
Their conjuncture is Thine, while united :
And Thee, while they dwell in coherence,
They serve, both the soul and the body.

Rescissa sed ista seorsum
Solvunt hominem perimuntque :
Humus excipit arida corpus,
Animæ rapit aura liquorem.

For these, when divided in sunder,
Dissolve and dismember the mortal :
And earth giveth rest to the body,
And ether receiveth the spirit.

Hence Prudentius takes occasion to dwell on the different existences hereafter allotted to different lives here ; and then, in a noble strain of faith, proceeds :—

Venient citò sæcula, quum jam
Socius calor ossa reviset :
Animataque sanguine vivo
Habitacula pristina gestet.

The ages are hastening onward,
When the frame vital heat shall revisit,
And, animate then and for ever,
Shall assume its first loved habitation.

Hinc maxima cura sepulchris
Expenditur : hinc resolutos
Honor ultimus excipit artus,
Et funeris ambitus ornat.

Hence tombs have their holy attendance :
Hence the forms that have seen dissolution
Receive the last honours of nature,
And are decked with the pomp of the burial.

Quidnam sibi saxa cavata
Quid pulchra volunt monimenta,
Nisi quod res creditur illis
Non mortua, sed data somno ?

For what mean the tombs that we quarry,
What the art that our monuments boast in,
But that this, which we trust to their keeping,
Is not dead, but reposing in slumber ?

The poet then dwells on the Christian charity displayed in attendance on funerals, as an act of faith and of hope :

Mors ipsa beatior inde est,
Quòd per cruciamina leti
Via panditur ardua iustis,
Et ad astra doloribus itur.

Very Death thence becometh more blessèd,
Because by the sharpness of dying
The bright path is oped for the righteous,
And we go to the stars by endurance.

Jam nulla deinde senectus
Frontis decus invida carpet :
Macies neque sicca lacertos
Succo tenuabit adeso.

Thenceforward old age in its envy
Shall gather youth's loveliness never :
Thenceforward no sickness nor anguish
Shall rifle its bloom and its vigour.

Prudentius.

Hence comfort is addressed to the mourners ; and the poem ends with these noble stanzas :

Jam mæsta quiesce, querela :
Lacrymas suspendite, matres !
Nullus sua pignora plangat :
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est.

Each sorrowful mourner, be silent !
Fond mothers, give over your weeping !
None grieve for those pledges as perished :
This dying is life's reparation.

Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,
Gremioque hunc concipe molli :
Hominis tibi membra sequestro,
Generosa et fragmina credo :

Now take him, O Earth, to thy keeping :
And give him soft rest in thy bosom :
I lend thee the frame of a Christian :
I entrust thee the generous fragments.

Tu depositum tege corpus :
Non immemor ille requiret
Sua munera Factor et Auctor,
Propriique ænigmata vultus.

Thou holily guard the deposit :
He will well, He will surely require it,
Who, forming it, made its creation
The type of His image and likeness.

Sed dum resolubile corpus
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas,
Quânam regione jubebis
Animam requiescere puram ?

But until the resolvable body
Thou recallest, O God, and re-formest,
What regions, unknown to the mortal,
Dost Thou will the pure soul to inhabit ?

Gremio senis abdita sancti
Recubabit, ut est Eleazar :
Quem floribus undique septum
Dives procul aspicit ardens.

It shall rest upon Abraham's bosom,
As the spirit of blest Eleazar,
Whom, afar in that Paradise, Dives
Beholds from the flames of his torments.

Sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor,
Quibus, atrâ e morte triumphans,
Tua per vestigia mandas
Socium crucis ire latronem.

We follow thy saying, Redeemer,
Whereby, as on death thou wast trampling,
The thief Thy companion Thou wilt
To tread in thy footsteps and triumph.

Patet ecce fidelibus ampli
Via lucida jam Paradisi,
Licet et nemo illud adire,
Homini quod ademerat anguis.

To the faithful the bright way is open
Henceforward, to Paradise leading,
And to that blessed grove we have access
Whereof man was bereaved by the serpent.

Illic, precor, optime Ductor,
Famulam tibi præcipe mentem
Genitali in sede sacrari,
Quam liquerat exul, et errans.

Thou Leader and Guide of Thy people,
Give command that the soul of thy servant
May have holy repose in the country
Whence exile and erring he wandered.

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis, et fronde frequenti :
Titulumque, et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore.

We will honour the place of his resting
With violets and garlands of flowers,
And will sprinkle inscription and marble
With odours of costliest fragrance.

Prudentius never attained this grandeur on any other occasion.
But the hymns for the Epiphany, for the Cockcrowing, the Occa-

Prudentius. sional Hymn, and that Before Sleep, approach nearest to it. We will quote the conclusion of the latter :

Cultor Dei, memento
Te Fontis, et lavacri
Rorem subisse sanctum :
Te Chrismate innovatum.

Fac, quùm, vocante somno,
Castum petis cubile,
Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet.

Procul, O procul, vagantum
Portenta somniorum :
Procul esto pervicaci
Præstigator astu.

O tortuose serpens,
Qui mille per mæandros
Fraudesque flexuosas
Agitas quietà corda :

Discede ; Christus hic est :
Hic Christus est : liquesce :
Signum quod ipse nôsti
Damnat tuam catervam.

Corpus licet fatiscens
Jaceat recline paulùm,
Christum tamen sub ipso
Meditabimur sopore.

Servant of God, remember
The Font of thy Salvation
Its precious dew shed o'er thee,
And thine was Confirmation.

Take heed when, slumber calling,
To thy chaste couch thou goest,
That on thy heart and forehead
The Cross's sign thou knowest.

Hence, O far hence, ye portents
And dreams of nightly terror :
Hence, O far hence, deceivers
Beguiling into error.

And thou, O guileful serpent,
Through many a crafty doubling
Who creepest on to tempt us,
The faithful spirit troubling ;

Depart : here CHRIST is present :
Here CHRIST is present : vanish :
The sign thyself confessest
Thy ghostly legions banish !

And though the weary body
Awhile in sleep reclineth,
Round CHRIST, in very slumber,
Its meditation twineth.

The *Peristephanon*, i. e., hymns concerning the Crowns of the Martyrs, is far more valuable as a work of Christian archæology than as poetry. There are fourteen :—SS. Hemeterius and Chelidonius, containing 100 lines ; S. Laurence (584) ; S. Eulalia (215) ; the xvij. Martyrs of Saragossa (200) ; S. Vincent (576) ; SS. Fructuosus and his companions (162) ; S. Quirinus (90) ; for a Baptistery (18) ; S. Cassian (106) ; S. Romanus (1140) ; S. Hippolytus (246) ; SS. Peter and Paul (66) ; S. Cyprian (106) ; S. Agnes (133).

In many of these, it cannot be denied, the poet is insufferably tedious, and creeps along in his narration ; in several places he exhibits the grossest bad taste—as where he puts into the mouth of S. Laurence, just before his condemnation, an harangue of 120 lines, on the analogy between bodily and spiritual diseases. But here and there, like a glimpse of light amidst smoke, we catch the true poet. Scarcely any of these hymns has afforded a cento for the services of the Latin Church. The two finest are that on the Martyrs of Saragossa, and that on S. Eulalia. The opening of the former is truly sublime. After referring to the eighteen saints who had fallen in that city for the name of CHRIST, the poet proceeds :

Plena magnorum domus Angelorum
Non timet mundi fragilis ruinam,
Tot sinu gestans simul offerenda
Munera Christo.

Prudentius.

Quùm Deus dextram quatiens coruscam
Nube subnixus veniet rubente,
Gentibus justam positurus æquo
Pondere libram :

Orbe de magno caput excitata
Obviam Christo properanter ibit
Civitas quæque, pretiosa portans
Dona canistris.

Wherefore this dwelling, full of mighty angels,
Fears not the wide world's universal ruin,
Bearing the pledges that it then may offer
At the Tribunal :

Thus, when the Judge shall shake His flaming Right Hand,
As in the storm-cloud and the fire He cometh,
Nations and kindreds, in exactest justice,
Dooming to judgment ;

Then shall each city, from earth's furthest borders,
Hasten to meet Him, bearing her oblation ;
Offering a casket of the precious relics
Left by her martyrs.

The following imitation may convey some idea of the conclusion of the hymn on S. Eulalia : ¹

The pile was quenched : the limbs, so late
The sport of cruelty and hate,
In painless quiet lay :
A sound of triumph filled the sky,
As to the holy place on high
She bent her happy way.
It was the time when cold winds blow,
And surly winter reigns :
He covered with a shroud of snow
The Virgin's blest remains.
What are the rites that man can try
To prove the Martyr dear,
To this, when He who rules the sky
Commands the elements on high
To grace their holy bier
Who, ere they laid the body by,
Were His confessors here ?
Go ! pluck the violet's flower to-day !

¹ This translation, which is rather free, is from "Annals of Virgin Saints." Masters. 1846.

Prudentius.

The golden crocus bring;
 Our winter lacks not such array:
 And frost and snow have sped away
 Before the buds of spring.
 Maidens and youths, their foliage twine,
 To deck the Victor Maiden's shrine!
 We in the midst with other flowers
 Will wreath the Martyr's crown:
 And this dactylic verse of ours
 Shall speak her high renown.
 If its poor buds must soon decay
 The festal wreath may serve to-day!
 Thus in our annual wont, 'tis just
 To celebrate her sacred dust
 In God's abode, beneath whose Throne
 The Blessed Martyr found her own:
 And she, well pleased by this our rite,
 Shall guard her people day and night!

These long quotations are but due to the fame of Prudentius.

S. Paulinus.

S. PAULINUS, Bishop of Nola, in the beginning of the fifth century, the friend of S. Augustine and S. Jerome, and of Ausonius, has left a good many poems, of which the most remarkable are those on the Festival of S. Felix, his patron, his Epistle to Cythærus, and his panegyric on Celsus. The following lines may serve as a specimen of his style:

Nobis ore Dei solator Apostolus adsit;
 Nos Evangelio Christus amans doceat.
 Nos exempla Patrum, simul et præconia vatum,
 Nos liber Historiæ formet Apostolicæ.
 In quâ corporeum remeare ad sidera Christum
 Cernimus, et gremio nubis in astra vehi,
 Et talem cœlis reducem sperare jubemur
 Ad cœlos qualem vidimus ire Patri.
 Hujus in Adventum modo pendent omnia rerum,
 Omnis in hunc Regem spesque fidesque inhiat.
 Jamque propinquantem supremo tempore finem
 Immutanda novis sæcula parturiunt.

A certain feeble elegance characterises all the poems of S. Paulinus. Scarcely any of them have ever been used by the Church.

Sedulius.

CAIUS SEDULIUS, by birth a Scot, flourished about A.D. 430; He travelled through France and Italy, and appears to have settled in Achaia, where, according to a general belief, he died a bishop.¹

The works of Sedulius consist of the *Carmen Paschale*, in five books; an Elegy; and a Hymn. The first book of the *Carmen Paschale*, after a glance at the History of the Old Testament, contrasts Paganism with Christianity. The remaining four are taken up, like the work of Juvenecus, with a Harmony of Our LORD's

¹ Nicol. Antonius, Biblioth. Vet. Hispan., 3, 5, 115, however, stoutly denies this.

Life and Death. But Sedulius, unlike his predecessor in the same task, was a true poet. Let the following passages serve as proofs.

In the invocation, by which he addresses himself to his task :¹

Interea, dum rite viam sermone levamus,
 Spesque fidesque meum comitantur in ardua gressum,
 Blandiùs ad summam tandem pervenimus arcem.
 En signo sacrata Crucis vexilla coruscant :
 En regis pia castra micant, tuba clamat herilis :
 Militibus sua porta patet : qui militat, intrat :
 Janua vos eterna vocat, quæ janua Christus.
 Aurea perpetuæ capietis præmia vitæ
 Arma, quibus Domini totâ virtute geruntur,
 Et fixum est in fronte decus.—Decus armaque porto :
 Militiæque tuæ, bone Rex, pars ultima resto.
 Hic proprias sedes, hujus mihi mænibus urbis
 Exiguam concede domum ; tuus incola sanctis
 Ut merear habitare locis, alboque beati
 Ordinis extremus conscribi in secula civis.
 Grandia posco quidem : sed tu dare grandia nosti,
 Quem magis offendit, quisquis sperando tepescit.

Meantime, while with discourse we charm the way,
 And faith and hope accompany, we reach
 The highest citadel, and find our goal.
 Lo ! where it glows, the Banner of the Cross !
 Lo ! where it beams, the royal camp ! The trump
 Proclaims our Lord : each soldier knows his gate :
 Enter, ye warriors ! The eternal door
 Invites you forward : and that door is Christ.
 There shall ye all, who fight the godlike fight,
 Whose foreheads wear the godlike sign, receive
 The golden guerdon of perpetual life.
 That sign, those arms I carry : Thine, O King,
 Albeit Thy feeblest soldier, Thine I stand.
 Give me a dwelling place, a little home
 Among Thy chosen mansions ; give me there
 To merit entrance in Thy holy place,
 And midst its citizens inscribe my name.
 Great things are they I ask : Thou giv'st great things,
 And more he angers Thee, who trifles craves.

In the Life of Our LORD, Sedulius is not a mere chronicler of facts in verse. He intersperses his own reflections, draws his own conclusions, and frequently gives a mystical explanation of the historic details to which he alludes. The following passage on the Nativity seems extremely worthy of quotation (lib. ii. 49) :

Quis fuit ille rubor, Mariæ cum Christus ab alvo
 Processit splendore novo ?—Velut ipse decoro
 Sponsus ovans thalamo, formâ speciosus amœnâ
 Præ natis hominum, cujus radiante figurâ

¹ Lib. i. 334.

Sedulius.

Blandior in labiis diffusa est gratia pulchris.
 O facilis fœtus ! Ne nos servile teneret
 Peccato dominante jugum servilia summus
 Membra tulit Dominus ; primique ab origine mundi
 Omnia qui propriis vestit nascentia donis,
 Obsitus exiguis habuit velamina pannis ;
 Quemque procellosi non mobilis unda profundi,
 Terrarum non omne solum, spatiosaque lati
 Non capit aula poli, puerili in corpore plenus
 Mansit, et angusto Deus in præsepe quievit.

In narration, too, Sedulius far outstrips his competitor. We give the parallel passages at the commencement of the Temptation :

JUVENCUS.

Horrendi interea sceleris versutia tentans,
 Si te pro certo genuit Deus omnibus, inquit,
 His poteris saxis forti sermone jubere
 Usus triticeï formamque capessere panis.
 Christus ad hæc fatur : Nil me jam talia terrent :
 Nam memini scriptum, quoniam non sola tenebit
 Vitam credentis facilis substantia panis,
 Sed sermone Dei complet pia pectora virtus.

SEDLIUS.

Insidiis tentator adit, doctusque per artem
 Fallaces offerre dapes, Si Filius, inquit,
 Cerneris esse Dei, dic, ut lapis iste repente
 In panis vertatur opem. *Miracula tanquam*
Hæc eadem non semper agat, qui saxea terræ
Viscera frugiferis animans fecundat aristas
Et panem de caute creat. Hac ergo repulsus
 Voce prius, hominem non solo vivere pane
 Sed cuncto sermone Dei.

The lines of Juvenecus read like the imposed task of a schoolboy : those of Sedulius like the composition of a poet and a divine.

The *Elegy* contains nothing remarkable. It is an example of the frigid conceit called Epanalepsis, by which the beginning of the first and the end of the second line are always identical : thus—

Primus ad ima ruit magnâ de luce superbus :
 Sic homo, cum tumuit, primus ad ima ruit.

The hymn, *A Solis ortus cardine*, is ABCDarian—that is, the verses commence with the successive letters of the alphabet. Portions of it have always been in use in the Western Church. We give the first part. The version is partly from that published in the “Hymnal” of the Ecclesiological Society, partly from the “Sarum Hours” of Mr. Chambers :—

A solis ortus cardine,
Ad usque terræ limitem,
Christum canamus Principem,
Ortum Mariæ Virgine.

From lands that see the sun arise
To earth's remotest boundaries,
The Virgin-born to day we sing,
The Son of Mary, CHRIST the King.

Sedulius.

Beatus Auctor seculi
Servile corpus induit;
Ut carne carnem liberans
Ne perderet quos condidit.

Blest Author of this earthly frame,
To take a servant's form He came;
That, liberating flesh by flesh,
Those He had made might live afresh.

Castæ parentis viscera
Cœlestis intrat gratia;
Venter puellæ bajulat
Secreta quæ non noverat.

In that chaste parent's holy womb
Celestial grace finds ready home:
Now teems that maiden's bosom mild
By earthly contact undefiled.

Domus pudici pectoris
Templum repente fit Dei;
Intacta nesciens virum
Virgo creavit Filium.

The mansion of the modest breast
Becomes a shrine where God shall rest:
Inviolate, by man unknown,
She by a word conceived the Son.

Enixa est puerpera,
Quem Gabriel prædixerat:
Quem matris alvo gestiens
Clausus Joannes senserat.

That Son, that Royal Son she bore,
Whom Gabriel's voice had told afore;
Whom, in his mother yet concealed,
The Infant Baptist had revealed.

Fæno jacere pertulit,
Præsepe non abhorruit,
Parvoque lacte pastus est,
Per quem nec alis esurit.

The cradle and the straw He bore,
The manger did He not abhor,
A little milk His infant fare
Who feedeth ev'n each fowl of air.

Gaudet chorus cœlestium,
Et Angeli canunt Deo,
Palamque fit pastoribus
Pastor, Creator omnium.

The heavenly chorus filled the sky,
The angels sang to God on high:
What time to shepherds, watching lone,
They made Creation's Shepherd known.

DRACONTIUS. All that can certainly be said of this writer is, that he was a Spaniard;—that he flourished in the fifth century;—that he offended Guntharius, King of the Vandals, and was thrown into prison by him;—and that there he wrote his heroic poem *De Deo*, in three books, and his elegy entitled *Satisfactio*. Dracontius.

The poem *De Deo* is not without its beauty, though it cannot be classed with that of Sedulius. There is a much greater laxity of metre, and (what is not so excusable) a considerable neglect of cæsura, which makes whole paragraphs run on very heavily. The first book describes the creation of the world and the fall of man, and concludes, after the sentence of death pronounced on our first parents, with the symbols of the Resurrection. The various operations of creation are rather graphically touched; but the poet never knows when to have done with a subject. Take, for example, the creation of the birds:—

Dracontius.

Tum varias fundunt voces modulamine bando,
 Et, puto, collaudant Dominum meruisse creari.
 Hæ niveo candore nitent, hæ purpura vestit,
 His croceus plumæ color est, hæ aureus ornat,
 Albentes aliis pennæ solidantur ocellis
 Atque hyacinthus adest per colla, et pectora fulgens.
 Eminent his cristatus apex, hæ lingua decorat, &c.

It would be curious to discover whether Milton had read the account, not ill told, of the first meeting of Adam and Eve. There is not a trace of resemblance, unless the line—

Nescia mens illis, fieri quæ causa fuisset,

may be supposed to have suggested—

But who I was, or where, or for what cause,
 Knew not.

The second book contains little more than general reflections on God's omnipotence and justice; and introduces, in no very logical sequence, our LORD'S Miracles, the Deluge, and the final Judgment. The third, after treating on GOD'S providence, contrasts heathenism with Christianity, and dilates on the spread and apostolic preachers of the Gospel. Neither of these, however, equals the first book.

Arator.

ARATOR, originally in an honourable situation in Justinian's household, afterwards a sub-deacon of the Roman Church, has left a paraphrase, in heroic verse, of the Acts of the Apostles. It is in two books, and comprises about 1800 lines. It was originally presented to Pope Vigilius, April 6, 544, and publicly recited by the poet, in the Church of S. Peter ad Vincula, where it was received with the greatest applause.

We cannot give much praise to this author, except that his Latinity is suprisingly classical for the age. He is superior to Juvenecus, but must be characterised in nearly the same terms. The following lines, from S. Paul's speech to the elders of Ephesus, may serve as a favourable specimen:—

Ne cedite duris.
 Virtuti damnosa quies, nullumque coronat
 In stadio securus honor; sua gloria forti
 Causa laboris erit: rarusque ad præmia miles
 Cui pax sola fuit: Victoria semen ab hoste
 Accipit, huic virtus. Dominus plantaria vestra
 Pœcundare valet: qui per sua dona venire
 Ad sua dona facit; quodque adjuvat ipse ministrat.

S. Gregory
the Great.

The last writer in this stage of Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry whom we shall mention, is S. GREGORY the GREAT, Bishop of Rome, from 591 to 604. Many hymns have been attributed to

him, as to S. Hilary and S. Ambrose, with which he clearly had nothing to do. The following is undoubtedly his : S. Gregory
the Great.

Primo dierum omnium
Quo mundus extat conditus
Vel quo resurgens Conditor
Nos, morte victâ, liberat :

On this the day that saw the earth,
From utter darkness first have birth :
The day its Maker rose again,
And vanquished Death, and burst our chain,

Pulsis procul torporibus
Surgamus omnes ocyùs :
Et nocte quæramus Deum,
Sicut prophetam novimus,

Away with sleep and slothful ease !
We raise our hands and bend our knees,
And early seek the God of all,
According to the Prophet's call,

Nostras preces ut audiat,
Suamque dextram porrigat,
Et expiatis sordibus
Reddat polorum sedibus.

That He may grant us that we crave,
May stretch His strong right arm to save,
And, purging out each sinful stain,
Restore us to our home again.

Ut quique sacratissimo
Hujus diei tempore
Horis quietis psallimus
Donis beatis muneret.

We rise before the holy light,
In these calm hours of holiest night :
And oh, that He to whom we sing
Would now reward our offering !

Jam nunc, paterna claritas,
Te postulamus affatim :
Absit libido sordidans,
Omnisque actus noxius :

Father of life and light ! give heed !
Suppliants we here before Thee plead :
O cleanse from sordid lust the heart ;
May every evil act depart :

Ne fœda sit vel lubrica
Compago nostri corporis :
Per quod Averni ignibus
Ipsi crememur acriùs.

That this our body's mortal frame
May know no sin and fear no shame.
Whereby the fires of Hell might rise
To torture us in fiercer wise.

Ob hoc, Redemptor, quæsumus,
Ut pr bra nostra diluas,
Vitæ perennis commoda
Nobis benigne conferas.

We, therefore, SAVIOUR, cry to Thee
To wash out our iniquity,
And give us, of Thine endless grace,
The blessings of Thy heavenly place.

Quo carnis actu exsules,
Effecti ipsi cœlibes,¹
Ut prætolamur cernui
Melos canamus gloriæ.

That we, thence exiled by our sin,
Hereafter may be welcomed in :
That happy time awaiting, now
With hymns of glory here we bow.²

¹ This use of the word *cœlibes*, which might easily be thought a mistake for *cœlites*, is not uncommon in mediæval hymnology. So an Ambrosian hymn :

Sed cum Beatis compotes
Simus perennes cœlibes.

It is doubtless derived from that text, "They neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God." (S. Matth. xxii., 30.)

² The translation is from the "Hymnal" of the Ecclesiological Society, but partly also from Mr. Chambers's "Sarum Hours."

S. Gregory
the Great.

The far greater preponderance of rhymes than in the hymns of S. Ambrose is here very observable; the second and third verses rhyme perfectly, and of the twelve other couplets four rhyme. We may quote the following short hymn of the same author :

Ecce jam noctis tenuatur umbra,
Lux et aurora rutilans coruscat :
Viribus totis rogitemus omnes
Cunctipotentem,

Ut Deus nostri miseratus omnem
Pellat languorem, tribuat salutem,
Donet et nobis pietate Patris
Regna polorum.

Præstet hoc nobis Deitas Beata
Patris et Nati pariterque Sancti
Spiritus, cujus reboat per omnem
Gloria mundum.

Darkness is thinning : shadows are retreating :
Morning and light are coming in their beauty :
Suppliant seek we, with an earnest outcry,
God the Almighty,

So that our Master, having mercy on us,
May repel languor, may bestow salvation,
Granting us, FATHER, of thy loving kindness,
Glory hereafter.

This of His mercy, ever Blessed Godhead,
FATHER and SON, and HOLY SPIRIT give us :
Whom through the wide world celebrate for ever
Blessing and glory.

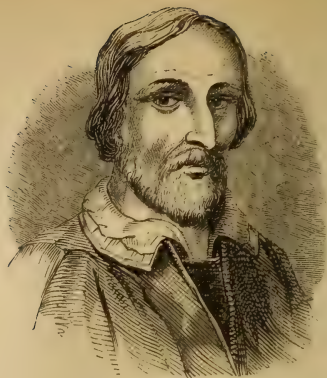
Other
writers.

We might easily have named several other writers of Ecclesiastical verse in this, its first, period ; but their merit is not such as, in so brief a sketch, to merit particular notice. Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius and Sidonius Apollinaris have been mentioned in the post-Augustan period. To these we now add :—CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTOR, a professor of rhetoric at Marseilles, who flourished about 460, and wrote a paraphrase in three (or, according to other MSS., four) books, on the first nineteen chapters of Genesis. S. ALCIMUS AVITUS, Archbishop of Vienne, wrote an heroic poem in five books—the first treating of the Creation of the World ; the second, of original sin ; the third, of the Sentence pronounced after the Fall ; the fourth, of the Deluge ; the fifth,

of the Red Sea. PROBA FALCONIA (best edition Kroomayer, S. Gregory Halle, 1719) published some Virgilian centos on the History of the Old and New Testament. All these writers (except the last) may be found in the *Poetæ Christiani* of Fabricius, to which we have before referred.



Gregory the Great.



The Venerable Bede.

SECOND PERIOD.—THE RESTORATION.

FROM VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS TO THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICALISM.

Fortunatus.

WHILE the Latin as a spoken language was coming to an end, a writer arose who may truly be called the earliest in the mediæval school, VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, the fashionable poet of the South of France, and who died Bishop of Poitiers, in 609. A contemporary of S. Gregory though he were, the wild freshness and life of the nation in which he wrote burst the trammels of classicalism for ever. Hitherto we have seen it (to use Mr. Trench's words) in its weak and indistinct beginnings; not yet knowing itself or its own importance; we mark its irregular application at first—the want of skill in its use—the only gradual discovery of its fullest capabilities. The first rhyming hymn in the Latin language is due to Fortunatus; and its grandeur has seldom been surpassed by any of his successors. It is the world-famous *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, of which we quote the translation published in the "Hymnal" of the Ecclesiological Society:—

The Royal Banners forward go :
The Cross shines forth with mystic glow :
Where He in flesh, our flesh Who made,
Our sentence bore, our ransom paid.

Where deep for us the spear was dyed,
Life's torrent rushing from His side :
To wash us in the precious flood,
Where mingled water flowed, and blood.

Fulfilled is all that David told
 In true prophetic song of old :
 Amidst the nations God, saith he,
 Hath reigned and triumphed from the Tree.

Fortunatus.

O Tree of Beauty ! Tree of Light !
 O Tree with royal purple dight !
 Elect upon whose faithful breast
 Those holy limbs should find their rest !

On whose dear arms, so widely flung,
 The weight of this world's ransom hung,
 The price of humankind to pay,
 And spoil the spoiler of his prey !

The greater part of the rhymes here—as, for example, the two first, “*Vexilla Regis prodeunt, Fulget Crucis Mysterium*,”—are only assonant, but the principle was established.

But a still greater step was made by the mastery which Fortunatus showed over the Trochaic Tetrameter,—a measure which, with various modifications, was to become the glory of mediæval poetry. It is true that Prudentius had once or twice used it, but Fortunatus was the first to group it into stanzas. Now, the real *telling* rhyme of mediæval poetry is that which is double Trochaic. The employment of this was of a still later date ; and we can hardly believe but that Fortunatus purposely avoided it. However that may be, a stanza like this involved the certain discovery of such rhyme in the course of time, and the plastic mind of Church writers would be sure to give it shape.

Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis !
 Nulla talem sylva profert flore, fronde, germine ;
 Dulce lignum dulci clavo dulce pondus sustinens.

The hymn is amply worth translation :

Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle, with completed victory rife,
 And above the Cross's trophy, tell the triumph of the strife ;
 How the world's Redeemer conquer'd, by surrendering of his life.

God, his Maker, sorely grieving that the first-born Adam fell,
 When he ate the noxious apple, whose reward was death and hell,
 Noted then this wood, the ruin of the ancient wood to quell.

For the work of our Salvation needs would have his order so,
 And the multiform deceiver's art by art would overthrow ;
 And from thence would bring the medicine whence the venom of the foe.

Wherefore, when the sacred fulness of the appointed time was come,
 This world's Maker left His Father, left His bright and heavenly home,
 And proceeded, God Incarnate, of the Virgin's holy womb.

Fortunatus.

Weeps the Infant in the manger that in Bethlehem's stable stands ;
And His limbs the Virgin Mother doth compose in swaddling bands,
Meetly thus in linen folding of her God the feet and hands.

Thirty years among us dwelling, His appointed time fulfilled,
Born for this, He meets His Passion, for that this He freely willed :
On the Cross the Lamb is lifted, where His life-blood shall be spilled.

He endured the shame and spitting, vinegar, and nails, and reed ;
As His blessed side is opened, water thence and blood proceed :
Earth, and sky, and stars, and ocean, by that flood are cleansed indeed.

Faithful Cross ! above all other, one and only noble Tree !
None in foliage, none in blossom, none in fruit thy peers may be ;
Sweetest wood and sweetest iron, sweetest weight is hung on thee !

Bend thy boughs, O Tree of Glory ! thy relaxing sinews bend ;
For awhile the ancient rigour, that thy birth bestowed, suspend ;
And the King of heavenly beauty on thy bosom gently tend.

Thou alone wast counted worthy this world's ransom to uphold ;
For a shipwreck'd race preparing harbour, like the Ark of old :
With the sacred blood anointed from the wounded Lamb that roll'd.

Laud and honour to the Father, laud and honour to the Son,
Laud and honour to the Spirit, ever Three and ever One :
Consubstantial, coeternal, while unending ages run.

We add one more, in the metre of the original ; that commencing
Crux benedicta nitet—

That blest Cross is displayed, where the Lord in the flesh was suspended,
And, by His blood, from their wounds cleansed and redeemed His elect :

Where for us men, through His love, become the victim of mercy,
He, the Blest Lamb, His sheep saved from the fangs of the wolf :

Where by His palms transpierced He redeemed the world from its ruin,
And by His own dear Death closed up the path of the grave.

This was the hand that, transfixed by the nails, and bleeding, of old time
Paul from the depth of his crime ransomed, and Peter from death.

Strong in thy fertile array, O Tree of sweetness and glory,
Bearing such new-found fruit midst the green wreaths of thy boughs :

Thou by thy savour of life the dead from their slumbers restorest,
Rendering sight to the eyes that have been closed to the day.

Heat is there none that can burn beneath thy shadowy covert :
Nor can the sun in the noon strike, nor the moon in the night.

Planted art thou beside the streams of the rivers of waters :
Foliage and loveliest flowers scattering widely abroad.

Fast in thy arms is enfolded the Vine ; from whom in its fulness,
Floweth the blood-red juice, wine that gives life to the soul.

These hymns are infinitely superior to anything else that Fortunatus wrote, and they have consigned him to immortality.

It is a work of intense difficulty to determine when *double* rhyme was introduced into Christian Hymnology. We have a proof that, as late as 535, it was not *felt* in Italy. The following is an inscription of that date on a church built by Belisarius at Ravenna :

Hanc vir patricius, Velisarius, urbis amicus,
Ob culpæ veniam condidit Ecclesiam :
Hanc idcirco pedem, qui sacram ponis in ædem,
Ut miseretur eum, sæpe precare Deum.

All these verses, it is true, are *cristati* ; but the indifferent use of male and female rhymes shows that they were rather addressed to the eye than the ear. Nor are we aware that an earlier example of consistent and intended double rhymes can be traced in hexameters than in the poem of Mutius of Bergamo, *de rebus Bergamensibus*, which bears date 707 : and V. Bede seems to be the first author who used consistent double rhymes in Trochaics.

In the meantime, the neo-Latin poetry was rapidly forming. Between the time of S. Gregory and that of V. Bede, many glorious hymns were composed. Of these we may mention, the *Ad Cœnam Agni providi*, the *Deus tuorum militum*, the *Hymnus dicat turba fratrum*, and the *Apparebit repentina*. The first of these opens as follows :—

Ad cœnam Agni providi
Et stolis albis candidi,
Post transitum maris rubri
Christo canamus principi.

The Lamb's high banquet we await
In snow-white robes of festal state :
And now, the Red Sea's channel past,
To Christ our Prince we sing at last.

Cujus corpus sanctissimum,
In arâ Crucis torridum :
Cruore ejus roseo
Gustando vivimus Deo.

Upon the altar of the Cross
His Body hath redeemed our loss :
And tasting there his roseate blood,
Our life is hid with Him in God.

Protecti Paschæ vespere
A devastante Angelo,
Erepti de durissimo
Pharaonis imperio.

That Paschal eve God's arm was bared ;
The devastating Angel spared :
By strength of hand our hosts went free
From Pharaoh's ruthless tyranny.

Jam Pascha nostrum Christus est,
Qui immolatus Agnus est,
Sinceritatis azyma
Caro ejus oblata est.

Now Christ, our Paschal Lamb, is slain,
The Lamb of God that knows no stain :
The true oblation offered here,
Our own unleavened bread sincere.

The conclusion of the *Apparebit repentina* is this :

But the righteous, upward soaring,
To the heavenly land shall go,
Midst the cohorts of the angels,
Where is joy for evermo ;

To Jerusalem exulting
 They with shouts shall enter in.
 That true "sight of peace" and glory
 That sets free from grief and sin ;

Christ shall they behold for ever,
 Seated at the Father's hand ;
 As in beatific vision
 His elect before Him stand.

Wherefore, man, while yet thou mayest,
 From the dragon's malice fly ;
 Give thy bread to feed the hungry,
 If thou seek'st to win the sky ;

Let thy loins be straightly girded,
 Life be pure, and heart be right,
 At the coming of the Bridegroom
 That thy lamp may glitter bright.

Venerable
 Bede.

V. Bede himself was the author of several hymns, too long indeed, but not without merit.

The following, for the Ascension, is one of the best : the translation is Mr. Chambers's. It is a cento used by the Anglo-Saxon church, from a much longer hymn :—

Hymnum canamus gloriæ,
 Hymni novi nunc personent ;
 Christus novo cum tramite
 Ad Patris ascendit Thronum.

Sing we triumphant hymns of praise ;
 New hymns to Heaven exulting raise :
 Christ, by a new and wond'rous road,
 Ascends unto the Throne of God.

Transit triumpho nobili
 Poli potenter culmina :
 Qui morte mortem absumperat,
 Derisus a mortalibus.

In kingly pomp he sweepeth by
 The lofty zenith of the sky,
 Who late, death's death, for mortals died,
 By mortals scorned and crucified.

Apostoli tunc mystico
 In monte stantes chrismatis,
 Cum Matre clarâ Virgine
 Jesu videbant gloriam.

Behold the apostolic band
 Upon the Mount of Unction stand :
 With the blest Virgin Mother see
 Their Jesu's glorious majesty.

Quos alloquentes angeli,—
 " Quid astra stantes cernitis ?
 Salvator hic est," inquit,
 " Jesus, triumpho nobili.

Whom thus the shining Angels greet :—
 " Why look ye to yon starry height ?
 'Tis He, the Saviour ever blest,
 Jesus, with lordly triumph graced.

A vobis ad cœlestia
 Qui regna nunc assumptus est,
 Venturus inde sæculi
 In fine, Judex omnium."

He who from hence to Heaven hath gone,
 The kingdom taken for His own,
 In time's last close again shall come
 To all men righteous judge of doom."

Quo nos precamur tempore
 Jesu, Redemptor unice,
 Inter tuos in æthera
 Servos benignus aggrega.

Oh, in that hour of dread, we pray,
 Jesu, Redeemer, be our stay :
 With thine, who meet Thee in the air,
 Unite us by Thy kindly care.

Nostris ibi tunc cordibus
Tuo repletis Spiritu
Ostende Patrem et sufficit
Hæc una nobis visio.

Amen.

There to our hearts, in Heaven's blest gate,
With Thy sweet Spirit satiate,
Make known the Father, and our eyes
That only vision shall suffice.

Venerable
Bede.

Amen.

PAULUS DIACONUS has left one hymn which is curious as having given rise to the *sol-fa* nomenclature. Paulus
Diaconus.

UT queant laxis REsonare fibris
MIRA gestorum FAMuli tuorum,
SOLve polluti LABii reatum
Sancte Joannes.

The Emperor CHARLEMAGNE is the author of a hymn which hardly yields to any—the world-famous *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, which is too well known for quotation; and S. THEODULPH, of Orleans, distinguished himself by the glorious poem for Palm Sunday, *Gloria laus et honor tibi sit, Rex Christe Redemptor*. Charlemagne.
S. Theo-
dulph.



Charlemagne.

The legend concerning this composition is, that the bishop, being in prison on a false accusation at Angers, caused it to be sung by choristers, as the Emperor Louis and his court were on their way to the Procession of Palms.

Glory, and honour, and laud be to Thee, King Christ the Redeemer,
Children before whose steps raised their hosannas of praise.

Israel's monarch art Thou, and the glorious offspring of David,
Thou that approachest a King, bless'd in the name of the Lord.

Glory to Thee in the highest the heavenly armies are singing:
Glory to Thee on the earth man and creation reply.

Met Thee with palms in their hands that day the folk of the Hebrews:
We with our prayers and our hymns now to Thy presence approach.

They to Thee offered their praise for to herald thy dolorous Passion:
We to the King on His Throne utter the jubilant hymn.

S. Theodulph.

They were then pleasing to Thee—unto Thee our devotion be pleasing,
Merciful King, kind King, who in all goodness art pleased.

They in their pride of descent were rightly the children of Hebrews :
Hebrews are we, whom the Lord's Passover maketh the same.

Victory won o'er the world be to us for our branches of palm tree,
That in the conqueror's joy this to Thee still be our song :

Glory, and honour, and laud be to Thee, King Christ the Redeemer,
Children before whose steps raised their hosannas of praise.

Robert II.

ROBERT II. of France was the author of the beautiful hymn which commences

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,
Et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium.

Veni, Pater pauperum,
Veni, Dator munerum,
Veni, Lumen cordium.

Consolator optime,
Dulcis hospes animæ,
Dulce refrigerium.

Hartman.

The first lyrical application of double rhyme is, we think, due to HARTMAN, the celebrated monk of S. Gall, in the Epiphany Hymn, which commences

Tribus signis Deo dignis
Dies ista colitur ;
Tria signa, laude digna,
Cœtus hic persequitur.

We now approach the period when Latin Hymnology attained its full splendour.

S. Peter Damiani.

S. PETER DAMIANI, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who lived from 1002—1072, left several hymns, two of which are of surpassing merit. The first is entitled, *On the Glories and Joy of Paradise*, and has often been attributed to S. Augustine.

The following are some of the most striking stanzas : we quote from Mr. Wackerbarth's admirable translation.

Winter braming—summer flaming,
There relax their blustering,
And sweet roses ever blooming
Make an everlasting spring,
Lily blanching, crocus blushing,
And the balsam perfuming.

Pasture growing, meadows blowing,
Honey streams in rivers fair,
While with aromatic perfume
Grateful glows the balmy air ;
Luscious fruits that never wither
Hang in every thicket there.

There nor waxing moon, nor waning,
Sun, nor stars in courses bright ;
For the Lamb to that glad city
Shines an everlasting light :
There the daylight beams for ever,
All unknown are time and night.

For the Saints, in beauty beaming,
Shine in light and glory pure,
Crowned in triumph's flushing honours,
Joy in unison secure,
And in safety tell their battles,
And their foe's discomfiture.

Freed from every stain of evil,
 All their carnal wars are done,
 For the flesh made spiritual,
 And the soul agree in one ;
 Peace unbroken spreads enjoyment ;
 Sin and scandal are unknown.

Stript of changefulness, united
 To primæval being's spring,
 And the present form and essence
 Of the Truth contemplating,
 Lo ! they quaff the vital sweetness
 Of the well of quickening.

Thence departing, aye in sameness
 They their lofty state engage,
 Beauteous, keen, and gay, and noble,
 Unexposed to chance's rage ;
 Health is theirs untouched by sickness,
 Endless youth unmarr'd by age.

S. Peter
 Damiani.

Here they live in endless being :
 Passingness has passed away :
 Here they bloom, they thrive, they flourish,
 For decay'd is all decay :
 Lasting energy hath swallow'd
 Darkling Death's malignant sway.

The other, which we quote at full, is the following :

O what terror in thy forethought,
 Ending scene of mortal life !
 Heart is sicken'd, reins are loosen'd,
 Thrills each nerve, with terror rife,
 When the anxious heart depicteth
 All the anguish of the strife !

Who the spectacle can image,—
 How tremendous !—of that day,
 When, the course of life accomplish'd,
 From the trammels of her clay
 Writhes the soul to be delivered,
 Agonised to pass away !

Sense hath perish'd, tongue is rigid,
 Eyes are filming o'er in death,
 Palpitates the breast, and hoarsely
 Gasps the rattling throat for breath :
 Limbs are torpid, lips are pallid,
 Breaking nature quivereth.

All come round him !—cogitation,
 Habit, word, and deed are there !
 All, though much and sore he struggle,
 Hover o'er him in the air :
 Turn he this way, turn he that way,
 On his inmost soul they glare.

Conscience' self her culprit tortures,
 Gnawing him with pangs unknown :
 For that now amendment's season
 Is for ever past and gone,
 And that late Repentance findeth
 Pardon none for all her moan.

Fleshly lusts of fancied sweetness
 Are converted into gall,
 When on brief and bitter pleasure
 Everlasting dolours fall :
 Then, what late appeared so mighty,
 Oh ! how infinitely small !

Christ, unconquered King of Glory !
 Thou my wretched soul relieve,
 In that most extremest terror,
 When the body she must leave :
 Let the accuser of the brethren
 O'er me then no power receive !

Let the Prince of Darkness vanish,
 And Gehenna's legions fly !
 Shepherd, Thou Thy sheep, thus ransom'd,
 To Thy country lead on high ;
 Where for ever in fruition
 I may see Thee eye to eye !

Amen.

In the eleventh century, S. FULBERT, of Chartres, left several S. Fulbert.
 beautiful poems. The following Hymn for Eastertide is very fine :

Ye choirs of New Jerusalem !
 New strains and sweet attune your theme !
 The while we keep, from care released,
 With sober joy our Paschal Feast.

Engorged in former years, their prey
 Must Death and Hell restore to-day :
 And many a captive soul, set free,
 With Jesus leaves captivity.

When Christ, the dragon-fiend o'ercome,
 Rose, Lion-Victor, from the tomb :
 And while with living voice He cries,
 The dead of other ages rise.

Right gloriously He triumphs now,
 Worthy to whom should all things bow :
 And joining heaven and earth again
 In one republic links the twain.

S. Fulbert. And we, as these His deeds we sing,
His suppliant soldiers, pray our King,
That in His palace, bright and vast,
We may keep watch and ward at last.

Long as unending ages run
To God the Father laud be done :
To God the Son our equal praise,
And God the Holy Ghost we raise.
Amen.

The following is of a different kind :

When the earth with spring returning, vests herself in fresher sheen,
And the glades and leafy thickets are arrayed in living green ;
When a sweeter fragrance breatheth flowery fields and vales along,
Then, triumphant in her gladness, Philomel begins her song :
And with thick delicious warble far and wide her notes she flings,
Telling of the happy springtide and the joys that summer brings.
In the pauses of men's slumber deep and full she pours her voice,
In the labour of his travel bids the wayfarer rejoice ;
Night and day, from bush and greenwood, sweeter than an earthly lyre,
She, unwearied songstress, carols, distancing the feather'd choir :
Fills the hill-side, fills the valley, bids the groves and thickets ring,
Made indeed exceeding glorious through the joyousness of spring.
None could teach such heavenly music, none implant such tuneful skill,
Save the King of realms celestial, who doth all things as He will.

Hildeberty. Of the many poems of HILDEBERT, Archbishop of Tours, who lived from 1057—1134, the finest is that of which the following lines form the conclusion :—

Mine be Sion's habitation,
Sion, David's sure foundation :
Form'd of old by light's CREATOR,
Reached by Him, the MEDIATOR :
An Apostle guards the portal
Denizen'd by forms immortal,
On a jasper pavement builded,
By its Monarch's radiance gilded.
Peace there dwelleth uninvaded,
Spring perpetual, light unfaded :
Odours rise with airy lightness ;
Harpers strike their harps of brightness ;
None one sigh for pleasure sendeth ;
None can err, and none offendeth ;
All, partakers of one nature,
Grow in CHRIST to equal stature.

Home celestial ! Home eternal !
Home upreared by power Supernal !
Home, no change or loss that fearest,
From afar my soul thou cheerest :
Thee it seeketh, thee requireth,
Thee affecteth, Thee desireth.
But the gladness of thy nation,
But their fulness of salvation,
Vainly mortals strive to show it ;
They—and they alone—can know it,
The redeemed from sin and peril,
They who walk thy streets of beryl !
Grant me, SAVIOUR, with Thy Blessed
Of Thy Rest to be possessèd,
And, amid the joys it bringeth,
Sing the song that none else singeth !

Marbodus. MARBODUS, Bishop of Rennes, a contemporary of Hildeberty, also left a good many poems ; the following is an extract from his Sequence on the Dedication of a Church :—

These stones, arrayed in goodly row,
Set forth the deeds of men below :
The various tints that there have place,
The multiplicity of grace :
Who in himself that grace displays
May shine with them in endless rays.

Jerusalem, dear peaceful land !
 These for thy twelve foundations stand :
 Blessed and nigh to God is he
 Who shall be counted worthy thee !
 That Guardian slumbereth not, nor sleeps,
 Who in his charge thy turrets keeps.

Marbodus.

King of the Heavenly City blest !
 Grant that Thy servants may have rest,
 This changeful life for ever past,
 And consort with Thy saints at last :
 That we, with all the choir above,
 May sing Thy power, and praise Thy love.

Of the various compositions of S. BERNARD, who died in 1153, S. Bernard the *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, is the most famous. As a whole, it consists of about 200 lines. We quote the following, the cento given in the Salisbury Breviary, employing the translation of the *Hymnal Noted*, published by the Ecclesiological Society :

Jesu !—The very thought is sweet !
 In that dear name all heart-joys meet ;
 But sweeter than the honey far
 The glimpses of His presence are.

No word is sung more sweet than this :
 No name is heard more full of bliss :
 No thought brings sweeter comfort nigh
 Than Jesus, Son of God Most High.

Jesu ! the hope of souls forlorn !
 How good to them for sin that mourn !
 To them that seek Thee, oh how kind !
 But what art Thou to them that find !

No tongue of mortal can express,
 No letters write its blessedness :
 Alone who hath Thee in his heart
 Knows, love of Jesus ! what thou art.

O Jesu ! King of wondrous might !
 O Victor, glorious from the fight !
 Sweetness that may not be express'd,
 And altogether loveliest !

BERNARD DE MORLEY, a monk of Cluny, in his extraordinary poem on the *Contempt of the World*, attained a higher strain than any of his contemporaries. The following extract may serve as an example :—

Bernard de Morley.

To thee, O dear, dear country !
 Mine eyes their vigils keep ;
 For very love beholding
 Thy happy name, they weep :
 The mention of thy glory
 Is unction to the breast,
 And medicine in sickness,
 And love and life, and rest.

O one, O only mansion !
 O paradise of joy !
 Where tears are ever banish'd,
 And smiles have no alloy :
 Beside thy living waters
 All plants are, great and small ;
 The cedar of the forest,
 The hyssop of the wall :

Bernard de
Morley.

With jaspers glow thy bulwarks,
Thy streets with emeralds blaze :
The sardius and the topaz
Unite in thee their rays :
Thy ageless walls are bonded
With amethyst unpriced ;
Thy saints build up its fabric,
And the corner-stone is Christ.
Thou hast no shore, fair ocean !
Thou hast no time, bright day !
Dear fountain of refreshment
To pilgrims far away !
Upon the Rock of Ages
They raise thy holy tower,
Thine is the victor's laurel,
And thine the golden dower :
Thou feel'st in mystic rapture,
O bride that know'st no guile,
The Prince's sweetest kisses,
The Prince's loveliest smile :
Unfading lilies, bracelets
Of living pearl, thine own,
The Lamb is ever near thee,
The Bridegroom thine alone.
And all thine endless leisure
In sweetest accents sings
The ills that were thy merit,
The joys that are thy King's.

Jerusalem the golden !
With milk and honey blest,
Beneath thy contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppress ;
I know not, oh, I know not
What social joys are there,
What radiancy of glory,
What light beyond compare :
And when I fain would sing them
My spirit fails and faints,
And vainly would it image
The assembly of the Saints.
They stand, those halls of Sion,
Conjubilant with song,
And bright with many an angel,
And many a martyr throng :
The Prince is ever in them,
The light is aye serene ;
The pastures of the blessed
Are decked in glorious sheen :
There is the throne of David,
And there, from toil released,
The shout of them that triumph,
The song of them that feast :
And they, beneath their Leader,
Who conquered in the fight,
For ever and for ever
Are clad in robes of white.

S. Notker
Balbulus.

But in the eleventh century a new kind of poem found its way into the Church, which thenceforth gave full employment to ecclesiastical bards. S. NOTKER BALBULUS, a monk of St. Gall, who died in 1012, was the first author of *Sequences*, or hymns sung between the Epistle and the Gospel in the Mass. These are of two kinds—those more properly called *Proses*, though the name was afterwards applied to both, the metre of which has been expounded by the author in his *Sequentiarum Collectio*,¹ (though to enter into their laws would lead us too far from our immediate subject,) and the more regular and rhythmical kind.

Of the former, the following, which we give in the original, may serve as an example; we note the corresponding lines with corresponding letters :

Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia,
a Quæ corda nostra sibi faciat habitacula
a Expulsis inde cunctis vitiis spiritalibus.
b Spiritus alme, illustrator omnium,
b Horridas nostræ mentis purga tenebras :
c Amator sancte sensatorum semper cogitatum,
c Infunde unctionem tuam clemens nostris sensibus.
d Tu purificator omnium flagitiorum, Spiritus,
d Purifica nostri oculum interioris hominis,

¹ J. H. Parker, 1852.

- e* Ut videri supremus Genitor possit a nobis,
e Mundi cordis quem soli cernere possunt oculi.
f Prophetas tu inspirasti, ut præconia Christi præcinnissent inclyta :
f Apostolos confortasti, uti tropæum Christi per totum mundum veherent.
g Quando machinam per Verbum suum fecit Deus cæli, terræ, marium,
g Tu super aquas, faturus eas, numen tuum expandisti, Spiritus.
h Tu animabus vivificandis aquas fæcundas :
h Tu aspirando das spiritales esse homines.
i Tu divisum per linguas mundum et ritus adunasti, Domine.
i Idolloatras ad cultum Dei revocas, magistrorum optime.
k Ergo nos supplicantes tibi exaudi propitius, Sancte Spiritus,
k Sine quo preces omnes cassæ creduntur, et indignæ Dei auribus,
l Tu qui omnium sæculorum sanctos tui nominis docuisti instinctu amplec-
 tendo, Spiritus.
l Ipse hodie Apostolos Christi donans munere insolito et cunctis inaudito seculis
 Hanc diem gloriosam fecisti.

S. Notker
Balbulus.

The following, *Victimæ Paschali*, which we give from the *Hymnal* *Noted*, is one of the most famous :

To the Paschal Victim, Christians, bring the sacrifice of praise.
 The Lamb the Sheep hath ransom'd ; Christ, the undefiled, sinners to his God
 and Father hath reconciled.
 Death and Life, in wond'rous strife, came to conflict sharp and sore : Life's
 Monarch, He that died, now dies no more.
 What thou sawest, Mary, say, as thou wentest on thy way.
 I saw the Slain One's earthly prison : I saw the glory of the Risen :—
 The witness-Angels by the cave :—and the garments of the grave.
 The Lord, my hope, hath risen : and He shall go before to Galilee.
 We know that Christ is risen from death indeed :—Thou victor Monarch, for
 Thy supplicants plead. Amen. Allelulia !

In the more regular and rhythmical kind of Sequences, ADAM of Adam of S. Victor has the preeminence. We quote Mr. Trench's admirable critique :—

"Very different estimates have been formed of the merits of Adam of S. Victor's hymns. His greatest admirers will hardly deny that he pushes too far, and plays over much with, his skill in the typical application of the Old Testament. So, too, they must own that sometimes he is unable to fuse with perfect success his manifold learned allusion into the passion of his poetry." "Nor less must it be allowed that he is sometimes guilty of *concetti* or plays upon words, not altogether worthy of the solemnity of his theme. Thus, of one martyr he says,"

Sub securi stat securus ;

of another,

Dum torretur, non terretur ;

of the Blessed Virgin,

O dulcis vena veniæ ;

of Heaven,

O quam beata curia
 Quæ curæ prorsus nescia.

Adam of
S. Victor.

Sometimes he is fond of displaying feats of skill in versification, of prodigally accumulating, or curiously interlacing his rhymes, that he may show his perfect mastery of the forms which he is using, and how little he is confined or trammelled by them.

"These faults, it will seen, are indeed, most of them, but merits pushed into excess. And even accepting them as defects, his profound acquaintance with the whole circle of the theology of his time, and eminently with its exposition of Scripture—the abundant and admirable use, with indeed the drawback already mentioned, which he makes of it, delivering as he thus does his poems from the merely *subjective* cast of those, beautiful as they are, of S. Bernard; the exquisite art and variety with which for the most part his verse is managed, and his rhymes disposed, their rich melody multiplying and ever deepening at the close,—the strength which often he concentrates into a single line,—his skill in conducting a narration—and most of all, the evident nearness of the things which he celebrates to his own heart of hearts—all these, and other excellences, render him, as far as my judgment goes, the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the middle ages."

The three following hymns may give an idea of his manner :

The first is a Sequence for Easter :

Hail the much-remembered day !
Night from morning flies away,
Life the chains of death hath burst :
Gladness, welcome ! grief, begone !
Greater glory draweth on
Than confusion at the first.
Flies the shadowy from the true ;
Flies the ancient from the new :
Comfort hath each tear dispersed.

Hail, our Pascha, that wast dead !
What preceded in the Head
That each member hopes to gain ;
Christ our newer Pascha now,
Late in death content to bow,
When the spotless Lamb was slain.

Christ the prey hath here unbound
From the foe that girt us round ;
Which in Samson's deed is found,
When the lion he had slain :
David, in his Father's cause,
From the lion's hungry jaws,
And the bear's devouring paws,
Hath set free His flock again.

He that thousands slew by dying,
Samson, Christ is typifying,
Who by death o'ercame his foes :
Samson, by interpretation,

Is "their Sunlight : " Our Salvation
Thus hath brought illumination
To the Elect on whom He rose.

From the Cross's pole of glory
Flows the must of ancient story
In the Church's wine vat stored :
From the press, now trodden duly,
Gentile first-fruits gathered newly
Drink the precious liquor poured

Sackcloth worn with foul abuses
Passes on to royal uses ;
Grace in that garb at length we see,
The Flesh hath conquered misery.

They by whom their Monarch perished
Lost the kingdom that they cherished,
And for a sign and wonder Cain
Is set, who never shall be slain.

Reprobated and rejected
Was this stone that, now elected,
For a trophy stands erected
And a precious cornerstone :
Sin's, not Nature's, termination,
He creates a new Creation,
And, Himself their colligation,
Binds two peoples into one.

Give we glory to the Head,
O'er the members love be shed !

The second is on the Four Evangelists :—

Adam of
S. Victor.

Faithful flock, in whose possessing
Is your Heavenly Father's blessing,
Gladness, in His lore progressing,
From Ezekiel's Vision draw ;
John the Prophet's witness sharing,
In the Apocalypse declaring,
" This I write, true record bearing
Of the things I truly saw."

Round the Throne, 'midst Angel natures,
Stand four holy living creatures,
Whose diversity of features
Maketh good the Seer's plan :
This an Eagle's visage knoweth :
That a Lion's image showeth :
Scripture on the rest bestoweth
The twain forms of Ox and Man.

These are they, the symbols mystic
Of the forms Evangelistic,
Whose four Gospels, dews majestic,
Still the Church's portion be :
Matthew first, and Mark the second :
Luke with these is rightly reckoned :
And the loved Apostle, beckoned
By the Lord from Zebedee.

Matthew's form the man supplieth,
For that thus he testifieth
Of the Lord, that none denieth
Him to spring from man He made :
Luke's the ox, in figure special,
As a creature sacrificial,
For that he the rites judicial
Of Mosaic law displayed.

Mark the wilds as lion shaketh,
And the desert hearing quaketh,
Preparation while he maketh
That the heart with God be right ;

John, love's double wing devising,
Earth on eagle plumes despising,
To his God and Lord uprising
Soars away in purer light.

Symbols quadriform uniting
They of Christ are thus inditing :
Quadriform His acts, which writing
They produce before our eyes :
Man,—whose birth man's law obeyeth :
Ox,—whom victim's passion slayeth :
Lion,—when on death He prayeth :
Eagle,—soaring to the skies.

These the creature forms eternal
Round the Majesty imperial
Seen by prophets ; but material
Difference 'twixt the visions springs :
Wheels are rolling,—wings are flying,—
Scripture lore this signifying ;—
Step with step, as wheels, complying,
Contemplation by the wings.

Paradise is satiated,
Blossoms, thrives, is fecundated,
With the waters irrigated
From these streams that aye proceed :
Christ the fountain, they the river,
Christ the source, and they the giver
Of the streams that they deliver
To supply His people's need.

In these streams our souls bedewing,
That more fully we ensuing
Thirst of goodness, and renewing,
Thirst more fully may allay :
We their holy doctrine follow
From the gulf that gapes to swallow,
And from pleasures vain and hollow
To the joys of heavenly Day.

The third is for the Festival of any Saint :

The Church on earth, with answering love,
Repeats the Church's joys above ;
And while her annual feasts she keeps,
For feasts that never end she weeps.

In this w^old's valley, dim and wild,
The mother must assist the child ;
And angel guards, in meet array,
Keep watch and ward around our way.

The world, the flesh, and spirits ill,
Array their wars against us still ;
And when their phantom hosts move on,
The Sabbath of the heart is gone.

And storms confused above us lower
Of hope and fear, and joy and woe ;
And scarcely even for one half hour
Is silence in God's house below.

That distant city, oh how blest,
Whose festival no foes infest !
How gladsome is that royal court
Where care and fear have no resort !

Nor languor here, nor weary age,
Nor fraud, nor dread of hostile rage ;
But one the voice, and one the song,
And one the heart of all the throng.

Thomas of
Celano.

Dies Iræ.

Of other writers of *Sequences* we may name THOMAS of Celano, the author of the most magnificent of Ecclesiastical poems, the *Dies Iræ*. Of this it has been well said :

“ Of all the Latin hymns of the Church this is the best known ; for, as Daniel has truly remarked—“Even they, who have no acquaintance with the Hymns of the Latin Church, at least know this. If there be any one so lost to all human feeling as not to understand the sweetness of sacred song, let him read this hymn, whose words are so many thunders.” Its introduction in *Faust* may have helped to bring it to the knowledge of some who would not otherwise have known it ; or, if they had, would not have believed its worth, but that the sage and seer of this world had thus stood sponsor to it, and set his seal of recognition upon it.

“ The sublime use which Goethe has made of it in that drama will be remembered by all. To another illustrious man this hymn was eminently dear. How affecting is that incident recorded of Sir Walter Scott, by his biographer,—how, in the last days of his life, when all of his great mind had failed, or was failing, he was yet heard to murmur to himself some lines of this hymn, which had been an especial favourite with him in other days. Nor is it hard to understand or explain the wide and general popularity which it has enjoyed.

“ The metre so grandly devised, of which we remember no other example, fitted though it has here shown itself for bringing out some of the noblest powers of the Latin language—the solemn effect of the triple rhyme, which has been likened to blow following blow of the hammer on the anvil—the confidence of the poet in the universal interest of his theme, a confidence which has made him set out his matter with so majestic and unadorned a plainness, as at once to be intelligent to all,—these merits, with many more, have continued to give the *Dies Iræ* a high place, indeed one of the highest, among the masterpieces of sacred song.”

The following translation is that of Mr. Irons :

Day of wrath ! O Day of mourning !
See ! once more the Cross returning—
Heav'n and earth in ashes burning !

O what fear man's bosom rendeth,
When from heav'n the judge descendeth,
On whose sentence all dependeth !

Wondrous sound the Trumpet flingeth,
Through earth's sepulchres it ringeth,
All before the throne it bringeth.

Death is struck, and nature quaking—
All creation is awaking,
To its judge an answer making !

Lo, the Book, exactly worded !
Wherein all hath been recorded ;—
Hence shall judgment be awarded.

When the Judge His seat attaineth,
And each hidden deed arraigneth,
Nothing unavenged remaineth.

What shall I, frail man, be pleading—
Who for me be interceding—
When the just are mercy needing ?

King of majesty tremendous,
Who dost free salvation send us,
Fount of pity ! then befriend us !

Think, kind Jesu!—my salvation
Caus'd Thy wond'rous incarnation :
Leave me not to reprobation !

Worthless are my prayers and sighing, *Dies Iræ.*
Yet, good Lord, in grace complying,
Rescue me from fires undying !

Faint and weary Thou hast sought me,
On the Cross of suffering bought me ;—
Shall such grace be vainly brought me ?

With Thy favour'd sheep, O place me !
Nor among the goats abase me ;
But to thy right hand upraise me.

Righteous Judge of Retribution,
Grant thy gift of absolution,
Ere that reckoning-day's conclusion ;

While the wicked are confounded,
Doom'd to flames of woe unbounded,
Call me ! with Thy saints surrounded.

Guilty, now I pour my moaning,
All my shame with anguish owning ;
Spare, O God, thy suppliant, groaning.

Low I kneel, with heart-submission ;
See, like ashes, my contrition—
Help me, in my last condition !

Thou, the sinful woman savedst—
Thou the dying thief forgavest ;
And to me a hope vouchsafest !

Ah ! that day of tears and mourning !
From the dust of earth returning
Man for judgment must prepare him ;
Spare ! O God, in mercy spare him !
Lord of mercy, Jesus blest,
Grant them thine eternal rest !—Amen !

JAMES DE BENEDICTIS, or *Jacopone*, as he was familiarly called, among his other poems left the celebrated *Stabat Mater*. We employ Mr. Wackerbarth's translation : James de Benedictis.

See the mother stands deploring,
By the cross her tears out-pouring,
Where her Son expiring hangs ;
For her gentle spirit groaning,
Anguish-smitten and bemoaning,
Rend the sword's most cruel pangs.

Grant, O mother, love's out-springing,
Me to feel thy sorrows wringing,
Bid me share thy cup of woe :
Make my heart for ever fervent,
Christ my God's adoring servant,
That his pleasure I may do.

Oh how downcast and distressèd,
Was the mother ever blessèd
Of the sole-begotten One,
Who lamented and who grievèd,
Mother mild, as she perceivèd
Torments rack her heav'nly Son.

Bid me bear, O Mother blessèd,
On my heart the wounds impressèd,
Suffered by the Crucified ;
And thy Son's most bitter passion,
Rack'd in so remorseless fashion
All for me, with me divide.

Who could keep from tears of anguish,
Could he see Christ's mother languish
Thus in grief and suffering wild ?
Who his agony could smother,
Could he see his gentle mother
Sorrowing with her holy child ?

With thee weeping in communion,
With the Crucified in union,
Long as life within me plays.
By the cross with thee remaining,
Joined with thee in grief and plaining,
Such the boon thy servant prays.

For his people sacrificèd
She beheld Christ agonisèd,
And beneath the scourger's rod,—
She beheld her offspring blessèd
Die forsaken and distressèd,
As He gave His soul to God.

Queen of Virgins, heav'n-adornèd,
Let me not of thee be scornèd,
Let me share thy grief and woe.
Jesu's death my study making,
In His agony partaking,
Make me all His tortures know.

James de
Benedictis.

All His bitter torments feeling,
In the Cross my spirit reeling,
In His blood my senses drown;
That, all glowing with affection,
I may find in thee protection
When to judgment He comes down.

In the Cross salvation yield me,
And in Jesu's passion shield me,
Cherish me with mercy's aid,
When my earthly frame shall perish,
Grant around my soul to flourish
Eden's joys that never fade.

Amen.

S. Thomas
Aquinas.

After S. THOMAS AQUINAS, who died in 1274, the fount of mediæval poetry seems to have begun to dry. The following is one of his most famous hymns :

Of the glorious Body telling,
O my tongue, its mystery sing,
And the Blood, all price excelling,
Which for this world's ransoming,
In a generous womb once dwelling,
He shed forth, the Gentile's King.

Word made flesh, by word He truly
Makes true bread His flesh to be :
Wine Christ's blood becometh newly ;
And if senses fail to see,
Faith alone the true heart duly
Strengthens for the mystery.

Given for us, for us descending
Of a Virgin to proceed,
Man with man in converse blending,
Scattered He the Gospel seed :
Till his sojourn drew to ending,
Which He closed in wondrous deed.

Such a sacrament, inclining,
Worship we with reverent awe :
Ancient rites their place resigning
To a new and nobler law :
Faith her supplement assigning
To make good the sense's flaw.

At the last Great Supper seated,
Circled by His brethren's band,
All the Law required, completed
In the meat its statutes planned,
To the Twelve Himself He meted
For their food with his own hand.

Honour, laud, and praise addressing
To the Father and the Son,
Might ascribe we, virtue, blessing,
And eternal benison :
Holy Ghost, from both progressing,
Equal laud to Thee be done !

Of later poems we may quote a very elegant German *Sequence*, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century : *O beata beatorum*.

Blessed Feasts of Blessed Martyrs,
Saintly days of saintly men,
With affection's recollections,
Greet we your return again.

While they passed through divers tortures,
Till they sank by death oppress,
Earth's rejected were elected
To have portion with the Blest.

Worthy are they worthy wonders
To perform, the conflict o'er :
We with meekest praise and sweetest
Venerate them evermore.

By contempt of worldly pleasures,
And by mighty battles done,
Have they merited with angels
To be knit for aye in one.

Faith unblenching, Hope unquenching,
Dear-loved Lord, and simple heart ;
Thus they glorious and victorious
Bore the martyr's happy part.

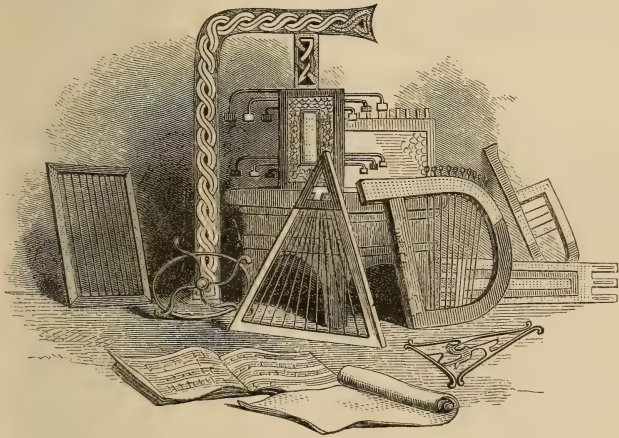
Wherefore made coheirs of glory,
Ye that sit with Christ on high,
Join to ours your supplications,
As for grace and peace we cry :

Carceration, trucidation,
Many a torment fierce and long,
Fire, and axe, and laceration
Tried and glorified the throng.

That this naughty life completed,
And its many labours past,
We may merit to be seated
In our Lord's bright home at last.

Such was the remarkable phase of Latin poetry designated by the term *ecclesiastical*—maintaining vitality, richness, and its own peculiar features, alike through the decay and artificial revival of the classical school, and in no degree affected by either. Deeply interesting as is the subject to the theologian, it is only in a literary point of view that it demands notice in this work.

The much-vaunted intellectual liberality and comprehensive spirit of our times has no brighter evidence of its pretensions than that scholars are learning to enjoy Damian and De Celano without losing ear or heart for the melody and sublimity of Horace and Virgil.



EDITIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN POETS.

COMMODIANUS.

The most convenient edition for the English reader is that (containing also Minucius Felix) of Davies, Cambridge, 1712. It has Rigaltius's notes and his own; but very much praise cannot be given to either.

JUVENCUS.

There have been at least thirty editions of Juvencus. The most remarkable are—the Princeps, without date or note of place, but about 1490; it contains also the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the verses of S. Cyprian *de ligno Crucis*, &c. : the Aldine of 1501, containing the other Christian poets; with Sedulius, Cologne, 1537, a convenient edition: that of Reusch, Frankfort, 1710; and the noble one of Arevalus, Rome, 1792.

PRUDENTIUS.

The best editions of his works are :—The Princeps, without note of place or time, but to be known by the colophon at the end, which speaks of the *book* (in the singular) against Symmachus; those of Deventer, 1472 and 1495; that of Nebrissensis, 1512; that of Antwerp, by Plantin, 1564; that by Wertz, 1613; the Delphin, 1687 (Chamillard was editor); that of Arevalus, Rome, 1788; the *Variorum* of Valpy, 1824; and that of Obbarius. A convenient pocket-edition is that of Amsterdam, 1631.

SEDULIUS.

Between forty and fifty editions of his works have been published, very frequently together with those of Juvencus. The best are :—The *Editio Princeps*, published at Paris, without date, but to be known by its colophon, *Quinto Calendas Martias ex officina Ascensiana, apud Parrhisios*; that of Saragossa, 1515, with the paraphrase of Nebrissensis; that of Gruner, Leipsic, 1747; and that of Arevalus, Rome, 1794.

DRACONTIUS.

There have been about fifteen editions. The Princeps, which contained several other works of early Christian poets, was published in Paris in 1560: the best are those of Carpsov, Helmstadt, 1794, and of Arevalus, Rome, 1791.

ARATOR.

The best editions are :—The Princeps, the same with that of Juvencus; the Aldine, of 1501; that of Basle, 1537; and that of Fabricius, which is extremely convenient for all the Christian Poets, Basle, 1564.

THE PRINCIPAL HYMNOLOGIES, &c., ARE THE FOLLOWING.

1. Hymni de Tempore et de Sanctis. Ed. Joannes Wimphelingus. Argentorat. 1519.
2. Sequentiarum luculenta Expositio. Per Joannem Adelphum. Argentorat. 1519.
3. Hymni et Sequentiæ cum diligenti interpretatione. Ed. Hermannus Torrentinus. Colonia, 1513, 1536.
4. Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum. Auctore Jodoco Clichtovæo. Parisiis, 1515, 1556. Basil. 1517, 1519. Venet. 1555. Colon. 1732. The first part contains an exposition of the Hymns; the second, of the Sequences.
5. Hymnarium. [Inter opera Cardin. Thomasii. Tom. 2. Ed. Vezzosi. 1747.]
6. Anthologie Christlicher Gesänge. Von A. J. Rambach. Altona, 1817.
7. Thesaurus Hymnologicus. Ed. H. A. Daniel. The first part, Halle, 1841, contains the Hymns; the second, Leipsic, 1844, the Sequences.

In England there have appeared—

1. Hymni Ecclesiæ, e Breviario Parisiensi. [Ed. J. H. Newman.] Oxon. 1838.
2. Hymni Ecclesiæ, e Breviario Romano, &c. [Ed. J. H. Newman.] Oxon. 1838. This latter is nearly valueless, as containing the modernised Roman forms.
3. Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly lyrical, with notes, &c. By R. C. Trench. London, 1849.
4. Hymnale secundum usum insignis et præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. [Ed. C. Marriott.] Littlemore, 1850.
5. Hymni ex Breviariis Gallicanis, Germanis, Hispanis, Lusitanis, desumpti. Ed. Joann. M. Neale. Oxon. 1850.
6. Hymnarium Sarisburiense. Cum rubricis, notis musicis, variis lectionibus. Londini: Darling: 1851. [The first part only yet published.]
7. Sequentiæ ex Missalibus Germanicis, Gallicis, Anglicis, aliisque mediæ ævi collectæ. Ed. Joann. M. Neale. Londini: J. W. Parker: 1852. [Contains a collection of 120 Sequences not given by Daniel.]

The Hymns cited from the *Hymnal Noted* are, by the kind permission of Mr. Novello, the publisher, taken from these works, published under the sanction of the Ecclesiological Society.

1. A Hymnal Noted; Or Translations of the Ancient Hymns of the Church, set to their proper melodies. Edited by the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., and the Rev. Thomas Helmore, M.A.
2. Accompanying Harmonies to the Hymnal Noted. By the Rev. T. Helmore, M.A.
3. The Words of the Hymnal, in a separate form.

Those quoted from the author's translations of Mediæval Hymns are so taken by permission of the publisher, Mr. Masters.

APPENDIX.

ON THE MEASURES EMPLOYED BY MEDIÆVAL POETS.

As a conclusion to the foregoing article, it seems desirable to give a short and tabular view of the metres which the ecclesiastical writers of the middle ages most commonly employed. The *Labyrinthus* of Eberhard is a store-house of information on the subject. Sir Alexander Croke, in his essay on rhyming Latin poetry, has availed himself largely of that work. He is very meagre, however, in his account of every measure except hexameters and pentameters.

I. HEXAMETERS.

1. Without rhyme :

Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi,
Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai.

2. *Leonine* (so called either from their kingly superiority to all other kinds, or from Leonius, a monk of S. Victor's, at Marseilles, about 1135) :

Si veluti quondam scriptor vel scripta placerent
In nova dicendo multi, velut ante, studerent.
Sed sic sub vitio cunctorum corda tenentur
Ut sic qui scribant, quasi delirare videntur.

A variety of this is—

(1.) The double *Leonine* :

Quod mea verba monent, tu noli credere vento :
Cordis in aure sonent, et sic retinere memento.

(2.) The reciprocal *Leonine* :

Lux hypergæi studiosa ministra dici
Aufert lumen ei, spatium quoque dat requiei.

3. *Cristati* :

Quàm nimis insanus præses fuerit Dacianus,
Ex scelerum gestis illius scire potestis.
Hic apud Hispanos ritus recolendo profanos
Jusserat inquiri si forte queant reperiri
Qui Christum credant, nec ab hoc errore recedant :
Hos graviter plecti præceperat, aut cito flecti.

These verses are almost always metrical, although the last syllable of the medial rhyme is considered to be lengthened by position : as—

Cælorum, Christe, placeat tibi Rex sonus iste.
Inquit : Digesta per te mihi sunt inhonesta.
Nec fari digna, cum sint portenta maligna.

The general rule is that the second foot must be either a spondee, or, if a dactyl, must end its second syllable with a word : *e.g.*—

Nos simul absque | malis sociaret tæda jugalis.

Else we get a rhyme which is merely so to the eye : as—

Nescio quo raperis, vel quâ levitate moveris.
Attonitus super his quæ lingua minet mulieris.

Varieties of *Cristati* were—

- (1.) *Cornuti*—where the final rhyme was on two words :

Clam lacerat cæcos, bona limat, ut invidiæ cos.

- (2.) *Inversi*—where the medial rhyme falls in the middle of a word :

Carmina jam marce|re vides : fesso mihi parce.

- (3.) *Cristati* of one rhyme :

Est quadrupes Panther, quo nunquam pulchrior alter,
Qui niger ex albo conspergitur orbiculato :
Diversis pastus venatibus et satiatus
Se capit, atque cavo dormit prostratus in antro.

- (4.) *Epanaleptici* :

Hic docet, hic discit, fugat hic, fugit ille fugantem,
Hic natat, hic nantem capit, undique terra dehiscit.

4. *Trilices*, and these of several kinds.

- (1.) *Trilices cristati* :

Pelle ferum | contemne merum | Dominum cole verum.

- (2.) *Trilices leonini* :

a. With cæsure :

Stella maris, quæ sola paris sine conjuge prolem,
Justitiæ clarum specie super omnia solem :
Gemma decens, rosa nata recens perfecta decore,
Mella cavis inclusa favis mutata sapore.

β. Without cæsure, and that

- (α.) Spondaic :

O miseratrix, O dominatrix, præcipe dictu,
Ne devoremur, ne lapidemur, grandinis ictu.

(β.) Dactylic, one of the loveliest of mediæval measures :

Stant Syon atria conjubilantia, martyre plena,
 Cive micantia, Principe stantia, luce serena :
 Est ibi pascua mitibus afflua, præstita sanctis,
 Regis ibi thronus, agminis et sonus est epulantis.
 Gens duce splendida, concio candida vestibus albis,
 Sunt sine fletibus in Syon ædibus, ædibus almis :
 Sunt sine crimine, sunt sine turbine, sunt sine lite
 In Syon ædibus editioribus Israelitæ.

II. HEXAMETER AND PENTAMETER.

1. Without rhyme :

Verum quis poterit exponere sufficienter
 Quas laudes dederunt plebs proceresque Deo ?
 Virtutes etiam Machometis ad astra levabant
 Quod sibi par hominum nullus in orbe fuit.

2. *Cristati*, with single rhyme :

Fit novus in Christo ter mersus gurgite vivo
 De quo, Sum vivus fons, ait ille pius.
 Os terit obliquum per verba precantia Christum,
 Quod Christus petra sit, litera sæpe tulit.

3. *Cristati*, with double rhyme :

Sicut ad ima redit quicquid locus infimus edit,
 Et liber finis non valet esse cinis,
 Sic res e sursum vernens petit æthera rursum,
 Ut semper maneat quod Deus ipse creat.

4. *Leonines* :

Et fuit ex auro Thares fabricator eorum,
 Cum quibus instituit Rex Ninevita forum.

5. *Double Leonines* :

Si tibi grata seges est morum, gratus haberis ;
 Si virtutis eges, despiciendus eris.

6. *Inverted Leonines* :

Hæc bene qui quærit fugiat solatia mundi :
 Finis jucundi tum sibi certus erit.

7. Two hexameters, and a pentameter, *Leonine* :

Denarios triginta Deo quos inde tulerunt,
 In gazam templi, Jesu mandante, dederunt ;
 Quos Judam pretio posthabuisse ferunt.

8. Two hexameters, *Leonine* : a pentameter, *cristatus* :

Tunc in eâ cryptâ tria sunt hæc dona relictæ :
 Aurum, thus, myrrha, vestisque Dei benedicta :
 Pastores veniunt, ipsaque dona vehunt.

And this list might easily be extended.

III. SAPPHICS.

1. Metrical :

Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit et quietus :
Vita dum præsens vegetavit ejus
Corporis artus.

2. Accentual, with rhyme: there are many varieties, the most usual is this:

Festum insigne præsulis amati
Colimus digne : Sanctæ Trinitati
Solvere vota surgimus in totâ
Devotione.
Festo præsentî sancto confessore
Sumus intenti : gaudia canore
Carmine damus : tibi jubilamus
Petitione.

3. Accentual, without rhyme :

Dicentes regi, Domine, quid facis ?
Contra teipsum malum operaris
Cum Rodericum sublimari sinis ;
Displicet nobis.

4. A more extraordinary measure is the Sapphic with a redundant syllable, which is by some considered a trimeter Iambic, followed by an Adonic :

Gloriam Deo in excelsis hodie
Cœlestis primum cecinit exercitus :
Pax Angelorum et in terrâ vocibus
Vera descendit.

IV. CHORIAMBICS.

1. Quasi-metrical :

Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia
Pangamus socii gestaque fortia :
Nam gliscit animus promere cantibus
Victorum genus optimum.

2. Accentual:

Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia,
Et ex præcordiis sonent præconia ;
Recedant vetera ; nova sint omnia,
Corda, voces, et opera.

V. IAMBICS.

The following are the chief measures out of an almost innumerable variety :—

1. *Dimeter catalectic.*

(1.) Without rhyme, but metrical :

Fac cum, vocante somno,
Castum petis cubile,
Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet.

- (2.) Without rhyme or metre, but simply syllabic :

Nam tempus illud hoc est
 Quod Jeremias dicit
 Surgendum esse nobis
 Primordio in noctis.

- (3.) With rhyme :

O mira lex vivendi !
 De casu moriendi
 Vis oritur nascendi.
 Jerusalem, exulta !

2. *Dimeter.*

- (1.) Without rhyme :

Alvus tumescit Virginis,
 Claustрум pudoris permanet,
 Vexilla virtutum micant,
 Versatur in templo Deus.

- (2.) Without rhyme or metre, but simply syllabic :

Medio noctis tempore
 Pergens vastator Angelus
 Egypto mortem inferens
 Delevit primogenita.

- (3.) With assonant rhymes :

Vexilla Regis prodeunt :
 Fulget Crucis mysterium :
 Quo carne carnis conditor
 Suspensus est patibulo.

- (4.) With consonant rhymes :

Chorus novæ Jerusalem
 Novam meli dulcedinem
 Promat, colens cum sobriis
 Paschale festum gaudiis.

- (5.) With triple rhymes :

Hoc ut præstamus, Domine,
 Præsta in tuo nomine,
 Sine quo labor deficit,
 Qui nihil digne efficit.

- (6.) With alternate rhymes :

Lauda, Mater Ecclesia,
 Lauda Christi clementiam,
 Qui septem purgat vitia
 Per septiformem gratiam.

- (7.) Stanzas of six lines :

Veni, veni, Emmanuel,
 Captivum solve Israel
 Qui gemit in exilio
 Privatus Dei Filio :
 Gaude, gaude, Emmanuel
 Nascetur pro te, Israel !

(8.) Stanzas of two lines :

Puer natus in Bethlehem,
Unde gaudet Jerusalem.

(9.) Stanzas of six lines, alternately Iambic dimeter and Trochaic dimeter catalectic :

Paschalis festi gaudium
Mundi replet ambitum :
Cælum, tellus, et maria
Læta promant carmina :
Et Alleluia consonis
Modulentur organis.

It is to be observed that, after the XIIth century, the rhymes of dimeter Iambics are generally double,—it being considered sufficient that the first rhyme should be assonant, even where the second was strictly consonant : *e. g.*—

Ortu lucis jam proximo
Hymnum dicamus Domino,
Apostolis condebitam
Ferentes reverentiam.

As the great majority of the Hymns of the Church are written in dimeter Iambics, it may be useful to lay down a few plain rules for ascertaining their age. There will, of course, be exceptions ; and beyond everything, a certain kind of tact is necessary in determining the date of such compositions ; but the following rules, so far as they go, will be found of very general application :—

1. If the Hymn, evidently not *renaissance*, be metrical, and without rhyme, or nearly corresponding to these conditions, it is earlier than the time of S. Gregory the Great.

2. If it be without rhyme, but not metrical, it will probably be of Gotho-Hispanic origin, and before the VIIIth century. The ruder the accentuation, the more probable this becomes ; and if there be any instances of the use of the ablative for the accusative, as *Intrare sanctâ regiâ* for *Intrare sanctam regiam*, it is absolutely certain.

3. A Hymn with alternate rhymes, though such do occur as early as the Xth century, is probably not earlier than the XIIIth or XIVth.

4. Hymns that conclude each verse with the first line of some well-known Hymn are scarcely earlier than the XVth century.

5. Hymns which rhyme assonantly are probably earlier than the XIth century, and the greater striving after assonance the later the Hymn.

6. Hymns which rhyme consonantly, and with double rhymes, are not later than the XIIIth century.

We proceed :—

(10.) Iambic trimeter brachycatalectic :

Sancti venite, corpus Christi sumite,
Sanctum bibentes, quo redempti, sanguinem.

(11.) Iambic trimeter :

Aurê luce et decore roseo
Lux lucis omne perfudisti sæculum,
Decorans cœlos inelyto martyrio
Hâc sacrâ die, quæ dat reis veniam.

This stanza, as consisting of twelve syllables, is almost confined to the Festivals of the Apostles.

(12.) Iambic tetrameter catalectic.

This is scarcely found earlier than the XVIth century, and generally with triple assonant medial rhymes :

Morosus es et *tetricus* morborum cinctus choro?
 Ægrotus tecum *medicus* decumbit Crucis thoro :
 Non est a Christi *vertice* ad plantam pedis vena
 Quam non per te, O *perdite*, major affligit pœna.

VI. TROCHAICS.

These show mediæval Latin in its full power : it is impossible to do more than give a list of the most common metres.

1. *Tetrameter catalectic.*

(1.) Without rhyme :

Hymnus dicat turba fratrum, hymnus cantus personat
 Christo Regi concinentes laudes demus debitas.

(2.) With final rhyme :

Gravi me terrore pulsas, vitæ dies ultima :
 Mœret cor, solvuntur renes, læsa tremunt viscera,
 Tuam speciem dum sibi mens depingit anxia.

(3.) With medial and final rhyme :

Gaude felix Agrippina sanctaque Colonia,
 Sanctitatis tuæ bina gerens testimonia.

(4.) With cristate and final rhyme :

Fide, voto, corde toto adhæserunt Domino :
 Et invicti sunt addicti atroci martyrio.

2. *Various combinations of dimeter and dimeter catalectic.*

(1.) Hexacole.

a. Terminal rhyme :

Hic præcursor et Propheta,
 Immo Prophetarum meta,
 Legi ponens terminum :
 Mire cœpit per applausum
 Ventre matris clausus clausum
 Revelando Dominum.

β. Medial rhyme :

Felix Anna, ex te manna
 Mundo datur, quo pascatur
 In deserto populus.
 Hoc dulcore, hoc sapore
 Sustentatur, procreatur,
 Ex manna vermiculus.

γ. Inverted :

Hortum Regis gloriæ
 Celebris memoriæ
 Es ingressa, Dorothea.
 Bene tecum agitur ;
 Jesus tecum loquitur ;
 Veni, veni, sponsa mea.

(2.) Octacole.

α. Three rhymes :

Vox clarescat, mens purgetur,
 Homo totus emuletur,
 Dulci voce conformetur
 Pura conscientia :
 Patri, Proli, jubilemus :
 Pneuma sanctum prædicemus :
 Unam laudem tribus demus
 Quos unit essentia.

β. Two rhymes :

Mitis Agnus immolatur :
 Pro captivo liber datur :
 Stola Verbi purpuratur
 In Crucis altario :
 Paradisus reseratur :
 Nato stola prima datur :
 Annulatus calcitratur
 In Patris convivio.

(3.) Decacole.

α. With three rhymes :

Bona pastor, panis vere,
 Jesu, nostri miserere :
 Tu nos pasce, nos tuere,
 Tu nos bona fac videre
 In terrâ viventium.
 Tu qui cuncta scis et vales,
 Qui nos pascis hic mortales,
 Tuos ibi commensales
 Cohæredes et sodales
 Fac sanctorum civium.

β. With two rhymes :

Christi tractus in odore,
 Christi languens in amore,
 Vires sumens ex languore,
 Corde, votis, factis, ore,
 Quem amabat coluit.
 Hic nec minis nec timore
 Mortis fractus, nec labore,
 Idolorum ab errore,
 Multo quidem cum sudore,
 Gentem suam eruit.

These metres most frequently occur in sequences; and are there frequently varied, as in other ways, so more especially by the insertion of two Iambic trimeter brachycatalectic lines; thus:

Servi crucis crucem laudent
Per quam crucem sibi gaudent
Vitæ dari munera :
Dicant omnes et dicant singuli,
Ave, salus totius sæculi,
Arbor salutifera.

It is also to be observed that, in almost all examples of these metres, the rhymes which seem single are, at least assonantly, double,—as we observed above regarding Iambics.

3. *Various combinations of Trochaic dimeter catalectic.*

(1.) Rhymes consequent :

Ergo pro justitiâ
Coronatur gloriâ :
Et lætandum potius :
Sed tamen non possumus.

(2.) Rhymes alternate :

Elementa vicibus
Qualitates variant,
Dum nunc pigra nivibus
Nunc calorem induant.

(3.) Hexacoles :

- a.* Novi partus gaudium
Sonet vox fidelium,
Quo lumen de lumine,
Prodiens de Virgine,
Purgat Adæ vitium
Veteri caligine.
- β.* Mane primâ Sabbati
Surgens Filius Dei,
Nostra spes et gloria,
Victo rege sceleris,
Rediit ab inferis
Summâ cum victoriâ.

(4.) Heptacoles :

- a.* Mundi renovatio
Nova parit gaudia :
Resurgente Domino
Conresurgunt omnia :
Elementa serviunt,
Et auctoris sentiunt
Quanta sint solemnia.
- β.* Tempore sub gratiæ,
Nondum plenâ facie,
Roma fide claruit :
Sed errori patuit
Ab imperatoribus,
Et horum erroribus
Profanata languit.

4. *Various combinations of Trochaic dimeter catalectic, and Trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic.*

(1.) The following is the most usual and most beautiful of these :

Cœnam cum discipulis, Christe, celebrâsti :
Et mortem Apostolis palam munciâsti :
Et auctorem sceleris Judam demonstrâsti :
Et egressus protinus hortulum intrâsti.

In narrative poems the medial rhyme is generally dropped :

Crucem ferre Simoni sciens nil prodesse,
De vi votum efficit, velle de necesse :
Pressum palam cruciant cruces clam impressæ,
Palam et clam studuit crucis cultor esse.

The pause at the end of the seventh foot is almost always rigorously observed ; the violation of the rule produces a very inharmonious effect ; as—

Horâ matutinâ Ma|rîæ nunciatur
Quod Jesus a Judæis falsis captivatur.

A very extraordinary variety of this measure is that which employs a hexameter as the fourth line :

Procuret Omnipotens sibi successorem,
Saltem sibi similem, nollem meliorem,
Qui tollat Bretonibus antiquum dolorem,
Et sibi restituat propriam propriæque decorem.

(2.) Stanzas such as the following occur in almost innumerable varieties :

Dies est lætitiæ
In ortu regali,
Nam processit hodie
Ventre virginali
Puer admirabilis,
Totus delectabilis
In divinitate,
Qui inestimabilis
Est et ineffabilis
In humanitate.

To attempt to particularise these would be utterly beyond our present limits.

5. *Trochaic dimeter.*

(1.) Couplets :

Nocte quâdam viâ fessus,
Torum premens somno pressus
In obscuro noctis densæ
Templum vidi Patavense.

(2.) Triplets :

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæclum in favillâ,
Teste David cum Sibyllâ.

6. *Trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic.*

(1.) Without rhyme :

Ave, maris stella,
Dei Mater alma,
Atque semper Virgo,
Felix cæli porta.

(2.) With rhyme :

Ave Katherina,
Martyr et Regina,
Virgo Deo digna,
Mitis et benigna.

VII. DACTYRICS.

1. — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —

Cur mundus militat sub vanâ gloriâ
Cujus prosperitas est transitoria?
Tam cito labitur ejus potentia
Quam vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.

It may be doubted, in many cases, whether such lines were intended to be read as tetrameter Dactyls, or trimeter Iambics :

Nam ipsi præsules, virtute tepidi,
Saluti gentium custodes positi,
Cum docere debent, fiunt discipuli,
Cum pastores essent, sunt mercenarii.

2. — — | — — — | — — | — — —

Tuba Domini, Paule, maxima,
De cœlestibus dans tonitrua,
Hostes dissipans, cives aggrega.

3. — — | — — | — — — | — — —

Rorant nubes misericordiâ,
Pluunt nubes, stillat justitia.

4. *Tetrameter catalectic.*

Germine nobilis Eulalia,
Mortis et indole nobilior,
Emeritam sacra Virgo suam
Ossibus ornat, amore colit.

VIII. ANAPÆSTS.

1. *Tetrameter catalectic.*

(1.) Without rhyme :

Deus, ignee fons animarum,
Duo qui socios elementa,
Vivum simul ac moribundum
Hominem, Pater, effigiasti.

(2.) With rhyme :

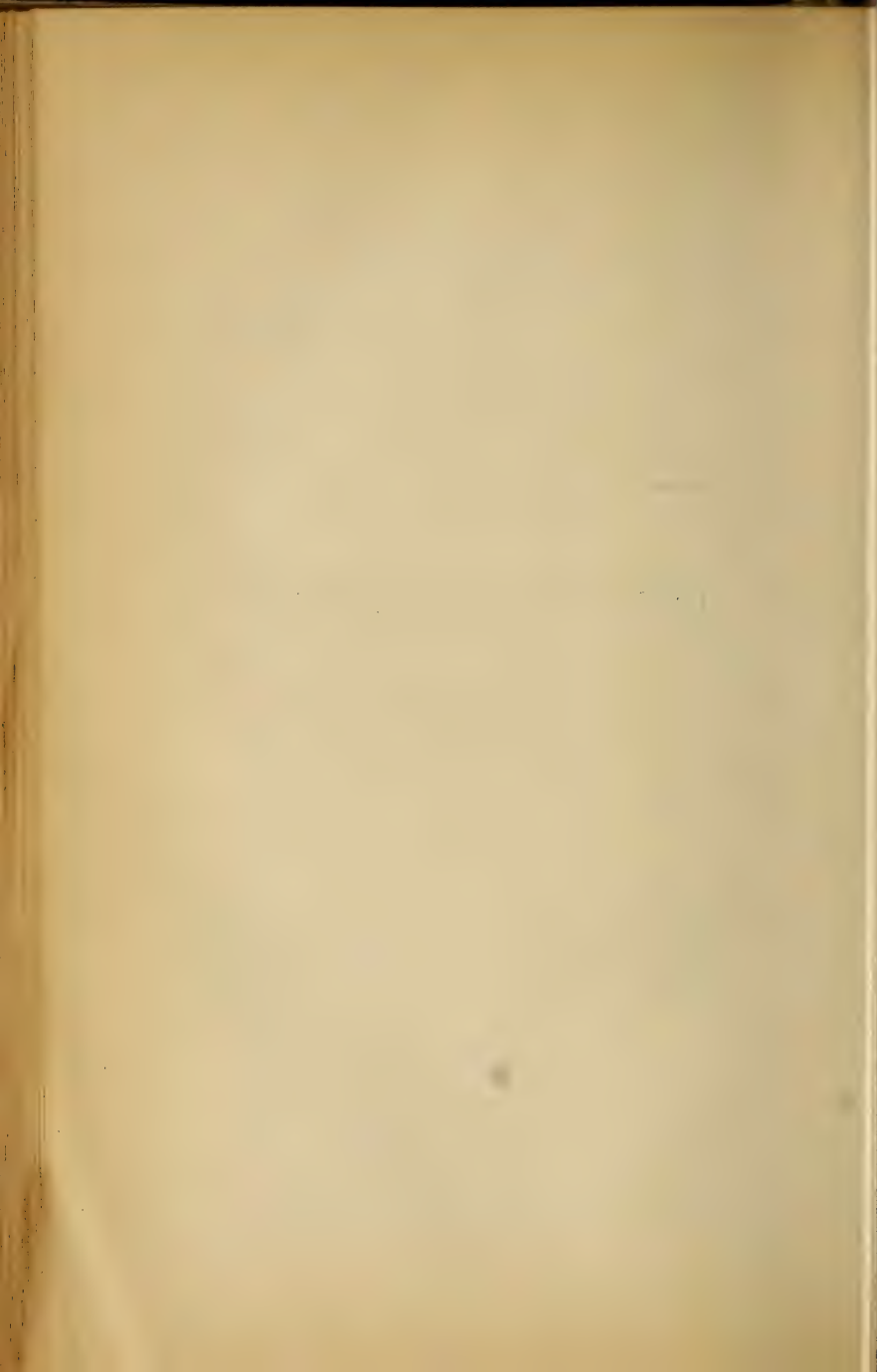
Quo more vulgaris urtica
Jacet hæc quoque regia spica ;
Ut bulla defluxit aquosa
Subsedit, ut vespere rosa.

2. Irregular :

Adeste fideles,
Læti, triumphantes,
Venite, venite, in Bethlehem.
Natum videte
Regem Angelorum.
Venite adoremus, venite adoremus,
Venite adoremus Dominum.

The above may suffice as a very meagre sketch of the principal varieties of mediæval rhythm : a complete list would far exceed the space to which the limits of an Encyclopædia necessarily confine us.

LATIN PROSE WRITERS.



CICERO.

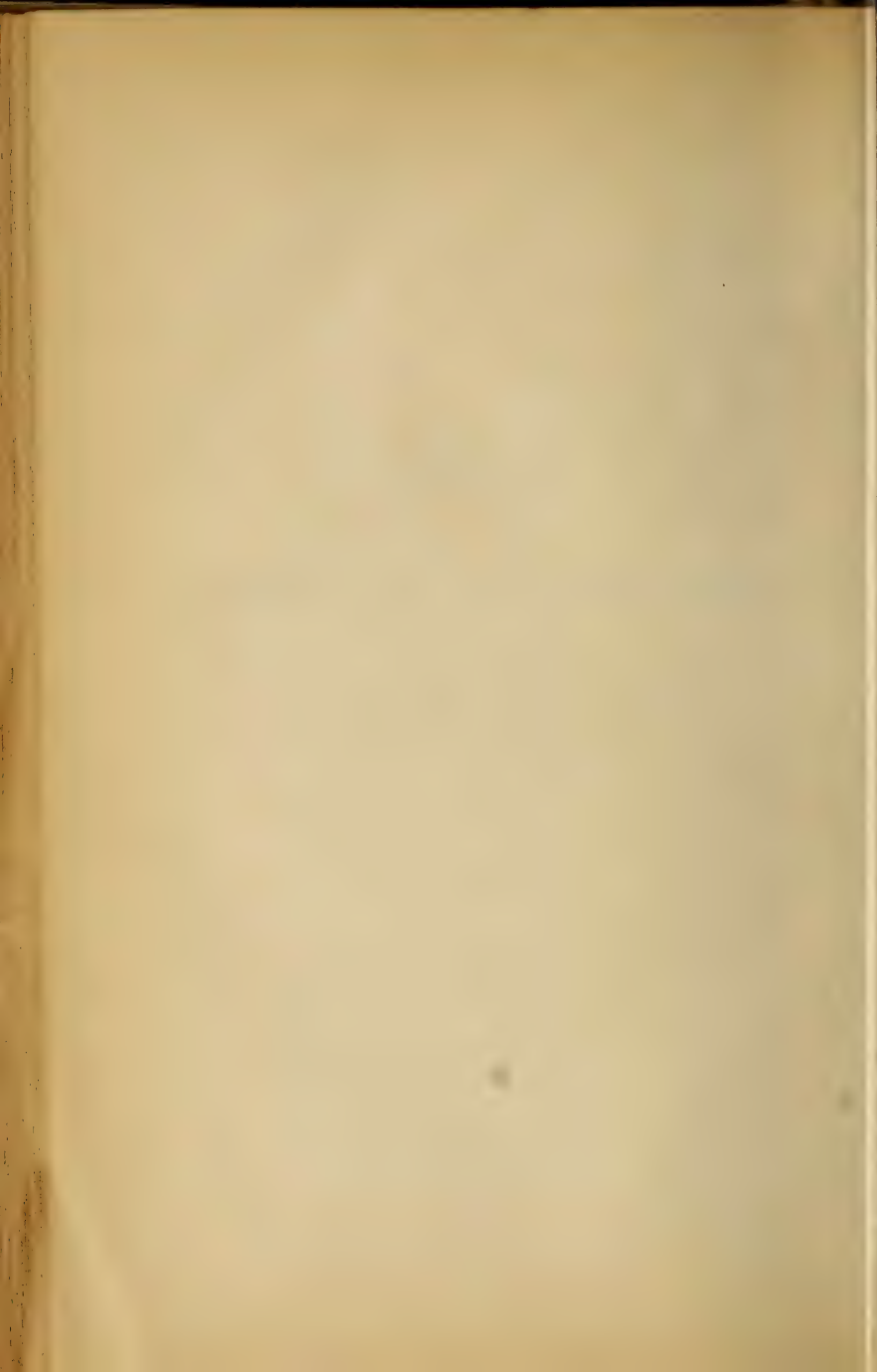


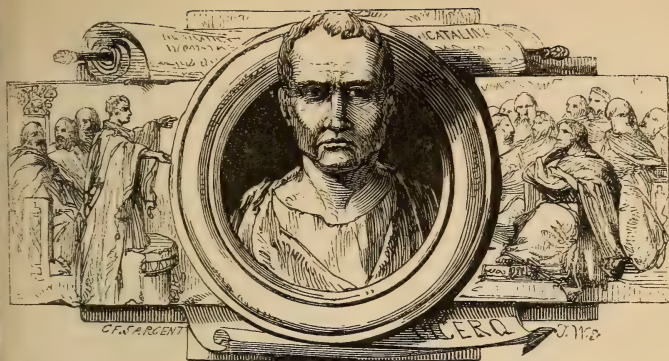
ROMAN PHILOSOPHY AND ORATORY.

BY

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE OXFORD.





MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

FROM U. C. 647 TO 711 ; A. C. 107 TO 43.

WE now turn to consider the political character, oratorical talents, and philosophical writings of one who has already come before us in our poetical division.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum, the native place of Marius,¹ in the year of Rome 647, (A.C. 107,) the same year which gave birth to the Great Pompey. His family was ancient and of Equestrian rank, but had never taken part in the public affairs of Rome,² though both his father and grandfather were persons of consideration in the part of Italy to which they belonged.³ His father, being himself a man of cultivated mind, determined to give his two sons the advantage of a liberal education, and to fit them for the prospect of those public employments which a feeble constitution incapacitated himself from undertaking. Marcus, the elder of the two, soon displayed indications of a superior intellect, and we are told that his schoolfellows carried home such accounts of his talents, that their parents often visited the school for the sake of seeing a youth who gave such promise of future eminence.⁴ One of his earliest masters was the poet Archias, whom he defended afterwards in his Consular year; under his instructions he made such progress as to compose a poem, though yet a boy, on the

Birth and
education.

¹ De Legg. ii. 3.

³ De Legg. ii. 1, 3, 16; de Orat. ii. 66.

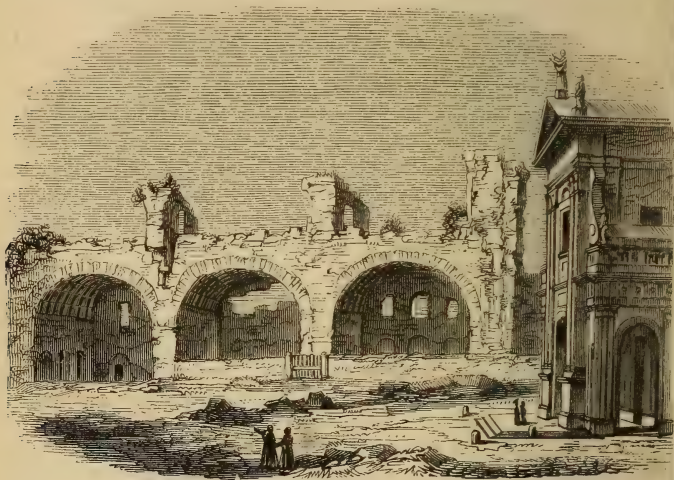
² Contra Rull. ii. 1.

⁴ Plutarch, in Vitâ.

fable of Glaucus, which had formed the subject of one of the tragedies of Æschylus. Soon after he assumed the manly gown, he was placed under the care of Scævola the celebrated lawyer, whom he introduces so beautifully into several of his philosophical dialogues ; and in no long time he gained a thorough knowledge of the laws and political institutions of his country.¹

This was about the time of the Social war ; and, according to the Roman custom, which made it a necessary part of education to learn the military art by personal service, Cicero took the opportunity of serving a campaign under the Consul Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great. Returning to pursuits more congenial to his natural taste, he commenced the study of Philosophy under Philo the Academic, of whom we shall speak more particularly hereafter.² But his chief attention was reserved for Oratory, to which he applied himself with the assistance of Molo, the first rhetorician of the day ; while Diodotus the Stoic exercised him in the argumentative subtleties for which the disciples of Zeno were so celebrated. At the same time he declaimed daily in Greek and Latin with some young noblemen who were competitors in the same race of honours with himself.

Early
campaign.
U. C. 664.
A. C. 89.



Temple of Peace.

Of the two professions,³ which, from the existence of external and internal disputes, are inseparable alike from all forms of

¹ Middleton's Life, vol. i. p. 13, 4to ; de Clar. Orat. 89.

² Ibid.

³ Pro Muræna, 14 ; de Orat. i. 9.

government, while that of arms, by its splendour and importance, secures the almost undivided admiration of a rising and uncivilised people, legal practice, on the other hand, becomes the path to honours in later and more civilised ages, from the oratorical accomplishments by which it is usually attended. The date of Cicero's birth fell precisely during that intermediate state of things, in which the exclusive glory of military exploits was prejudiced by the very opulence and luxury which they had been the means of procuring; he was the first Roman who found his way to the highest dignities of the State with no other recommendation than his powers of eloquence, and his merits as a civil magistrate.¹

Cicero.
Choice of
profession.

The first cause of importance he undertook was his defence of Roscius Amerinus; in which he distinguished himself by his spirited opposition to Sylla, whose favourite Chrysogonus was prosecutor in the action. This obliging him, according to Plutarch, to leave Rome on prudential motives, he employed his time in travelling for two years under pretence of his health, which, he tells us,² was as yet unequal to the exertion of pleading. At Athens he met with T. Pomponius Atticus, whom he had formerly known at school, and there renewed with him a friendship which lasted through life, in spite of the change of interests and estrangements of affection so commonly attendant on turbulent times.³ Here too he attended the lectures of Antiochus, who, under the name of Academic, taught the dogmatic doctrines of Plato and the Stoics. Though Cicero evinced at first considerable dislike of his philosophical views,⁴ he seems afterwards to have adopted the sentiments of the Old Academy, which they much resembled; and not till late in life to have relapsed into the sceptical tenets of his former instructor Philo.⁵ After visiting the principal philosophers and rhetoricians of Asia, in his thirtieth year he returned to Rome, so strengthened and improved both in bodily and mental powers, that he soon eclipsed in speaking all his competitors for public favour. So popular a talent speedily gained him the suffrage of the Commons; and, being sent to Sicily as Quæstor, at a time when the metropolis itself was visited with a scarcity of corn, he acquitted himself in that delicate situation with such address, as to supply the clamorous wants of the people without oppressing the province from which the provisions were raised.⁶ Returning thence with greater honours than had ever been before decreed to a Roman Governor, he ingratiated himself still farther in the esteem of the Sicilians, by undertaking his celebrated prosecution of Verres;

Defence of
Roscius
Amerinus
his first
cause.

His travels.

Returns to
Rome.
v. c. 677.
A. C. 77.

Quæstor of
Sicily.

Prosecution
of Verres.

¹ In Catil. iii. 6; in Pis. 3; pro Sylla, 30; pro Dom. 37; de Harusp. resp. 23; ad. Fam. xv. 4.

² De Clar. Orat. 91.

³ Middleton's Life, vol. i. p. 42, 4to.

⁴ Plutarch, in Vitâ.

⁵ Warburton, Div. Leg. lib. iii. sec. 3; and Vossius, de Nat. Logic. c. viii. sec. 22.

⁶ Pro Planc. 26; in Ver. v. 14.

Cicero.

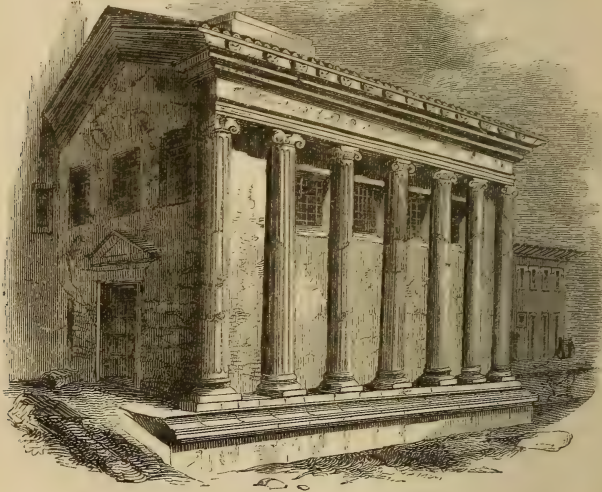
who, though defended by the influence of the Metelli and the eloquence of Hortensius, was at length driven in despair into voluntary exile.

Ædile.

Five years after his Quæstorship, Cicero was elected Ædile, a post of considerable expense from the exhibition of games connected with it.¹ In this magistracy he conducted himself with singular propriety;² for, it being customary to court the people by a display of splendour in these official shows, he contrived to retain his popularity without submitting to the usual alternative of plundering the provinces or sacrificing his private fortune. The latter was at this time by no means ample; but, with the good sense and taste which mark his character, he preserved in his domestic arrangements the dignity of a literary and public man, without any of the ostentation of magnificence which often distinguishes the candidate for popular applause.³

Prætor.

After the customary interval of two years, he was returned at the head of the list as Prætor;⁴ and now made his first appearance



Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

in the rostrum in support of the Mamilian law, which will be found in the volume of this Encyclopædia containing the public history of Rome. About the same time he defended Cluentius.

¹ Pro Planc. 26; in Verr. v. 14.

³ Pro Dom. 58.

² De Offic. ii. 17; Middleton.

⁴ In Pis. 1.

At the expiration of his Prætorship, he refused to accept a foreign province, the usual reward of that magistracy;¹ but, having the Consulate full in view, and relying on his interest with Cæsar and Pompey, he allowed nothing to divert him from that career of glory for which he now believed himself to be destined.

It may be doubted, indeed, whether any individual ever rose to power by more virtuous and truly honourable conduct; the integrity of his public life was only equalled by the correctness of his private morals; and it may at first sight excite our wonder, that a course so splendidly begun should afterwards so little fulfil its early promise. We have, in our memoir of Cæsar, contained in the volume above cited, traced his course from the period of his Consulate to his Prætorship in Cilicia, and found each year diminish his influence in public affairs, till it expired altogether with the death of Pompey. This surprise, however, arises in no small degree from measuring Cicero's political importance by his present reputation, and confounding the authority he deservedly possesses as an *author*, with the opinions entertained of him by his contemporaries as a *statesman*. From the consequence usually attached to passing events, a politician's celebrity is often at its zenith in his own generation; while the author, who is in the highest repute with posterity, may perhaps have been little valued or courted in his own day. Virtue indeed so conspicuous as that of Cicero, studies so dignified, and oratorical powers so commanding, will always invest their possessor with a large portion of reputation and authority; and this is nowhere more apparent than in the enthusiastic joy displayed on his return from exile. But unless other qualities be added, more peculiarly necessary for a statesman, they will hardly of themselves carry that weight of political consequence which some writers have attached to Cicero's public life, and which his own self-love led him to appropriate.

The advice of the Oracle,² which had directed him to make his own genius, not the opinion of the people, his guide to immortality, (which in fact pointed at the above-mentioned distinction between the fame of a statesman and of an author,) at first made a deep impression on his mind; and at the present day he owes his reputation principally to those pursuits which, as Plutarch tells us, exposed him to the ridicule and even to the contempt of his contemporaries as "a pedant and a trifler."³ But his love of popularity overcame his philosophy, and he commenced a career which gained him one triumph and ten thousand mortifications.

It is not indeed to be doubted that in his political course he was considerably influenced by a sense of duty. To many it may even appear that a public life was best adapted for the display of

Cicero.

Different estimates of Cicero by his contemporaries and by posterity.

¹ Pro Muræná, 20.

² Plutarch, in Vitâ.

³ Γραϊκὸς καὶ σχολαστικός. Plutarch, in Vitâ.

Cicero.

his particular talents ; that, at the termination of the Mithridatic war, Cicero was in fact marked out as the very individual to adjust the pretensions of the rival parties in the Commonwealth, to withstand the encroachments of Pompey, and to baffle the arts of Cæsar. And if the power of swaying and controlling the popular assemblies by his eloquence ; if the circumstances of his rank, Equestrian as far as family was concerned, yet almost Patrician from the splendour of his personal honours ; if the popularity derived from his accusation of Verres, and defence of Cornelius, and the favour of the Senate acquired by the brilliant services of his Consulate ; if the general respect of all parties which his learning and virtue commanded ; if these were sufficient qualifications for a mediator between contending factions, Cicero was indeed called upon by the voice of his country to that most arduous and honourable post. And in his Consulate he had seemed sensible of the call : “ *Ita est à me Consolatus peractus,*” he declares in his speech against Piso, “ *ut nihil sine consilio Senatûs, nihil non approbante populo Romano egerim ; ut semper in Rostris Curiam, in Senatu Populum defenderim ; ut multitudinem cum Principibus, Equestrem ordinem cum Senatu conjunxerim.*”¹

His
Consulate.
U. C. 690.
A. C. 63.

Want of
political
firmness.

Yet, after that eventful period, we see him resigning his high station to Cato, who, with half his abilities, little foresight, and no address,² possessed that first requisite for a statesman, firmness. Cicero, on the contrary, was irresolute, timid, and inconsistent.³ He talked indeed largely of preserving a middle course,⁴ but he was continually vacillating from one to the other extreme ; always too confident or too dejected ; incorrigibly vain of success, yet meanly panegyricizing the government of an usurper. His foresight, sagacity, practical good sense, and singular tact, were lost for want of that strength of mind which points them steadily to one object. He was never decided, never (as has sometimes been observed) took an important step without afterwards repenting of it. Nor can we account for the firmness and resolution of his Consulate, unless we discriminate between the case of resisting and exposing a faction, and that of balancing contending interests. Vigour in repression differs widely from steadiness in meditation ; the latter requiring a coolness of judgment, which a direct attack upon a public foe is so far from implying, that it even inspires minds naturally timid with unusual ardour.

¹ [“ I have, throughout my consulship, so acted, that I have done nothing without the advice of the Senate—nothing without the approval of the Roman people ; that I have ever defended the Senate in the rostrum, the people in the Senate house ; that I have ever associated the populace with the nobles, the equestrian order with the Senate.”—*Editor.*]

² Ad Atticum, i. 18., ii. 1.

³ See Montesquieu, *Grandeur des Romains*, ch. xii.

⁴ Ad Atticum, i. 19.

Cicero.



Pompey the Great.

His Consulate was succeeded by the return of Pompey from the east, and the establishment of the First Triumvirate; which, disappointing his hopes of political greatness, induced him to resume his forensic and literary occupations. From these he was recalled, after an interval of four years, by the threatening measures of Clodius, who at length succeeded in driving him into exile. This event, which, considering the circumstances connected with it, was one of the most glorious of his life, filled him with the utmost distress and despondency. He wandered about Greece bemoaning his miserable fortune, refusing the consolations which his friends attempted to administer, and shunning the public honours with which the Greek cities were eager to load him.¹ His

First
Triumvirate.
U. C. 694.
A. C. 60.

His exile
and return.
U. C. 696.
A. C. 58.

¹ Ad Atticum, lib. iii.; ad Fam. lib. xiv.; pro Sext. 22; pro Dom. 36; Plutarch, in Vitâ. It is curious to observe how he converts the alleviating circumstances of his case into exaggerations of his misfortune: he writes to Atticus: "Nam quod me tam sæpe et tam vehementer objurgas, et animo infirmo esse dicis, quæso ecquod tantum malum est quod in meâ calamitate non sit? equis unquam ex tam amplo statu, *tam in bonâ causâ*, tantis facultatibus ingenii, consilii, gratiæ, *tantis præsidii bonorum omnium*, concidit?" ["You frequently and earnestly reprove me, and call me weak-minded. But tell me, what aggravation of misery is there which belongs not to my calamity? Has any man ever fallen from so high a position, in so good a cause, with such ample resources of ability, of judgment, of influence, with such powerful support of all good men?"—Editor.] iii. 10. Other persons would have reckoned the justice of their cause, and the countenance of good men, alleviations of their distress; and so, when others were concerned, he himself thought; pro Sext. 12.

Cicero.

return, which took place in the course of the following year, reinstated him in the high station he had filled at the termination of his Consulate, but the circumstances of the times did not allow him to retain it. We have elsewhere¹ described his vacillations between the several members of the Triumvirate; his defence of Vatinius to please Cæsar; and of his bitter political enemy Gabinius, to ingratiate himself with Pompey. His personal history in the meanwhile furnishes little worth noticing, except his election into the college of Augurs, a dignity which had been a particular object of his ambition. His appointment to the government of Cilicia, which took place about five years after his return from exile, was in consequence of Pompey's law, which obliged those Senators of Consular or Prætorian rank, who had never held any foreign command, to divide the vacant provinces among them. This office, which we have above seen him decline, he now accepted with feelings of extreme reluctance, dreading perhaps the military occupations which the movements of the Parthians in that quarter rendered necessary. Yet if we consider the state and splendour with which the Proconsuls were surrounded, and the opportunities afforded them for almost legalised plunder and extortion, we must confess that this insensibility to the common objects of human cupidity was the token of no ordinary mind. The singular disinterestedness and integrity of his administration, as well as his success against the enemy, are adverted to in our memoir of Cæsar. The latter he exaggerated from the desire universally felt of appearing to excel in those things for which nature has not adapted us.

Governor of
Cilicia.

His return to Italy was followed by earnest endeavours to reconcile Pompey with Cæsar, and by very spirited behaviour when Cæsar required his presence in the Senate. On this occasion he felt the glow of self-approbation with which his political conduct seldom repaid him: "*credo*," he writes to Atticus, "*credo hunc (Cæsarem) me non amare; at ego me amavi: quod mihi jam pridem usu non venit.*"² But this independent temper was but transient. At no period of his public life did he display such miserable vacillation as at the opening of the civil war. We find him first accepting a commission from the Republic;³ then courting Cæsar; next, on Pompey's sailing for Greece, resolving to follow him thither; presently determining to stand neuter; then bent on retiring to the Pompeians in Sicily; and, when after all he had joined their camp in Greece, discovering such timidity and discon-

¹ History of the Roman Empire, in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

² ["I believe I have not his (Cæsar's) approval; but I have my own; which, for a long time, I have not been used to enjoy."]—*Editor*.] Ad Atticum, ix. 18.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 11, ix. 6, 119, x. 8 and 9, &c.

tent, as to draw from Pompey the bitter reproof, "Cupio ad hostes Cicero. Cicero transeat, ut nos timeat."¹

On his return to Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia, he had the mortification of learning that his brother and nephew were making their peace with Cæsar, by throwing on himself the blame of their opposition to the conqueror. And here we see one of those elevated points of character, which redeem the weaknesses of his political conduct; for, hearing that Cæsar had retorted on Quintus the charge which the latter had brought against himself, he wrote a pressing letter in his favour, declaring his brother's safety was not less precious to him than his own, and representing him not as the leader, but as the companion of his voyage.²

General conduct after the battle of Pharsalia.

Now too the state of his private affairs reduced him to great perplexity; the sum he had advanced to Pompey had impoverished him, and he was forced to stand indebted to Atticus for present assistance.³ These difficulties led him to take a step which it has been customary to regard with great severity; the divorce of his wife Terentia, though he was then in his sixty-second year, and his marriage with his rich ward Publilia, who was of an age disproportionate to his own.⁴ Yet, in reviewing this proceeding, we must not adopt the modern standard of propriety, forgetful of a condition of society which reconciled actions even of moral turpitude with a reputation for honour and virtue. Terentia was a woman of a most imperious and violent temper, and (what is more to the purpose) had in no slight degree contributed to his present embarrassments by her extravagance in the management of his private affairs.⁵

Private embarrassments.

Divorces Terentia, and marries Publilia.

By her he had two children, a son, born the year before his Consulate, and a daughter whose loss he was now fated to experience. To Tullia he was tenderly attached, not only from the excellence of her disposition, but from her love of polite literature; and her death tore from him, as he so pathetically laments to Sulpicius, the only comforts which the course of public events had left him.⁶ At first he was inconsolable; and, retiring to a little island near his estate at Antium, buried himself in the woods, to avoid the sight of man.⁷ His distress was increased by the unfeeling conduct of Publilia; whom he soon divorced for testifying joy at the death of her step-daughter. On this occasion he wrote his Treatise on Consolation, with a view to alleviate his mental sufferings; and, with the same object, he determined on dedicating a temple to his daughter as a memorial of her virtues and his affection. His friends were assiduous in their attentions; and Cæsar, who had treated him with extreme kindness on his

His children.

Grief at the loss of Tullia. v. c. 708. A. C. 46.

Secedes from public life.

Divorces Publilia.

¹ ["I wish Cicero would go over to the enemy, that he may fear us"—*Editor.*] Macrobius, Saturnalia, ii. 3.

² Ad Atticum, xi. 8, 9, 10 and 12.

³ Ibid. xi. 13.

⁴ Ad Fam. iv. 14; Middleton, vol. ii. p. 149.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ad Fam. iv. 6.

⁷ Ad Atticum, xii. 15, &c.

Cicero.

return from Egypt, signified the respect he bore his character, by sending him a letter of condolence from Spain,¹ where the remains of the Pompeian party still engaged him. Cæsar had shortly before given a still stronger proof of his favour, by replying to a work which Cicero had drawn up in praise of Cato:² but no attentions, however considerate, could soften Cicero's vexation at seeing the country he had formerly saved by his exertions, now subjected to the tyranny of one master. His speeches, indeed, for Marcellus and Ligarius, exhibit traces of inconsistency; but for the most part he retired from public business, and gave himself up to the composition of those works, which, while they mitigated his political sorrows, have secured his literary celebrity.

His private virtues.

The murder of Cæsar, which took place in the following year, once more brought him on the stage of public affairs; but, as we intend our present paper to be an account of his private life and literary character, we reserve the sequel of his history, including his unworthy treatment of Brutus, his coalition with Octavius, his orations against Antonius, his proscription and death, for another department of our work. On the whole, antiquity may be challenged to produce an individual more virtuous, more perfectly amiable than Cicero. None interest more in their life, none excite more painful emotions in their death. Others, it is true, may be found of loftier and more heroic character, who awe and subdue the mind by the grandeur of their views, or the intensity of their exertions. But Cicero engages our affections by the integrity of his public conduct, the correctness of his private life, the generosity,³ placability, and kindness of his heart, the playfulness of his temper, the warmth of his domestic attachments. In this respect his letters are invaluable. "Here we may see the genuine man without disguise or affectation, especially in his letters to Atticus; to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself, opened the rise and progress of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice."⁴

Apologies for his inconsistency in public life.

It must, however, be confessed that the publication of this correspondence has laid open the defects of his political character. Want of firmness has been repeatedly mentioned as his principal failing; and insincerity is the natural attendant on a timid and irresolute mind. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that openness and candour are rare qualities in a statesman at all times, and while the duplicity of weakness is despised, the insincerity of a powerful, but crafty mind, though incomparably more odious, is too commonly regarded with feelings of indulgence. Cicero was deficient, not in

¹ Ad Atticum, xiii. 20.² Ibid. xii. 40 and 41.³ His want of jealousy towards his rivals was remarkable; this was exemplified in his esteem for Hortensius, and still more so in his conduct towards Calvus. See Ad. Fam. xv. 21.⁴ Middleton, vol. ii. p. 525, 4to.

honesty, but in moral courage; his disposition too was conciliatory and forgiving; and much which has been referred to inconsistency, should be attributed to the generous temper which induced him to remember the services rather than the neglect of Plancius, and to relieve the exiled and indigent Verres.¹ Much too may be traced to his professional habits as a pleader; which led him to introduce the licence of the Forum into deliberative discussions, and (however inexcusably) even into his correspondence with private friends.

Some writers, as Lyttleton, have considered it an aggravation of Cicero's inconsistencies, that he was so perfectly aware of what was philosophically upright and correct. It might be sufficient to reply, that there is a wide difference between calmly deciding on an abstract point, and acting on that decision in the hurry of real life; that Cicero in fact was apt to fancy (as all will fancy when assailed by interest or passion) that the circumstances of his case constituted it an exception to the broad principles of duty. As he eloquently expresses himself in his defence of Plancius: "Neque enim inconstantis puto, sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium, et cursum, ex Reipublicæ tempestate moderari. Ego vero hæc didici, hæc vidi, hæc scripta legi; hæc de sapientissimis et clarissimis viris, et in hac Republicâ, et in aliis civitatibus, monumenta nobis literæ prodiderunt; non semper easdem sententias ab iisdem, sed quascunque Reipublicæ status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiæ postularet, esse defendendas."²

Thus he seems to consider it the duty of a mediator alternately³ to praise and blame both parties more than truth allows, if by these means it be possible either to flatter or to frighten them into an adoption of temperate measures.

But the argument of the objectors proceeds on an entire misconception of the design and purpose with which the ancients prosecuted philosophical studies. The motives and principles of morals were not so seriously acknowledged as to lead to a practical application of them to the conduct of life. Even when they proposed them in the form of precept, they still regarded the perfectly virtuous man as the creature of their imagination rather than a model for imitation—a character whom it was a mental recreation rather than a duty

The
Philosophy
of the
ancients,
more
speculative
than
practical.

¹ Pro Planc.; Middleton, vol. i. p. 108.

² C. 39. ["Nor do I regard it as any mark of inconsistency to regulate my opinions and my course, like a vessel, by the condition of the political weather. All that I have learned, witnessed, and read—all that has been recorded of the wisest and most illustrious men, both in our state and in other political communities, has taught me that the same man is not always to defend the same opinions, but rather those which the position of the state, the bias of the times, and the interests of peace may require."—*Editor.*]

³ Ad Fam. vi. 6, vii. 3. Ἰδίᾳ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κικέρων, πολλὰ μὲν Καίσαρι γράφων, πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου δεόμενος, πρᾶντων ἐκάτερον καὶ παραμυθούμενος. —*Plutarch, in vitâ Cic.* See also in *Vitâ Pomp.*

Cicero.

to contemplate; and if an individual here or there, as Scipio or Cato, attempted to conform his life to his philosophical conceptions of virtue, he was sure to be ridiculed for singularity and affectation.

Even among the Athenians, by whom philosophy was, in many cases, cultivated to the exclusion of every active profession, intellectual amusement, not the discovery of Truth, was the principal object of their discussions. That we must thus account for the ensnaring questions and sophistical reasonings of which their disputations consisted, has been noticed in our article on LOGIC;¹ and it was their extension of this system to the case of morals, which brought upon their Sophists the irony of Socrates, and the sterner rebuke of Aristotle. But if this took place in a state of society in which the love of speculation pervaded all ranks, much more was it to be expected among the Romans, who, busied as they were in political enterprises, and deficient in philosophical acuteness, had neither time nor inclination for abstruse investigations; and who considered philosophy simply as one of the many fashions introduced from Greece, "a sort of table furniture," as Warburton well expresses it, a mere refinement in the arts of social enjoyment.² This character it bore both among friends and enemies. Hence the popularity which attended the three Athenian philosophers, who had come to Rome on an embassy from their native city; and hence the inflexible determination with which Cato procured their dismissal, through fear, as Plutarch tells us,³ lest their arts of disputation should corrupt the Roman youth. And when at length, by the authority of Scipio,⁴ the literary treasures of Sylla, and the patronage of Lucullus, philosophical studies had gradually received the countenance of the higher classes of their countrymen, we still find them, in consistency with the principle above laid down, determined in the adoption of this or that system, not so much by the harmony of its parts, or by the plausibility of its reasonings, as by its suitableness to the profession and political station to which they respectively belonged. Thus because the Stoics were more minute than other sects in inculcating the moral and social duties, we find the *Jurisconsulti* professing themselves followers of Zeno;⁵ the orators, on the contrary, adopted the disputatious system of the later Academics;⁶ while Epicurus was the master of the idle and the wealthy. Hence, too, they confined the profession of philosophical science to Greek teachers; considering them the sole proprietors, as it were, of a foreign and expensive

Introduction
of the Greek
Philosophy
to Rome.

¹ In the Philosophical division of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

² Lactantius, *Inst.* iii. 16.

³ Plutarch, in *Vitâ Caton.* See also de *Invent.* i. 36. *Paterculus*, i. 12, &c. Plutarch, in *Vitâ Lucull. et Syll.*

⁵ Gravin. *Origin. Juriscivil.* lib. i. c. 44.

⁶ Quinct. xii. 2. *Auct. Dialog. de Orator.* 31.

luxury, which the vanquished might have the trouble of furnishing, but which the conquerors could well afford to purchase.

Before the works of Cicero, no attempts worth considering had been made for using the Latin tongue in philosophical subjects. The natural stubbornness of the language conspired with Roman haughtiness to prevent this application.¹ The Epicureans, indeed, had made the experiment, but their writings were even affectedly harsh and slovenly,² and we find Cicero himself, in spite of his inexhaustible flow of rich and expressive diction, making continual apologies for his learned occupations, and extolling philosophy as the parent of every thing great, virtuous and amiable.³

First application of the Latin language to philosophical subjects.

Character of Cicero's philosophical writings.

Yet, with whatever discouragement his design was attended, he ultimately triumphed over the pride of an unlettered people, and the difficulties of a defective language. He was possessed of that first requisite for eminence, an enthusiastic attachment to the studies he was recommending. But occupied as he was with the duties of a statesman, mere love of literature would have availed little, if separated from the energy and range of intellect by which he was enabled to pursue a variety of objects at once, with equally persevering and indefatigable zeal. "He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shows, to pleasures, to feasts, nay even to sleep and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his scribes who attended him. We find many of his letters dated before daylight, some from the senate, others from his meals, and the crowd of his morning levee." ⁴ Thus he found time, without apparent inconvenience, for the business of the State, for the turmoil of the courts, and for philosophical studies. During his Consulate he delivered twelve orations in the Senate, Rostrum or Forum. His Treatises *de Oratore* and *de Republicâ*, the most finished perhaps of his compositions, were written at a time when, to use his own words, "not a day passed without his taking part in forensic disputes." ⁵ And in the last year of his life, he composed at least eight of his philosophical works, besides the fourteen orations against Antony, which are known by the name of *Philippics*. Being thus ardent in the cause of Philosophy, he recommended it to the notice of his

¹ De Nat. Deor. i. 4; de Off. i. 1; de fin. Acad. Quæst., &c.

² Tusc. Quæst. i. 3; ii. 3; Acad. Quæst. i. 2; de Nat. Deor. i. 21; de Fin. i. 3, &c.; de Clar. Orat. 35.

³ Lucullus, 2; de Fin. i. 1—3; Tusc. Quæst. ii. 1, 2. iii. 2; v. 2; de Legg. i. 22—24; de Off. ii. 2; de Orat. 41, &c.

⁴ Middleton's Life, vol. ii. p. 254.

⁵ Ad Quinct. frat. iii. 3.

Cicero.

countrymen, not only for the honour which its introduction would reflect upon himself, (which itself was with him a motive of no inconsiderable influence,) but also with the fondness of one who esteemed it "the guide of life, the parent of virtue, the guardian in difficulty, and the tranquillizer in misfortune."¹ Nor were his mental endowments less adapted to the accomplishment of his object, than the spirit with which he engaged in the work. Gifted with versatility of talent, with acuteness, quickness of perception, skill in selection, art in arrangement, fertility of illustration, warmth of fancy, and extraordinary taste; he at once seizes upon the most effective parts of his subject, places them in the most striking point of view, and arrays them in the liveliest and most inviting colours. His writings have the singular felicity of combining brilliancy of execution, with never-failing good sense. It must be allowed, that he is deficient in depth; that he skims over rather than dives into the various departments of literature; that he had too great command of the plausible, to be a patient investigator or a sound reasoner. Yet if he has less originality of thought than others, if he does not grapple with his subject, if he is unequal to a regular and lengthened disquisition, if he is frequently inconsistent in his opinions, we must remember that mere soundness of thought, without talent for display, has few charms for those who have not yet imbibed a taste even for the outward form of knowledge,² that system nearly precludes variety, and depth almost implies obscurity. It was this very absence of scientific exactness, which constituted in Roman eyes a principal charm of Cicero's compositions.³

Nor must his profession as a pleader be forgotten in enumerating the circumstances which concurred to give his writings their peculiar character. For however his design of interesting his countrymen in Greek literature, however too his particular line of talent, may have led him to explain rather than to invent; yet he expressly informs us it was principally with a view to his own improvement in Oratory that he devoted himself to philosophical studies.⁴ This induced him to undertake successively the cause of the Stoic, the Epicurean, or the Platonist, as an exercise for his powers of argumentation; while the wavering and unsettled state of mind, occasioned by such habits of disputation, led him in his private judgment to prefer the sceptical tenets of the New Academy.

Here then, before examining Cicero's Philosophical writings, an opportunity is presented to us of redeeming the pledge we gave in

¹ Tusc. Quæst. v. 2.² De Off. i. 5. *init.*³ Johnson's observations on Addison's writings may be well applied to those of Cicero, who would have been eminently successful in short miscellaneous essays, like those of the Spectators, had the manners of the age allowed it.⁴ Orat. iii. 4; Tusc. Quæst. ii. 3; de Off. i. 1. *præfat.* Paradox. Quint. de Instit. xii. 2. Lactantius, Inst. iii. 16.

our memoir of PLATO,¹ by considering the system of doctrine which the reformers (as they thought themselves) of the Academic school introduced about 300 years before the Christian era. Cicero.

We have already traced the history of the OLD ACADEMY, and spoken of the innovations on the system of Plato, silently introduced by the austere Polemo. When Zeno, however, who was his pupil, advocated the same rigid tenets in a more open and dogmatic form,² the Academy at length took the alarm, and reaction ensued. The New Academy.

Arcesilas, who had succeeded Polemo and Crates, determined on reverting to the principles of the elder schools;³ but mistaking the profession of ignorance, which Socrates had used against the Sophists on *physical* questions, for an actual scepticism on points connected with *morals*, he fell into the opposite extreme, and declared, first, that nothing could be known, and therefore, secondly, nothing should be advanced.⁴ Arcesilas.

Whatever were his private sentiments, (for some authors affirm his esoteric doctrines to have been dogmatic,⁵) he brought forward these sceptical tenets in so unguarded a form, that it required all his argumentative powers, which were confessedly great, to maintain them against the obvious objections which were pressed upon him from all quarters. On his death, therefore, as might have been anticipated, his school was deserted for those of Zeno and Epicurus; and during the lives of Lacydes, Evander, and Hegesinus, who successively filled the Academic chair, being no longer recommended

¹ History of Greek and Roman Philosophy, in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

² Acad. Quæst. i. 10, &c.; Lucullus, 5; de Legg. i. 20; iii. 3, &c.

³ Acad. Quæst. i. 4, 12, 13; Lucullus, 5 and 23; de Nat. Deor. i. 5; de Fin. ii. 1; de Orat. iii. 18. Augustin. contra Acad. ii. 6. Sext. Emp. adv. Mathem. lib. vii. 'Ο Ἀρκεσίλαος τοσοῦτον ἀπέδει τοῦ καινοτομίας τινὰ δόξαν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ὑποποιεῖσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν, ὥστε ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς τότε σοφιστάς ὅτι προστρίβεται Σωκράτει καὶ Πλάτῳ καὶ Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς δόγματα καὶ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας, οὐδὲν δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ οἷον ἀναγωγὴν καὶ βεβαίωσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους ποιούμενος.—*Plutarch, in Colot.* 26. ["Arcesilas was so far from aiming at the reputation of originality while availing himself of the ancients, that the sophists of that time accused him of assenting implicitly to Socrates, and Plato, and Parmenides, and Heraclitus, in respect of his opinions on the suspension [of assent] and the incomprehensibility [of things], as to perfect authorities, and referring to them for confirmation as to persons of eminence."—*Editor.*]

⁴ "Arcesilas negabat esse quidquam, quod sciri posset, ne illud quidem ipsum quod Socrates sibi reliquisset. Sic omnia latere censebat in occulto, neque esse quicquam quod cerni, quod intelligi, posset; quibus de causis nihil oportere neque profiteri neque affirmare quenquam, neque assertionem approbare, &c."—*Acad. Quæst.* i. 12. ["Arcesilas affirmed that there was nothing that could be known, not even excepting what Socrates had reserved. He regarded all things as hid in obscurity, and nothing as capable of being perceived or understood; for which reasons he denied the right of any man to aver or affirm anything, or to confirm anything by assertion, &c."—*Editor.*] See also Lucullus, 9 and 18. They were countenanced in these conclusions by Plato's doctrine of ideas.—*Lucullus*, 46.

⁵ Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot. i. 33. Diogenes Laertius, lib. iv. in Arcesil.

Cicero.

Carneades.

by the novelty of its doctrines,¹ or the talents of its masters, it became of little consideration amid the wranglings of more popular Philosophies. Carneades,² therefore, who succeeded Hegesinus, found it necessary to use more cautious and guarded language; and, by explaining what was paradoxical, by reservations and exceptions, in short by all the arts which an acute and active genius could suggest, he contrived to establish its authority, without departing, as far as we have the means of judging, from the principle of universal scepticism which Arcesilas had so pertinaciously advocated.³

Modified
scepticism of
the New
Academy.

The New Academy,⁴ then, taught with Plato, that all things in their own nature were fixed and determinate; but that, through the constitution of the human mind, it was impossible *for us* to see them in their simple and eternal forms, to separate appearance from reality, truth from falsehood.⁵ For the conception we form of any object is altogether derived from and depends on the sensation, the impression, it produces on our own minds, (*πάθος ἐνεργείας, φαντασία.*) Reason does but deduce from premises ultimately supplied by sensation. Our only communication, then, with actual existences being through the medium of our own impressions, we have no means of ascertaining the correspondence of the things themselves with the ideas we entertain of them; and therefore can in no case be certain of the fidelity of our senses. Of their fallibility, however, we may easily assure ourselves; for in cases in which they are detected contradicting each other, all cannot be correct reporters of the object with which they profess to acquaint us. Food, which is the same as far as *sight* and *touch* are concerned, *tastes* differently to different individuals; fire, which is the same to the *eye*, communicates a sensation of *pain* at one time, of *pleasure* at another; the oar *appears* crooked in the water, while the *touch* assures us it is as straight as before it was immersed.⁶ Again, in dreams, in intoxication, in madness, impressions are made upon the mind, vivid enough to incite to reflection and action, yet utterly at variance with those produced by the same objects when we are awake, or sober, or in possession of our reason.⁷

It appears then that we cannot prove that our senses are *ever*

¹ Lucullus, 6.

² Augustin. adv. Acad. iii. 17.

³ Lucullus, 18, 24. Augustin. in Acad. iii. 39.

⁴ See Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. lib. vii.

⁵ Acad. Quæst. i. 13; Lucullus, 23, 38; de Nat. Deor. i. 5; Orat. 71.

⁶ "Tu autem te negas infracto remo neque columbæ collo commoveri. Primum cur? nam et in remo sentio non esse id quod videatur, et in columbâ plures videri colores, nec esse plus uno, &c."—*Lucullus*, 25. ["You say that you are uninfluenced by the instances of the broken oar and the pigeon's neck. First, let me ask you why? for, in the case of the oar, I perceive that what appears is not; and, in the pigeon, that many colours are apparent, when there is but one, &c."—*Editor*.]

⁷ Lucullus, 16—18; 26—28.

faithful; but we do know they *often* produce erroneous impressions. Here then is room for endless doubt; for why may they not deceive us in cases in which we cannot detect the deception? It is certain they *often* act irregularly; is there any consistency *at all* in their operations, any law to which these varieties may be referred?

It is undeniable that an object often varies in the impression which it makes upon the mind, while, on the other hand, the same impression may arise from different objects. What limit is to be assigned to this disorder? is there any sensation strong enough to assure us of the presence of the object which it seems to intimate, any such as to preclude the possibility of deception? If, when we look into a mirror, our minds are impressed with the appearance of unreal trees, fields, and houses, how can we ascertain whether the scene we directly look upon has any more substantial existence than the former?¹

From these reasonings the Academics taught that nothing was certain, nothing was to be known (*καταληπτόν*). For the Stoics themselves, their most determined opponents, defined the *καταληπτική φαντασία* (or impression which involved knowledge,²) to be one that was capable of being produced by no object except that to which it really belonged.³

¹ "Scriptum est: ita Academicis placere, esse rerum ejusmodi dissimilitudines ut aliæ probabiles videantur, aliæ contra; id autem non esse satis cur alia percipi posse dicas, alia non posse; propterea quòd multa falsa probabilia sint, nihil autem falsi perceptum et cognitum possit esse. Itaque ait vehementer errare eos qui dicant ab Academiâ sensus eripi, à quibus nunquam dictum sit aut colorem aut saporem aut sonum nullum esse; illud sit disputatum, non inesse in his propriam, quæ nusquam alibi esset, veri et certi notam."—*Lucullus*, 32. ["It has been written thus: the Academics hold that there is in things that dissimilarity, that some appear probable, others the contrary; but that this is no sufficient reason for saying that some may be comprehended, others not; because many false impressions are probable, but no false impression can be the object of comprehension and knowledge. He affirms, therefore, that those are greatly mistaken who say that the Academics take away the existence of the senses; inasmuch as they have never denied that there are such things as colour, taste, and sound; but they contend that there is not in these things a peculiar mark of reality and certainty, not existing elsewhere."—*Editor*.] See also 13, 24, 31; de Nat. Deor. i. 5.

² Οἱ γοῦν Στωϊκοὶ κατάληψιν εἶναι φασὶ καταληπτικῇ φαντασίᾳ συγκατάθεσιν.—*Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot.* iii. 25.

³ "Verum non posse comprehendi ex illâ Stoici Zenonis definitione arripuisse videbantur, qui ait id verum percipi posse, quod ita esset animo impressum ex eo unde esset, ut esse non posset ex eo unde non esset. Quod brevius planiusque sic dicitur, his signis verum posse comprehendi, quæ signa non potest habere quod falsum est."—*Augustin, contra Acad.* 2, 5. ["They seemed to have caught their doctrine of the incomprehensibility of truth from that definition of the Stoic Zeno, who says that *that* may be perceived to be true which has been so impressed on the mind by the cause of its existence, as it could not have been by what was not the cause of its existence; which is thus more briefly and simply expressed:

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Since then we cannot arrive at knowledge, we must suspend our decision, pronounce absolutely on nothing, nay, according to Arcesilas, never even form an opinion.¹ In the conduct of life, however, probability² must determine our choice of action; and this admits of different degrees. The lowest kind is that which suggests itself on the first view of the case (*φαντασία πιθανή*); but in all important matters we must correct the evidence of our senses by considerations derived from the nature of the medium, the distance of the object, the disposition of the organ, the time, the manner, and other attendant circumstances. When the impression has been thus minutely considered, the *φαντασία* becomes *περιωδευμένη*, or *approved on circumspection*; and if during this examination no objection has arisen to weaken our belief, the highest degree of probability is attained, and the impression is pronounced *complete* (*ἀπερίσπαστος*).³

Sextus Empiricus illustrates this as follows:⁴ If on entering a dark room we discern a coiled rope, our first impression may be that it is a serpent,—this is the *φαντασία πιθανή*. On a closer inspection, however, after *walking round it* (*περιοδεύσαντες*) we observe it does not move, nor has it the proper colour, shape, or proportions; and now we conclude it is not a serpent; here we are determined in our belief by the *περιωδευμένη φαντασία*. For an instance of the third and most accurate kind, viz., that with which no contrary impression interferes, we may refer to the conduct of Admetus on the return of Alcestis from the infernal regions. He believes he sees his wife; everything confirms it; but he cannot acquiesce in that opinion; his mind is *divided* (*περισπᾶται*) from the impression he has of her death; he asks ἀλλ' ἦν ἔθαπτον εἰσορῶ δάμαρ' ἐμήν; (*Alc.* 1148.) Hercules resolves his difficulty, and his *φαντασία* becomes *ἀπερίσπαστος*.

The suspension then of assent (*ἐποχή*) which the Academics enjoined, was, at least from the times of Carneades,⁵ nearly a speculative doctrine;⁶ and herein lay the chief difference between them and the Pyrrhonists; that the latter altogether denied the existence of the probable, while the former admitted there was sufficient to allow of action, provided we pronounced absolutely on nothing.

that truth may be comprehended by those marks which falsehood cannot possess."—*Editor.*] See also Sext. Empir. adv. Math. lib. vii. περὶ μεταβολῆς, and of Lucullus, 6 with 13.

¹ Lucullus, 13, 21, 40.

² Τοῖς φαινομένοις ὁδὸν προσέχοντες κατὰ τὴν βιωτικὴν τήρησιν ἀδοξάστως βιούμεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνάμεθα ἀνεύρηγοι παντάπασιν εἶναι.—*Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot.* 1, 11.

³ Cicero terms these three impressions, "visio probabilis; quæ ex circumspectione aliqua et accuratâ consideratione fiat; quæ non impediatur."—*Lucullus*, 11.

⁴ Pyrrh. Hypot. i. 33.

⁵ Numen. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. xiv. 7.

⁶ Lucullus, 31, 34; de Off. ii. 2.; de Fin. v. 26. Quinct. xii. 1.

Little more can be said concerning the opinions of a sect whose fundamental maxim was that nothing could be known, and nothing should be taught. It lay midway between the other philosophies; and in the altercations of the various schools it was at once attacked by *all*,¹ yet appealed to by *each* of the contending parties, if not to countenance its own sentiments, at least to condemn those advocated by its opponents,² and thus to perform the office of an umpire.³ From this necessity then of being prepared on all sides for attack,⁴ it became as much a school of rhetoric as of philosophy,⁵ and was celebrated among the ancients for the eloquence of its masters.⁶ Hence also its reputation was continually varying: for, requiring the aid of great abilities to maintain its exalted and arduous post, it alternately rose and fell in estimation, according to the talents of the individual who happened to fill the chair.⁷ And hence the frequent alterations which took place in its philosophical tenets; which, depending rather on the arbitrary determinations of its present head, than on the tradition of settled maxims, were accommodated to the views of each successive master, according as he hoped by sophistry or concession to overcome the repugnance which the mind ever will feel to the doctrines of universal scepticism.

Cicero.

Causes
which made
the New
Academy a
school of
Rhetoric.

And in these continual changes it is pleasing to observe, that the interests of virtue and good order were uniformly promoted;

¹ Lucullus, 22, et alibi; Tusc. Quæst. ii. 2.

² See a striking passage from Cicero's Academics, preserved by Augustin, contra Acad. iii. 7, and Lucullus, 18.

³ De Nat. Deor. passim; de Div. ii. 72. "Quorum controversiam solebat tanquam honorarius arbiter judicare Carneades."—*Tusc. Quæst.* v. 41.

⁴ De Fin. ii. 1; de Orat. i. 18; Lucullus, 3; Tusc. Quæst. v. 11; Numen. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. xiv. 6, &c. Lactantius, Inst. iii. 4.

⁵ De Nat. Deor. i. 67; de Fat. 2; Dialog. de Orat. 31, 32.

⁶ Lucullus, vi. 18; de Orat. ii. 38, iii. 18. Quint. Inst. xii. 2; Plutarch, in vitâ Caton. et Cic. Lactantius, Inst. Numen. apud Euseb.

⁷ "Hæc in philosophiâ ratio contra omnia disserendi nullamque rem apertè judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesilâ, confirmata à Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit ætatem; quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in ipsâ Græciâ intelligo. Quod non Academiæ vitio, sed tarditate hominum arbitror contigisse. Nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veri reperiendi causâ, et contra omnes philosophos et pro omnibus dicere."—*De Nat. Deor.* i. 5. ["This principle in philosophy, of arguing against all propositions, and openly determining nothing, originated by Socrates, renewed by Arcesilas, and confirmed by Carneades, has been in force up to our own day; but is now, I understand, even in Greece, almost destitute of an advocate. This, I apprehend, is not ascribable to any fault of the Academy, but to the dullness of individuals. For if it is a great task to acquire the philosophy of any one school, how much greater to attain those of all? which, nevertheless, is necessary for those, who, for the investigation of truth, would be prepared to dispute for and against all the philosophical sects."—*Editor.*]

Cicero.

interests to which the Academic doctrines were certainly hostile, if not necessarily fatal. Thus, although we find Carneades, in conformity to the plan adopted by Arcesilas,¹ opposing the *dogmatic* principles of the Stoics concerning moral duty,² and studiously concealing his private views even from his friends;³ yet, by allowing that the suspense of judgment was not always a duty, that the wise man might sometimes *believe* though he could not *know*;⁴ he in some measure restored the authority of those great instincts of our nature which his predecessor appears to have discarded. Clitomachus pursued his steps by innovations in the same direction;⁵ Philo, who followed next, attempting to reconcile his tenets with those of the Platonic school,⁶ has been accounted the founder of a fourth academy—while, to his successor Antiochus, who embraced the doctrines of the Porch,⁷ and maintained the fidelity of the senses, it has been usual to assign the establishment of a fifth.

Philo and Antiochus.

We have already observed, that Cicero in early life inclined to the systems of Plato and Antiochus, which, at the time he composed the bulk of his writings, he had abandoned for that of Carneades and Philo.⁸ Yet he was never so entirely a disciple of the New Academy, as to neglect the claims of morality and the laws. He is loud in his protestations, that truth is the great object of his search;—"Ego enim, he says, si aut ostentatione aliquâ adductus, aut studio certandi, ad hanc potissimum Philosophiam me applicavi; non modo stultitiam meam, sed etiam mores et naturam condemnandam puto. . . . Itaque, nisi ineptum putarem in tali disputatione id facere quod, quum de Republicâ disceptatur, fieri interdum solet, jurarem per Jovem Deosque Penates, me et ardere studio Veri reperiendi, et ea sentire quæ dicerem."⁹ And, however inap-

Mixed Philosophy of Cicero.

¹ De Nat. Deor. i. 25. Austin. contra Acad. iii. 17. Numen. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. xiv. 6.

² De Fin. ii. 13, v. 7; Lucullus, 42; Tusc. Quæst. v. 29.

³ Lucullus, 45.

⁴ Lucullus, xxi. 24; for an elevated moral precept of his, see de Fin. ii. 18.

⁵ Ἄνθρωπος ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν αἰρέσεσιν διατρίψας, ἐν τε τῇ Ἀκαδημαϊκῇ καὶ Περιπατητικῇ καὶ Στωικῇ.—Diogenes Laertius, lib. iv. sub fin. ["A man versed in the three schools—the Academic, the Peripatetic, and the Stoic."—Editor.]

⁶ "Philo, magnus vir, negat in libris duas Academias esse; erroremque eorum qui ita putârunt coarguit."—Acad. Quæst. i. 4. ["Philo, a great man, denies in his writings that there are two Academies; and refutes the error of those who have entertained that opinion."—Editor.]

⁷ De Fin. v. 5; Lucullus, xxii. 43.

⁸ Acad. Quæst. i. 4; de Nat. Deor. i. 7.

⁹ Lucullus, 20; see also de Nat. Deor. i. 7; de Fin. i. 5. ["For my own part, if I have applied myself especially to this philosophy, through any love of display or ambition of excelling, I not only hold my folly amenable to condemnation, but my very character and nature. And, therefore, if I did not consider it absurd, in an argument like this, to do what is sometimes done in political discussions, I would swear by Jupiter and the gods Penates that I burn with an earnest desire of discovering the truth, and believe all that I say."—Editor.]

propriate this boast may appear, he at least pursues the useful and the magnificent in philosophy; and uses his academic character as a pretext rather for a judicious selection from each system, than for an indiscriminate rejection of all.¹ Thus, in the capacity of a statesman, he calls in the assistance of doctrines, which, as an orator, he does not scruple to deride; those of Zeno in particular, who maintained the truth of the popular theology, and the divine origin of augury, and (as we noticed above) was more explicit than the other masters in his views of social duty. This difference of sentiment between the magistrate and the pleader is strikingly illustrated in the opening of his treatise *de Legibus*; where, after deriving the principles of law from the nature of things, he is obliged to beg quarter of the Academics, whose reasonings he feels could at once destroy the foundation on which his argument rested.

“Ad Respublicas firmandas, et ad stabiliendas vires, sanandos populos, omnis nostra pergit oratio. Quocirca vereor committere, ut non bene provisâ et diligenter explorata principia ponantur: nec tamen ut omnibus probentur, (nam id fieri non potest) sed ut iis, qui omnia recta atque honesta per se expetenda duxerunt, et aut nihil omnino in bonis numerandum nisi quod per se ipsum laudabile esset, aut certè nullum habendum magnum bonum, nisi quod verè laudari suâ sponte posset.”² And then apparently alluding to the arguments of Carneades against justice, which he had put into the mouth of Philus in the third book of his *de Republicâ*, he proceeds; “Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academicam, hanc ab Arcesilâ et Carneade receptam, exoremus, ut sileat. Nam, si invaserit in hæc, quæ satis scitè nobis instructa et composita videntur, nimias edet ruinas. Quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.”³

And as, in questions connected with the interests of society, he thus uniformly advocates the tenets of the Porch, so in discussions of a physical character, we find him adopting the sublime and

¹ “Nobis autem nostra Academia magnam licentiam dat, ut, quodeunque maxime probabile occurrat, id nostro jure liceat defendere.”—*De Off.* iii. 4. [“Our Academy, however, grants us considerable licence, so that we may defend, by our own right, whatever occurs to us as most probable.”—*Editor.*] See also *Tusc. Quæst.* iv. 4, v. 29; *de Invent.* ii. 3.

² [“All our argument is directed to the consolidation of states, the stability of their power, the sound condition of their population. Accordingly, I dread any failure in laying down well-considered and carefully-examined principles: not such, indeed, as shall meet universal approval (for that is impossible); but such as shall commend themselves to those who hold all upright and honourable objects to be in themselves deserving pursuit, and regard nothing as good which is not of itself praiseworthy, or, at least, nothing as eminently good which is not intrinsically an object of just commendation.”—*Editor.*]

³ *De Legg.* i. 13. [“But let us intreat the Academy,—this new Academy I mean, the school of Arcesilas and Carneades—the disturber of all these things,—to be silent. For should that school attack our arguments, skilfully as they seem to us to be framed and arranged, too much havoc would ensue. I would wish, then, to conciliate the Academy; remove it, I dare not.”—*Editor.*]

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kindling sentiments of Pythagoras and Plato. Here, however, having no object of expediency in view to keep him within the bounds of consistency, he scruples not to introduce whatever is most beautiful in itself, or most adapted to his present purpose. At one time he describes the Deity as the all-pervading Soul of the world, the cause of life and motion.¹ At another He is the intelligent Preserver and Governor of every separate part.² At one time the soul of man is in its own nature necessarily eternal, without beginning or end of existence;³—at another it is represented as reunited on death to the one infinite Spirit;⁴—at another it is to enter the assembly of the Gods, or to be driven into darkness, according to its moral conduct in this life;⁵—at another the best and greatest of mankind are alone destined for immortality⁶—which is sometimes described as attended with consciousness and the continuance of earthly friendships;⁷ sometimes, as but an immortality of name and glory;⁸ more frequently however these separate notions are confused together in the same passage.⁹

His
acquaintance
with
Aristotle.

Though the works of Aristotle were not given to the world till Sylla's return from Greece, Cicero appears to have been a considerable proficient in his philosophy,¹⁰ and he has not overlooked the important aid it affords in those departments of science which are alike removed from abstract reasoning and fanciful theorising. To Aristotle he is indebted for most of the principles laid down in his rhetorical discussions,¹¹ while in his treatises on morals not a few of his remarks may be traced to the same acute philosopher.¹²

His
abhorrence
of Epicurus.

The doctrines of the Garden alone, though some of his most intimate friends were of the Epicurean school, he regarded with aversion and contempt; feeling no sort of interest in a system which cut at the very root of that activity of mind, industry, and patriotism for which he himself both in public and private was so honourably distinguished.¹³

Such then was the New Academy, and such the variation of

¹ Tusc. Quæst. i. 27; de Div. ii. 72; pro Milon. 31; de Legg. ii. 7.

² Fragm. de Rep. 3; Tusc. Quæst. i. 29; de Univ.

³ Tusc. Quæst. i. *passim*; de Senect. 21, 22; Somn. Scip. 8.

⁴ De Div. i. 32, 49; Fragm. de Consolat.

⁵ Tusc. Quæst. i. 30; Som. Scip. 9; de Legg. ii. 11.

⁶ De Amic. 4; de Off. iii. 28; pro Cluent. 61; de Legg. ii. 17; Tusc. Quæst. i. 11; pro Sext. 21; de Nat. Deor. i. 17.

⁷ Cat. 23.

⁸ Pro Arch. 11, 12; ad Fam. v. 21, vi. 21.

⁹ Pro Arch. 11, 12; ad Fam. v. 21, vi. 21.

¹⁰ He seems to have fallen into some misconceptions of Aristotle's meaning. De Invent. i. 35, 36, ii. 14; see Quinct. Inst. v. 14.

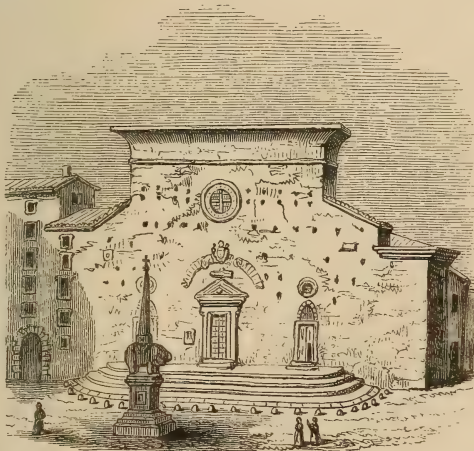
¹¹ De Invent. i. 7, ii. 51, *et passim*; ad Fam. i. 9; de Orat. ii. 36.

¹² De Off. i. 1; de Fin. iv. 5; ad Atticum.

¹³ De Fin. ii. 21, iii. 1; de Legg. i. 13; de Orat. iii. 17; ad Fam. xiii. 1; pro Sext. 10.

opinion, which, in Cicero's judgment, was not inconsistent with the profession of an Academic. And however his adoption of that philosophy may be in part referred to his oratorical habits, or the natural cast of mind, yet, considering the ambition which he felt to inspire his countrymen with a taste for literature and science,¹ we must conclude with Warburton,² that, in acceding to the system of Philo, he was strongly influenced by the freedom of thought and reasoning which it allowed to his compositions; the liberty of developing the principles and doctrines, the strong and weak parts of every Grecian school. Bearing then in mind his design of recommending the study of philosophy, it is interesting to observe the artifices of style and manner which, with this end, he adopted in his treatises; and though to enter minutely into this subject would be foreign to our present purpose, it may be allowed us to make some general remarks on the character of works so eminently successful in accomplishing the object for which they were undertaken.

Cicero.



Temple of Minerva.

The most obvious peculiarity of Cicero's philosophical discussions is the form of dialogue in which most of them are conveyed. Plato, indeed, and Xenophon had, before his time, been even more strictly dramatic in their compositions; but they professed to be recording the sentiments of an individual, and the Socratic mode of argument could hardly be displayed in any other shape. Of that

His form of dialogue.

¹ De Nat. Deor. i. 4; Tusc. Quæst. i. 1, v. 29; de Fin. i. 3, 4; de Off. i. 1; de Div. ii. 1, 2.

² Div. Legg. lib. iii. sec. 9.

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interrogative and inductive conversation, however, Cicero affords but few specimens;¹ the nature of his dialogue being as different from that of the two Athenians, as was his object in writing. His aim was to excite interest; and he availed himself of this mode of composition for the life and variety, the ease, perspicuity, and vigour which it gave to his discussions. His dialogue is of two kinds; according as his subject is, or is not, a controverted point, it assumes the shape of a continued treatise, or a free disputation; in the latter case imparting clearness to what is obscure, in the former relief to what is clear. Thus his practical and systematic treatises on rhetoric and moral duty are either written in his own person, or merely divided between several speakers who are the organs of his own sentiments; while in questions of a more speculative cast, on the nature of the gods, on the human soul, on the greatest good, he uses his academic liberty, and brings forward the theories of contending schools under the character of their respective advocates. The advantages gained in both cases are evident. In controverted subjects he is not obliged to discover his own views, he can detail opposite arguments forcibly and luminously, and he is allowed the use of those oratorical powers in which, after all, his great strength lay. In those subjects, on the other hand, which are uninteresting because they are familiar, he may pause or digress before the mind is weary and the attention begins to flag; the reader is carried on by easy journies and short stages, and novelty in the speaker supplies the want of novelty in the matter.

Advantages of it.

Beauty of execution.

Nor does Cicero discover less skill in the execution of these dialogues, than address in their design. It were idle to enlarge upon the beauty, richness, and taste of compositions which have been the admiration of every age and country. In the dignity of his speakers, their high tone of mutual courtesy, the harmony of his groups, and the delicate relief of his contrasts, he is inimitable. The majesty and splendour of his introductions, which generally address themselves to the passions or the imagination, the eloquence with which both sides of a question are successively displayed, the clearness and terseness of his statements on abstract points, the grace of his illustrations, his exquisite allusions to the scene or time of the supposed conversation, his digressions in praise of philosophy or great men, his quotations from Grecian and Roman poetry, lastly, the melody and fulness of his style, unite to throw a charm round his writings peculiar to themselves. To the Roman reader they especially recommended themselves by their continual and most artful references to the heroes of the old republic, who now appeared but exemplars, and (as it were) patrons of that

¹ See *Tusc. Quæst.* and *de Republ.*

eternal philosophy, which he had before, perhaps, considered as Cicero. the short-lived reveries of ingenious, but inactive men. Nor is there any confusion, harshness, or appearance of effort in the introduction of the various beauties we have been enumerating, which are blended together with so much skill and propriety, that it is sometimes difficult to point out the particular causes of the delight left upon the mind.

In proceeding to enumerate Cicero's philosophical writings,¹ it may be necessary to premise that our intention is rather to sketch out the plan on which they are conducted, than to explain the doctrines which they recommend; for an account of which the reader is referred to our articles on the schools by which they were respectively entertained.²

The series of his rhetorical works has been preserved nearly Rhetorical works. complete, and consists of the *De Inventione*, *De Oratore*, *Brutus sive de claris Oratoribus*, *Orator sive de optimo genere Dicendi*, *De partitione Oratoriâ*, *Topica de optimo genere Oratorum*. The last-mentioned, which is a fragment, is understood to have been the proem to his translation (now lost) of the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines, *De Coronâ*. These he translated with the view of defending, by the example of the Greek orators, his own style of eloquence, which, as we shall afterwards find, the critics of the day censured as too Asiatic in its character; and hence the preface, which still survives, is on the subject of the Attic style of oratory. This composition and his abstracts of his own orations³ are his only rhetorical works now extant, and probably our loss is not very great. The *Treatise on Rhetoric*, addressed to Herennius, Treatise on Rhetoric. though edited with his works, and ascribed to him by several of the ancients, is now generally attributed to Cornificius, or some other writer of the same period.

These works consider the art of rhetoric in different points of view, and thus receive from each other mutual support and illustration, while they prevent the tediousness which might else arise from sameness in the subject of discussion. Three are in the form of dialogue; the rest are written in his own person. In all, except perhaps the *Orator*, he professes to have digested the principles of the Aristotelic and Isocratean schools into one finished system, selecting what was best in each, and, as occasion might offer, adding remarks and precepts of his own.⁴ The subject is considered in three distinct lights;⁵ with reference to the case, the speaker, and the speech. The case, as respects its nature, is definite or indefinite; with reference to the hearer, it is judicial,

¹ See Fabricius, *Bibliothec. Latin.*; Olivet. in *Cic. op. omn.*; Middleton's *Life*.

² *History of Greek and Roman Philosophy*, in this *Encyclopædia*.

³ *Quinct. Inst.* x. 7.

⁴ *De Invent.* ii. 2 et 3; *ad Fam.* i. 9.

⁵ *Confer de part. Orat.* with *de Invent.*

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deliberative, or descriptive; as regards the opponent, the division is fourfold—according as the fact, its nature, its quality, or its propriety is called in question. The art of the speaker is directed to five points; the discovery of persuasives, (whether ethical, pathetic, or argumentative,) arrangement, diction, memory, delivery. And the speech itself consists of six parts; introduction, statement of the case, division of the subject, proof, refutation, and conclusion.

*De
Inventione.*

His treatises *De Inventione* and *Topica*, the first and nearly the last of his compositions, are both on the invention of arguments, which he regards, with Aristotle, as the very foundation of the art; though he elsewhere confines the term eloquence, according to its derivation, to denote excellence of diction and delivery, to the exclusion of argumentative skill.¹ The former of these works was written at the age of twenty, and seems originally to have consisted of four books, of which but two remain.² In the first of these he considers rhetorical invention generally, supplies common-places for the six parts of an oration promiscuously, and gives a full analysis of the two forms of argument, syllogism and induction. In the second book he applies these rules particularly to the three subject-matters of rhetoric, the deliberative, the judicial, and the descriptive, dwelling principally on the judicial, as affording the most ample field for discussion. This treatise seems nearly entirely compiled from the writings of Aristotle, Isocrates, and Hermagoras;³ and as such he alludes to it in the opening of his *De Oratore* as deficient in the experience and judgment which nothing but time and practice can impart. Still it is an entertaining, nay useful, work; remarkable, even among Cicero's writings, for its uniform good sense, and less familiar to the scholar, only because the greater part has been superseded by the compositions of his riper years. His *Topica*, or treatise on common-places, has less extent and variety of plan, being little else than a compendium of Aristotle's work on the same subject. It was, as he informs us in its proem, drawn up from memory on his voyage from Italy to Greece, soon after Cæsar's murder, and in compliance with the wishes of Trebatius, who had sometime before urged him to undertake the translation.⁴

*Topica.**De Oratore.*

Cicero seems to have intended his *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*, to form one complete system.⁵ Of these three noble works, the first lays down the principles and rules of the rhetorical art; the second exemplifies them in the most eminent speakers of Greece and Rome; and the third shadows out the features of that perfect orator, whose superhuman excellences should be the aim of our

¹ Orat. 19.² Vossius, de Nat. Rhet. c. xiii.; Fabricius, Bibliothec. Latin.³ De Invent. i. 5, 6; de Clar. Orat. 76.⁴ Ad Fam. vii. 19.⁵ De Div. ii. 1.

ambition. The *De Oratore* was written when the author was fifty-two, two years after his return from exile; and is a dialogue between some of the most illustrious Romans of the preceding age on the subject of oratory. The principal speakers are the orators Crassus and Antonius, who are represented unfolding the principles of their art to Sulpicius and Cotta, young men just rising at the bar. In the first book, the conversation turns on the subject-matter of rhetoric, and the qualifications requisite for the perfect orator. Here Crassus maintains the necessity of his being acquainted with the whole circle of the arts, while Antonius confines eloquence to the province of speaking well. The dispute, for the most part, seems verbal; for Cicero himself, though he here sides with Crassus, yet, elsewhere, as we have above noticed, pronounces eloquence, strictly speaking, to consist in beauty of diction. Sævola, the celebrated lawyer, takes part in this preliminary discussion; but, in the ensuing meetings, makes way for Catulus and Cæsar, the subject leading to such technical disquisitions as were hardly suitable to the dignity of the aged Augur.¹ The next morning Antonius enters upon the subject of invention, which Cæsar completes by subjoining some remarks on the use of humour in oratory; and Antonius, relieving him, finishes the morning discussion with the principles of arrangement and memory. In the afternoon the rules for propriety and elegance of diction are explained by Crassus, who was celebrated in this department of the art; and the work concludes with his treating the subject of delivery and action. Such is the plan of the *De Oratore*, the most finished perhaps of Cicero's compositions. An air of grandeur and magnificence reigns throughout. The characters of the aged senators are finely conceived, and the whole company is invested with an almost religious majesty, from the allusions interspersed to the miserable destinies for which its members were reserved.

His treatise *De claris Oratoribus*, was written after an interval of nine years, about the time of Cato's death, and is conveyed in a dialogue between Brutus, Atticus, and himself. He begins with Solon, and after briefly mentioning the orators of Greece, proceeds to those of his own country, so as to take in the whole period from the time of Junius Brutus down to himself. About the same time he wrote his *Orator*; in which he directs his attention principally to diction and delivery, as in his *De Inventione* and *Topica* he considers the matter of an oration.² This treatise is of a less practical nature than the rest.³ It adopts the principles of Plato, and delineates the perfect orator according to the abstract conceptions of the intellect, rather than the deductions of observation and experience. Hence he sets out with a definition of the perfectly

Cicero.

*De claris
Oratoribus.**Orator.*¹ Ad Atticum, iv. 16.² Orat. 16.³ Orat. 14, 31.

Cicero.

eloquent man, whose characteristic it is to express himself with propriety on all subjects, whether humble, great, or of an intermediate character;¹ and here he has an opportunity of paying some indirect compliments to himself. With this work he was so well satisfied, that he does not scruple to declare, in a letter to a friend, that he was ready to risk his reputation for judgment in oratory on its merits.²

*De
partitione
Oratoriâ.*

The treatise *De partitione Oratoriâ*, or on the three parts of rhetoric, is a kind of catechism between Cicero and his son, drawn up for the use of the latter at the same time with the two preceding. It is the most systematic and perspicuous of his rhetorical works, but seems to be but the rough draught of what he originally intended.³

Moral and
Physical
writings.

The connection which we have been able to preserve between the rhetorical writings of Cicero will be quite unattainable in his moral and physical treatises; partly from the extent of the subject, partly from the losses occasioned by time, partly from the inconsistency which we have warned the reader to expect in his sentiments. In our enumeration, therefore, we shall observe no other order than that which the date of their composition furnishes.

*De
Republicâ.*

The earliest now extant is part of his treatise *De Legibus*, in three books; being a sequel to his work on politics. Both were written in imitation of Plato's treatises on the same subjects.⁴ The latter of these (*De Republicâ*) was composed a year after the *De Oratore*,⁵ and seems to have vied with it in the majesty and interest of the dialogue. It consisted of a series of discussions in six books on the origin and principles of government, Scipio being the principal speaker; but Lælius, Philus, Manilius, and other personages of like gravity taking part in the conversation. Till lately, but a fragment of the fifth book was understood to be in existence, in which Scipio, under the fiction of a dream, inculcates the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But in the year 1822, Monsignor Mai, librarian of the Vatican, published considerable portions of the first and second books, from a palimpsest manuscript of St. Austin's *Commentary on the Psalms*. In the part now recovered, Scipio discourses on the different kinds of constitutions and their respective advantages; with a particular reference to that of Rome. In the third, the subject of justice was discussed by Lælius and Philus; in the fourth, Scipio treated of morals and education; while in the fifth and sixth, the duties of a magistrate were explained, and the best means of preventing changes and revolutions in the constitution itself. In the latter part of the treatise, allusion was made to the actual posture of affairs in Rome, when the

Recent
discovery of
additional
fragments
of his
Treatises.

¹ Orat. 21, 29.

² Ad Fam. vi. 18.

³ See Middleton, vol. ii. p. 147, 4to.

⁴ De Legg. i. 5.

⁵ Ang. Mai, præf. in Remp. Middleton, vol. i. p. 486.

conversation was supposed to have occurred, and the commotions Cicero, excited by the Gracchi.

In his treatise *De Legibus*, which was written two years later *De Legibus*. than the former, and shortly after the murder of Clodius, he represents himself as explaining to his brother Quintus, and Atticus, in their walks through the woods of Arpinum, the nature and origin of the laws, and their actual state, both in other countries and in Rome. The first part only of the subject is contained in the books now extant; the introduction to which we have had occasion to notice, when speaking of his stoical sentiments on questions connected with state policy. Law he pronounces to be the perfection of reason, the eternal mind, the divine energy, which, while it pervades and unites in one the whole universe, associates gods and men by the more intimate resemblance of reason and virtue, and still more closely men with men, by the participation of common faculties, affections, and situations. He then proves, at length, that justice is not merely created by civil institutions, from the power of conscience, the imperfections of human law, the moral sense, and the disinterestedness of virtue. He next proceeds to unfold the principles, first, of religious law, under the heads of divine worship; the observance of festivals and games; the office of priests, augurs, and heralds; the punishment of sacrilege and perjury; the consecration of land, and the rights of sepulchre; and, secondly, of civil law, which gives him an opportunity of noticing the respective duties of magistrate and citizens. In these discussions, though professedly speaking of the abstract question, he does not hesitate to anticipate the subject of the lost books, by frequent allusions to the history and customs of his own country. It may be added, that in no part of his writings do worse specimens occur, than in this treatise, of that vanity which was notoriously his weakness, which are rendered doubly odious by the affectation of putting them into the mouth of his brother and Atticus.¹

Here a period of eight years intervenes, during which he composed little of importance besides his orations. He then published the *Brutus* and *Orator*; and the year after, his *Academica Quæstiones*. *Academica Quæstiones*. in the retirement from public business to which he was driven by the dictatorship of Cæsar. This work had originally consisted of two dialogues, which he entitled *Catulus* and *Lucullus*, from the names of the respective speakers in each. These he now remodelled and enlarged into four books, dedicating them to Varro, whom he introduced as advocating, in the presence of Atticus, the tenets of Antiochus, while he himself defended those of Philo. Of this most valuable composition, only the second book (*Lucullus*) of the first edition, and part of the first of the second are now extant.

¹ Quinct. Inst. xi. l.

Cicero.

In the former of the two, Lucullus argues against, and Cicero for, the Academic sect, in the presence of Catulus and Hortensius; in the latter, Varro pursues the history of philosophy from Socrates to Arcesilas, and Cicero continues it down to the time of Carneades. In the second edition, the style was corrected, the matter condensed, and the whole polished with extraordinary care and diligence.¹

De Finibus.

The same year he published his treatise *De Finibus* or the chief good, in five books, in which are explained the sentiments of the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics on the subject. This is the earliest of his works in which the dialogue is of the disputatious kind. It is opened with a defence of the Epicurean tenets, concerning pleasure, by Torquatus; to which Cicero replies at length. The scene then shifts from the Cuman villa to the library of young Lucullus, (his father being dead,) where the Stoic Cato expatiates on the sublimity of the system which maintains the existence of one only good, and is answered by Cicero in the character of a Peripatetic. Lastly, Piso, in a conversation held at Athens, enters into an explanation of the doctrine of Aristotle, that happiness is the greatest good. The general style of his treatise is elegant and perspicuous; and the last book in particular has great variety and splendour of diction.

*Tusculanæ
Quæstiones.*

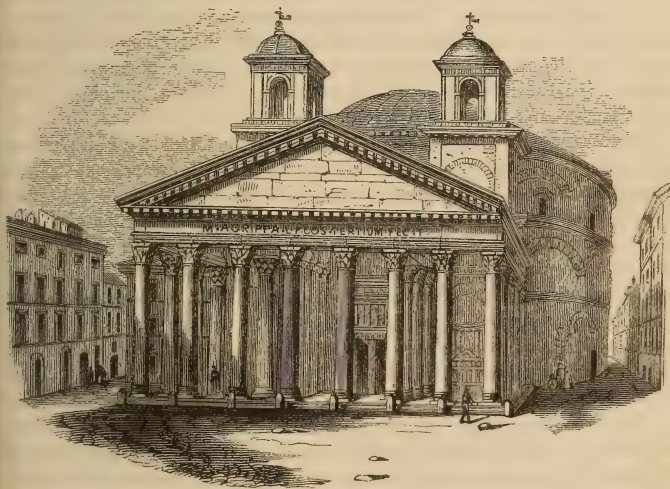
We have already, in our memoir of Cæsar, observed that Cicero was about this time particularly courted by the heads of the dictator's party, of whom Hirtius and Dolabella went so far as to declaim daily at his house for the benefit of his instructions.² A visit of this nature to his Tusculan villa, soon after the publication of the *De Finibus*, gave rise to his work entitled *Tusculanæ Quæstiones*, which professes to be the substance of five philosophical disputes between himself and friends, digested into as many books. He argues throughout on Academic principles, even with an affectation of inconsistency; sometimes making use of the Socratic dialogue, sometimes launching out into the diffuse expositions which characterise his other treatises.³ He first disputes against the fear of death; and in so doing he adopts the opinion of the Platonic school, as regards the nature of God and the soul. The succeeding discussions on enduring pain, on alleviating grief, on the other emotions of the mind, and on virtue, are conducted for the most part on Stoical principles.⁴ This is a highly ornamental composition, and contains more quotations from the poets than any other of Cicero's treatises.

We have already had occasion to remark upon the singular activity of his mind, which becomes more and more conspicuous as we approach the period of his death. During the ensuing year,

¹ Ad Atticum, xiii. 13, 16, 19.³ Tusc. Quæst. v. 4, 11.² Ad Fam. ix. 16, 18.⁴ Ibid. iii. 10, v. 27.

which is the last of his life, in the midst of the confusion and anxieties consequent on Cæsar's death, he found time to write the *De Naturâ Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, and *Paradoxa*, besides the treatise on Rhetorical Common Places above mentioned. Cicero.

Of these the first three were intended as a full exposition of the opposite opinions entertained on their respective subjects; the *De Fato*, however, was not finished according to this plan.¹ His treatise *De Naturâ Deorum*, in three books, may be reckoned the most magnificent of all his works, and shows that neither age nor disappointment had done injury to the richness and vigour of his mind. *De Naturâ Deorum.* In the first book, Velleius, the Epicurean, sets forth the physical tenets of his sect, and is answered by Cotta, who is of the Academic school. In the second, Balbus, the disciple of the Porch, gives an account of his own system, and is, in turn, refuted by Cotta in the third. The eloquent extravagance of the Epicurean, the solemn enthusiasm of the Stoic, and the brilliant raillery of the Academic, are contrasted with extreme vivacity and humour. While the sublimity of the subject itself imparts to the whole composition a grander and more elevated character, and discovers in the author



Pantheon.

imaginative powers, which, celebrated as he justly is for playfulness of fancy, might yet appear more the talent of the poet than the orator.

¹ De Nat. Deor. i. 6; de Div. i. 4; de Fat. 1.

Cicero.

*De
Divinatione.*

His treatise *De Divinatione* is conveyed in a discussion between his brother Quintus and himself, in two books. In the former, Quintus, after dividing Divination into the heads of natural and artificial, argues with the Stoics for its sacred nature, from the evidence of facts, the agreement of all nations, and the existence of gods. In the latter, Cicero questions its authority, with Carneades, from the uncertain nature of its rules, the absurdity and uselessness of the art, and the possibility of accounting from natural causes for the phenomena on which it was founded. This is a curious work, from the numerous cases adduced from the histories of Greece and Rome, to illustrate the subject in dispute.

De Fato.

His treatise *De Fato* is quite a fragment; it purports to be the substance of a dissertation in which he explained to Hirtius (soon after Consul) the sentiments of Chrysippus, Diodorus, Epicurus, Carneades, and others, upon that abstruse subject. It is supposed to have consisted at least of two books, of which we have but the proem of the first, and a small portion of the second.

*De Senectute
et de
Amicitia.*

In his beautiful compositions *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, Cato the censor and Lælius are respectively introduced, delivering their sentiments on those subjects. The conclusion of the former, in which Cato discourses on the immortality of the soul, has been always celebrated; and the opening of the latter, in which Fannius and Scævola come to console Lælius on the death of Scipio, is as exquisite an instance of delicacy and taste as can be found in his works. In the latter he has borrowed largely from the eighth and ninth books of Aristotle's *Ethics*.

De Officiis.

His treatise *De Officiis* was finished about the time he wrote his second Philippic, a circumstance which illustrates the great versatility of his mental powers. Of a work so extensively celebrated, it is enough to have mentioned the name. Here he lays aside the less authoritative form of dialogue, and, with the dignity of the Roman consul, unfolds, in his own person, the principles of morals, according to the views of the older schools, particularly of the Stoics. It is written, in three books, with great perspicuity and elegance of style; the first book treats of the *honestum*, the second of the *utile*, and the third adjusts the claims of the two, when they happen to interfere with each other.

*Paradoxa
Stoicorum.*

His *Paradoxa Stoicorum* might have been more suitably, perhaps, included in his rhetorical works, being six short declamations in support of the positions of Zeno; in which that philosopher's subtleties are adapted to the comprehension of the vulgar, and the events of the times. The second, fourth, and sixth, are respectively directed against Antony, Clodius, and Crassus. They seem to have suffered from time.¹ The sixth is the most eloquent, but the argument of the third is strikingly maintained.

¹ Sciopp. in Olivet.

Besides the works now enumerated, we have a considerable fragment of his translation of Plato's *Timæus*, which he seems to have finished about this time. His remaining philosophical works, viz.: the *Hortensius*, which was a defence of philosophy; *De Gloriâ*, *De Consolatione*, written upon Platonic principles on his daughter's death; *De Jure Civili*, *De Virtutibus*, *De Auguriis*, *Chorographia*, translations of Plato's *Protagoras*, and Xenophon's *Economics*, works on Natural History, Panegyric on Cato, and some miscellaneous writings, are, except a few fragments, entirely lost.

His Epistles, about one thousand in all, are comprised in thirty-six books, sixteen of which are addressed to Atticus, three to his brother Quintus, one to Brutus, and sixteen to his different friends; and they form a history of his life from his fortieth year. Among those addressed to his friends, some occur from Brutus, Metellus, Plancius, Cælius and others. For the preservation of this most valuable department of Cicero's writings, we are indebted to Tyro, the author's freedman, though we possess, at the present day, but a part of those originally published. As his correspondence with his friends belongs to his character as a man and politician, rather than to his powers as an author, we have already noticed it in the first part of this memoir.

His poetical and historical works have suffered a heavier fate. The latter class, consisting of his commentary on his consulship, and his history of his own times, is altogether lost. Of the former, which consisted of the heroic poems *Halcyone*, *Cimon*, *Marius*, and his Consulate, the elegy of *Tamelaestes*, translations of Homer and Aratus, epigrams, &c., nothing remains, except some fragments of the *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia* of Aratus. It may, however, be questioned whether literature has suffered much by these losses. We are far, indeed, from speaking contemptuously of the poetical powers of one who possessed so much fancy, so much taste, and so fine an ear.¹ But his poems were principally composed in his youth; and afterwards, when his powers were more mature, his occupations did not allow even his active mind the time necessary for polishing a language still more rugged in metre than it was in prose. His contemporary history, on the other hand, can hardly have conveyed more explicit, and certainly would have contained less faithful, information than his private correspondence; while, with all the penetration he assuredly possessed, it may be doubted if his diffuse and graceful style of thought and composition was adapted for the depth of reflection and condensation of meaning, which are the chief excellences of historical composition.

The orations which he is known to have composed amount in all to about eighty, of which fifty-nine either entire or in part are

¹ See Plutarch, in *Vitâ*.

Cicero.

preserved. Of these some are deliberative, others judicial, others descriptive; some delivered from the rostrum, or in the senate; others in the forum, or before Cæsar; and, as might be anticipated from the character already given of his talents, he is much more successful in pleading or in panegyric than in debate or invective. In deliberative oratory, indeed, great part of the effect depends on the confidence placed in the speaker; and, though Cicero takes considerable pains to interest the audience in his favour, yet his style is not simple and grave enough; he is too ingenious, too declamatory, discovers too much personal feeling, to attain the highest degree of excellence in this department of the art. His invectives, again, however grand and imposing, yet, compared with his calmer and more familiar productions, have a forced and unnatural air. Splendid as is the eloquence of his Catilinarians and Philippics, it is often the language of abuse rather than of indignation; and even his attack on Piso, the most brilliant and imaginative of its kind, becomes wearisome from want of ease and relief. His laudatory orations, on the other hand, are among his happiest efforts. Nothing can exceed the taste and beauty of those for the Manilian law, for Marcellus, for Ligurius, for Archias, and the ninth Philippic, which is principally in praise of Servius Sulpicius. But it is, in judicial eloquence, particularly on subjects of a lively cast, as in his speeches for Cælius and Muræna, and against Cæcilius, that his talents are displayed to the best advantage. To both kinds his amiable and pleasant character of mind imparts inexpressible grace and delicacy; historical allusions, philosophical sentiments, descriptions full of life and nature, and polite raillery, succeed each other in the most agreeable manner, without appearance of artifice or effort. Of this nature are his pictures of the confusion of the Catilinarian conspirators on detection;¹ of the death of Metellus;² of Sulpicius undertaking the embassy to Antonius;³ the character he draws of Catiline;⁴ and his fine sketch of old Appius, frowning on his degenerate descendant Clodia.⁵

General distribution.

These, however, are but incidental and occasional artifices to divert and refresh the mind, as his orations are generally laid out according to the plan proposed in rhetorical works; the introduction, containing the ethical proof; the body of the speech, the argument, and the peroration addressing itself to the passions of the judge. In opening his case, he commonly makes a profession of timidity and diffidence, with a view to conciliate the favour of his audience; the eloquence, for instance, of Hortensius, is so powerful,⁶ or so much prejudice has been excited against his client,⁷

¹ In Catil. iii. 3.² Pro Cæl. 10.³ Philipp. ix. 3.⁴ Pro Cæl. 3.⁵ Ibid. 6.⁶ Pro Quinct. and pro Verr. 5.⁷ Pro Cluent.

or it is his first appearance in the rostrum,¹ or he is unused to Cicero. speak in an armed assembly,² or to plead in a private apartment.³ He proceeds to entreat the patience of his judges; drops out some generous or popular sentiment, or contrives to excite prejudice against his opponent. He then states the circumstances of his case, and the intended plan of his oration; and here he is particularly clear. But it is when he comes actually to prove his point, that his oratorical powers begin to have their full play. He accounts for every thing so naturally, makes trivial circumstances tell so happily, so adroitly converts apparent objections into confirmations of his argument, connects independent particulars with such ease and plausibility, that it becomes impossible to entertain a question on the truth of his statement. This is particularly observable in his defence of Cluentius, where prejudices, suspicions and difficulties are encountered with the most triumphant ingenuity; in the antecedent probabilities of his *Pro Milone*;⁴ in his apology for Muræna's public,⁵ and Cælius's private life,⁶ and his disparagement of Verres's military services in Sicily;⁷ it is observable in the address with which the Agrarian law of Rullus,⁸ and the accusation of Rabirius,⁹ both popular measures, are represented to be hostile to public liberty; with which Milo's impolitic unconcern is made an affecting topic;¹⁰ and Cato's attack upon the crowd of clients which accompanied the candidate for office, a tyrannical disregard for the feelings of the poor.¹¹ So great indeed is his talent, that (as we have before hinted) he even hurts a good cause by an excess of plausibility.

But it is not enough to have barely proved his point; he proceeds, either immediately, or towards the conclusion of his speech, to heighten the effect by exaggeration.¹² Here he goes (as it were) round and round his object; surveys it in every light; examines it in all its parts; retires, and then advances; turns and returns it; compares and contrasts it; illustrates, confirms, enforces his view of the question, till at last the hearer feels ashamed of doubting a position which seems built on a foundation so strictly argumentative. Of this nature is his justification of Rabirius in taking up arms against Saturninus;¹³ his account of the imprisonment of the Roman citizens by Verres, and of the crucifixion of Gavius;¹⁴ his comparison of Antonius with Tarquin;¹⁵ and the contrast he draws of Verres with Fabius, Scipio, and Marius.¹⁶

¹ Pro Leg. Manil.² Pro Milon.³ Pro Deiotar.⁴ Pro Milon. 8—10.⁵ Pro Muræn. 4.⁶ Pro Cæl. 6.⁷ In Verr. v. 2. &c.⁸ Contra Rull. ii. 9.⁹ Pro Rabir. 3.¹⁰ Pro Milon. *init. et alibi.*¹¹ Pro Muræn. 14.¹² De Orat. partit. c. viii. 16, 17.¹³ Pro Rabir. 5.¹⁴ In Verr. v. 65, &c. and 64, &c.¹⁵ Philipp. iii. 4.¹⁶ In Verr. v. 10.

Cicero.

And now, having established his case, he opens upon his opponent a discharge of raillery, so delicate and good-natured, that it is impossible for the latter to maintain his ground against it. Or where the subject is too grave to admit this, he colours his exaggeration with all the bitterness of irony or vehemence of passion. Such are his frequent delineations of Gabinius, Piso, Clodius, and Antonius;¹ particularly his vivid and almost humorous contrast of the two consuls, who sanctioned his banishment, in his oration for Sextius.² Such the celebrated account (already alluded to) of the crucifixion of Gavius, which it is difficult to read, even at the present day, without having our feelings roused against the merciless prætor. But the appeal to the gentler emotions of the soul is reserved (perhaps with somewhat of sameness) for the close of his oration; as in his defence of Cluentius, Muræna, Cælius, Milo, Sylla, Flaccus, and Rabirius Postumus; the most striking instances of which are the poetical burst of feeling with which he addresses his client Plancius,³ and his picture of the desolate condition of the Vestal Fonteia, should her brother be condemned.⁴ At other times, his peroration contains more heroic and elevated sentiments; as in his invocation of the Alban groves and altars in the peroration of the *Pro Milone*, the panegyric on patriotism, and the love of glory in his defence of Sextius, and that on liberty at the close of the third and tenth Philippics. But we cannot describe his oratorical merits more accurately than by extracting his own delineation of a perfect orator: "Sic igitur dicet ille, quem expetimus, ut verset sæpe multis modis eandem et unam rem; et hæreat in eadem, commoreturque sententia: sæpe etiam ut extenuet aliquid, sæpe ut irideat: ut declinet à proposito deflectatque sententiam: ut proponat quid dicturus sit: ut, cum transegerit jam aliquid, definiat: ut se ipse revocet: ut, quod dixit, iteret: ut argumentum ratione concludat: ut dividat in partes: ut aliquid relinquat ac negligat: ut ante præmuniat: ut in eo ipso, in quo reprehendatur, culpam in adversarium conferat: . . . ut hominum sermones moresque describat: ut muta quædam loquentia inducat: ut ab eo, quod agitur, avertat animos; ut sæpe in hilaritatem risumve convertat: ut ante occupet quod videat opponi: ut comparet similitudines: ut utatur exemplis: . . . ut liberius quod audeat: ut irascatur etiam: ut objurget aliquando: ut deprecetur, ut supplicet; ut medeatur; ut à proposito declinet aliquantulum: ut optet, ut excreetur; ut fiat iis, apud quos dicet, familiaris."⁵

¹ Pro Redit. in Senat.; pro Dom.; pro Sext. Philipp.² Pro Sext. 8—10.³ Pro Planc.⁴ Pro Fonteio.⁵ Orat. 40. ["Our model orator then will often turn one and the same subject about in many ways; dwell and linger on the same thought; frequently extenuate circumstances, frequently deride them; sometimes depart from his object, and direct his view another way; propound what he means to speak; define what he has effected; recollect himself; repeat what he has said; conclude his address

But by the invention of a style, which adapts itself with singular felicity to every class of subjects, whether lofty or familiar, philosophical or forensic, Cicero answers even more exactly to his own definition of a perfect orator,¹ than by his plausibility, pathos, and brilliancy. It is not, however, here intended to enter upon the consideration of a subject so ample and so familiar to all scholars as Cicero's oratorical diction, much less to take an extended view of it through the range of his philosophical writings, and familiar correspondence. Among many excellences, the greatest is its suitableness to the genius of the Latin language; though the diffuseness thence necessarily resulting has exposed it, both in his own days and since his time, to the criticisms of those who have affected to condemn its Asiatic character, in comparison with the simplicity of Attic writers, and the strength of Demosthenes.² Greek, however, is celebrated for copiousness in its vocabulary and perspicuity in its phrases; and the consequent facility of expressing the most novel or abstruse ideas with precision and elegance. Hence the Attic style of eloquence was plain and simple, because simplicity and plainness were not incompatible with clearness, energy, and harmony. But it was a singular want of judgment, an ignorance of the very principles of composition, which induced Brutus, Calvus, Sallust, and others to imitate this terse and severe beauty in their own defective language, and even to pronounce the opposite kind of diction deficient in taste and purity. In Greek, indeed, the words fall, as it were, naturally, into a distinct and harmonious order; and, from the exuberant richness of the materials, less is left to the ingenuity of the artist. But the Latin language is comparatively weak, scanty, and unmusical; and requires considerable skill and management to render it expressive and graceful. Simplicity in Latin is scarcely separable from baldness; and justly as Terence is celebrated for chaste and unadorned diction, yet, even he, compared with Attic writers, is flat and heavy.³ Again, the perfection of strength is clearness united to brevity; but to this combination Latin is utterly unequal. From the vagueness and uncertainty of meaning which characterises its

Cicero.

Character of his style.

Difference between the Greek and Latin languages.

with an argument; distribute into parts; leave and neglect something occasionally; guard his case beforehand; cast back upon his adversary the very charges brought against him; describe the language and characters of men; introduce inanimate objects speaking; avert attention from the main point; turn a matter into jest and amusement; anticipate an objection; introduce similes; employ examples; speak with boldness and freedom; even with indignation; sometimes with invective; implore and entreat; heal an offence; occasionally decline a little from his object; implore blessings; denounce execrations;—in a word, put himself on terms of familiarity with the people whom he addresses.”—*Editor.*]

¹ Orat. 29.² Tusc. Quæst. i. 1; de clar. Orat. 82, &c.; de opt. gen. Dic.³ Quinct. x. 1.

Cicero.

separate words, to be perspicuous it must be full. What Livy, and much more Tacitus, have gained in energy, they have lost in perspicuity and elegance; the correspondence of Brutus with Cicero is forcible indeed, but harsh and abrupt. Latin, in short, is not a philosophical language, not a language in which a deep thinker is likely to express himself with purity or neatness. "Qui à Latinis exigit illam gratiam sermonis Attici," says Quinctilian, "det mihi in eloquendo eandem jucunditatem, et parem copiam. Quod si negatum est, sententias aptabimus iis vocibus quas habemus, nec rerum nimiam tenuitatem, ut non dicam pinguioribus, fortioribus certè verbis miscebimus, ne virtus utraque pereat ipsâ confusione. Nam quo minus adjuvat sermo, rerum inventioni pugnandum est. Sensus sublimes varique eruantur. Permovendi omnes affectus erunt, oratio translationum nitore illuminanda. Non possumus esse tam graciles? simus fortiores. Subtilitate vincimur? valeamus pondere. Proprietas penes illos est certior? copiâ vincamus."¹ This is the very plan on which Cicero has proceeded. He had to deal with a language barren and dissonant; his good sense enabled him to perceive what could be done, and what it was in vain to attempt; and happily his talents answered precisely to the purpose required. Terence and Lucretius had cultivated simplicity; Cotta, Brutus, and Calvus had attempted strength; but Cicero rather made a language than a style; yet not so much by the invention as by the combination of words. Some terms, indeed, his philosophical subjects obliged him to coin;² but his great art lies in the application of existing materials, in converting the very disadvantages of the language into beauties,³ in enriching it with circumlocutions and metaphors, in pruning it of harsh and uncouth expressions, in systematizing the structure of a sentence.⁴ This is that "copia dicendi" which gained Cicero the high

¹ ["Let him who demands from Latin writers that peculiar charm of the Attic style grant me the same sweetness of expression, and equal copiousness of language. If this, as it is, is denied us, then we must express ourselves in such words as we have, and not introduce confusion, by endeavouring to discuss subtle arguments in language, which, not to call it too heavy, is yet too strong; lest both excellences [perspicuity and elegance] perish by their very commixture. For the less our language will assist us, the more we must labour to effect by the invention of matter. Let us aim at extracting from our subject sentiments of sublimity and variety. Let us appeal to every feeling, and adorn our style with metaphorical embellishments. We cannot attain the elegance of the Greeks; let us exceed them in vigour. Do they excel us in subtilty?—let us surpass them in force. Are they superior in exactness?—let us outstrip them in copiousness of detail." —*Editor*.]

² De Fin. iii. 1 and 4; Lucull. 6. Plutarch, in Vitâ.

³ This, which is analogous to his address in pleading, is nowhere more observable than in his rendering the recurrence of the same word, to which he is forced by the barrenness or vagueness of the language, an elegance.

⁴ It is remarkable that some authors attempted to account for the *invention* of the Asiatic style, on the same principle we have here adduced to account for Cicero's *adoption* of it in Latin; viz. that the Asiatics had a defective knowledge of

testimony of Cæsar to his inventive powers,¹ and which, we may add, constitutes him the greatest master of composition the world has ever seen. If the comparison be not thought fanciful, he may be assimilated to a skilful landscape-gardener, who gives depth and richness to narrow and confined premises, by taste and variety in the disposition of his trees and walks.

Such, then, are the principal characteristics of Cicero's oratory; on a review of which we may, with some reason, conclude that Roman eloquence stands scarcely less indebted to his compositions than Roman philosophy. For, though in his *De claris Oratoribus* he begins his review from the age of Junius Brutus, yet, soberly speaking, (and as he seems to allow in the opening of the *De Oratore*,) we cannot assign an earlier date to the rise of eloquence among his countrymen, than that of the same Athenian embassy which introduced the study of philosophy. To aim, indeed, at persuasion, by appeals to the reason or passions, is so natural, that no country, whether refined or barbarous, is without its orators. If, however, eloquence be the mere power of persuading, it is but a relative term, limited to time and place, connected with a particular audience, and leaving to posterity no test of its merits, but the report of those whom it has been successful in influencing. "Vulgus interdum," says Cicero, "non probandum oratorem probat, sed probat sine comparatione, cum à mediocri aut etiam à malo delectatur; eo est contentus: esse melius sentit: illud quod est, qualecunque est, probat."²



Roman Orators.

Greek, and devised phrases, &c.. to make up for the imperfections of their scanty vocabulary. See Quint. xii. 10.

¹ De clar. Orat. 72.

² De clar. Orat. 52. ["Sometimes the multitude bestow their approval on an

Cicero.

Orators
before
Cicero.Ciceronian
age.

The eloquence of Carneades and his associates made (to use a familiar term) a great *sensation* among the Roman orators, who soon split into two parties; the one adhering to the rough unpolished manners of their forefathers, the other favouring the artificial graces which distinguished the Grecian style. In the former class were Cato and Lælius,¹ both men of cultivated minds, particularly Cato, whose opposition to Greek literature was founded solely on political considerations. But, as might be expected, the Athenian cause prevailed; and Carbo and the two Gracchi, who are the principal orators of the next generation, are related to have been learned, majestic, and harmonious in the character of their speeches.² These were succeeded by Antonius, Crassus, Cotta, Sulpicius, and Hortensius; who, adopting greater liveliness and variety of manner, form a middle age in the history of Roman eloquence. But it was in that which immediately followed, that the art was adorned by an assemblage of orators, which even Greece will find it difficult to match. Of these Cæsar, Cicero, Curio, Brutus, Cælius, Calvus, and Callidius, are the most celebrated. The splendid talents, indeed, of Cæsar were not more conspicuous in arms than in his oratory, which was noted for force and purity.³ Cælius, who has come before us in the history of the times, excelled in natural quickness, loftiness of sentiment, and politeness in attack;⁴ Brutus in philosophical gravity, though he sometimes indulged himself in a warmer and bolder style.⁵ Callidius was delicate and harmonious; Curio bold and flowing; Calvus, from studied opposition to Cicero's peculiarities, cold, cautious, and accurate.⁶ Brutus and Calvus have been before noticed as the advocates of the dry sententious mode of speaking, which they dignified by the name of Attic; a kind of eloquence which seems to have been popular from the comparative facility with which it was attained.

In the Ciceronian age the general character of the oratory was dignified and graceful. The popular nature of the government gave opportunities for effective appeals to the passions; and, Greek literature being as yet a novelty, philosophical sentiments were introduced with corresponding success. The republican orators were long in their introductions, diffuse in their statements, ample in their divisions, frequent in their digressions, gradual and sedate in their perorations.⁷ Under the emperors, however, the people were less consulted in state affairs; and the judges, instead of possessing an almost independent authority, being but delegates of the executive, from interested politicians became men of business;

Decline of
Roman
Oratory
under the
Imperial
Government.

orator who does not deserve it, and are pleased with one of mean or no talent: they are sensible that something better exists; but they are content, and approve what they have, such as it is."—*Editor.*]

¹ De clar. Orat. 72. Quint. xii. 10.² De clar. Orat.; pro Harusp. resp. 19.³ Quint. x. 1 and 2. De clar. Orat. 75.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ibid. ad Atticum, xiv. 1.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Dialog. de Orat. 20 and 22. Quint. x. 2.

literature, too, was now familiar to all classes; and taste began sensibly to decline. The national appetite felt a craving for stronger and more stimulating compositions. Impatience was manifested at the tedious majesty and formal graces, the parade of arguments, grave sayings, and shreds of philosophy,¹ which characterised their fathers; and a smarter and more sparkling kind of oratory succeeded,² just as in our own country, the minuet of the last century has been supplanted by the quadrille, and the stately movements of Giardini have given way to the brisker and more artificial melodies of Rossini. Corvinus, even before the time of Augustus, had shown himself more elaborate and fastidious in his choice of expressions.³ Cassius Severus, the first who openly deviated from the old style of oratory, introduced an acrimonious and virulent mode of pleading.⁴ It now became the fashion to decry Cicero as inflated, languid, tame, and even deficient in ornament; ⁵ Mæcenas and Gallio followed in the career of degeneracy; till flippancy of attack, prettiness of expression, and glitter of decoration prevailed over the bold and manly eloquence of free Rome.

¹ "It is not uncommon for those who have grown wise by the labour of others, to add a little of their own, and overlook their master."—*Johnson*. We have before compared Cicero to Addison as regards the purpose of inspiring their respective countrymen with literary taste. They resembled each other in the return they experienced. ² Dialog. 18. ³ Dialog. 18. ⁴ Dialog. 19.

⁵ Dialog. 18 and 22. Quinct. xii. 10.



The Forum.

MSS., EDITIONS, &c., OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

I. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

Editt. Princ. :—

Collected Philosophical Works. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, 1471.

De Officiis, De Amicitia, De Senectute, Somnium Scipionis, Paradoxa, Tusculanæ Quæstiones, without name or date, but known to be published by Gering, Crantz, and Friburger. Paris, about 1471.

De Legibus, Academica, De Finibus. Görenz. Lips. 1809-1813. (This edition was intended to comprise the whole of the Philosophical works.)

1. RHETORICAL PHILOSOPHY :—

Ed. Princ. Alexandrinus and Æsulanus. Venet. 1485. Containing De Oratore, Orator, Topica, Partitiones Oratoriæ, De Optimo Genere Oratorum. Reprinted at Venice, 1488 and 1495.

First complete edition. Aldus. Venet. 1514.

Schütz. Lips. 1804.

Wetzel (Opera Rhetorica Minora). Lignitz, 1807.

Beier and Orelli (Orator, Brutus, Topica, de Optimo Genere Oratorum). Turici, 1830.

PARTITIONES ORATORIÆ.

Ed. Princ. Fontana. Venet. (?) 1472.

(Two other undated editions are supposed by bibliographers to be earlier. One is known to have been printed at Naples by Moravus.)

Gryphius. Lugd. Bat. 1545.

Camerarius. Lips. 1549.

Sturmius. Strasb. 1565.

Minos. Paris, 1582.

Majoragius and Marcellinus. Venet. 1587.

Hauptmann. Lips. 1741.

Subsidium :—

Reuschius de Ciceronis Partitionibus Oratoriis. Helmst. 1723.

DE ORATORE.

The first perfect MS. of this work was found at Lodi, hence called Codex Laudensis. It is now lost.

Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. At the monastery of Subiaco, between 1465 and 1467.

Pearce. Lond. 1795.

Wetzel. Brunsv. 1794.

Harles. Lips. 1819 (embracing Pearce).

Müller. Lips. 1819.

Heinischen. Hafn. 1830.

Subsidia :—

- Ernesti De Præstantiâ Librorum Ciceronis de Oratore Prolusio. Lips. 1736.
 Matthiæ Prolegomen zu Cicero's Gesprächen vom Redner. Francof. 1812.
 Schott, Commentarius quo Ciceronis de Fine Eloquentiæ Sententia examinatur. Lips. 1801.
 Gierig, Von dem ästhetischen Werthe der Bücher des Cicero's vom Redner. Fuld. 1807.
 Schaarschmidt de Proposito Libri Ciceronis de Oratore. Schneeberg. 1804.
 Trompheller, Versuch einer Charakteristik der Ciceronischen Bücher vom Redner. Coburg, 1830.

BRUTUS.

MS. The Laudensian above mentioned.

Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, 1469.

Ellendt. Königsberg, 1826.

ORATOR.

Ed. Princ. same as Brutus.

Meyer. Lips. 1827.

Subsidia :—

- Ramus, Brutinæ Quæstiones in Oratorem Ciceronis. Paris, 1549.
 Perionius, Oratio pro Cic. Oratore contra P. Ramum. Paris, 1547.
 Majoragius, In Oratorem Cic. Commentarius. Basil. 1552.
 Junius, In Oratorem Cic. Scholie. Argent. 1585.
 Burchardus, Animadv. ad Cic. Oratorem. Berolin. 1815.

DE OPT. GEN. ORATORUM.

Ed. Princ., annotante Achille Statio. Paris. 1551 and 1552.

Saalfrank (cum Topicis et Partitionibus). Ratisb. 1823.

TOPICA.

Ed. Princ. without name or date; supposed, Venet. 1472.

The Commentaries of Boethius, G. Valla, Melanchthon, J. Visorius, Hegen-
 dorphinus, Latomus, Goveanus, Talvus, Curio, Achilles Statius, are
 contained in the editions printed at Paris by—

- Tiletanus, 1543.
 David, 1550.
 Vascosanus, 1554.
 Richardus, 1557 and 1561.

RHETORICA AD HERENNIIUM.

Ed. Prin. in Ciceronis Rhetorica Nova et Vetus. Jenson. Venet. 1470.

Burmman, edited by Lindemann. Lips. 1828.

Subsidia :—

- Van Heusde, De Ælio Stilone. Utrecht, 1839.
 Regius, Utrum Ars Rhetorica ad Herennium Ciceroni falsò inscribatur.
 Venet. 1492.

2. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY :—

DE REPUBLICA.

MS. The work was supposed to have been altogether lost, until the year 1822, when Angelo Mai restored about one-fourth of it from a palimpsest in the Vatican.

Ed. Princ. Mai. Romæ, 1822.

Villemain. Paris, 1823.

Creuzer and Moser. Francof. 1826.

Subsidia :—

Wolf. Obs. Critt. in M. Tull. Cic. Oratt. pro Scauro et pro Tullio, et librorum de Rep. Fragm. 1824.

Zachariä Staatswissenschaftliche Betrachtungen über Ciceros neu aufgefundenes Werk vom Staate. Heidelb. 1823.

DE LEGIBUS.

Ed. Princ. in the Philosophical works. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, 1471.

Davis. Cantab. 1727, 1728.

Görenz. Lips. 1809.

Moser and Creuzer. Francof. 1824.

Baké. Lugd. Bat. 1842.

3. MORAL PHILOSOPHY :—

DE OFFICIIS.

Ed. Princ. with the Paradoxa. Fust and Schöffer. Mainz. 1465 and 1466. One without date or name, but supposed to be from the press of Ulrich Zell. Colon. 1469.

Another, generally referred to the following year, supposed to be by Ulrich Han, of Rome.

Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, 1469.

Vindelin de Spira. Venet. 1470.

Eggesteyn. Strasb. 1470.

Heusinger. Brunsv. 1783.

Gernhard. Lips. 1811.

Beier. Lips. 1820-21.

Subsidia :—

Buscher, *Ethicæ Ciceronianæ Libri ii.* Hamb. 1610.

Rath. *Cic. de Officiis in brevi conspectu.* Halæ, 1803.

Thorbecke, *Principia Philosophiæ Moralis e Ciceronis Operibus.* Lugd. Bat. 1817.

CATO MAJOR (DE SENECTUTE).

Ed. Princ. :—

This treatise is in the Philosophical works printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, but five previous editions had appeared at Cologne. They are undated. The first three were by Ulrick Zell, the next by Winter de Hornborch, the last by Arnold Therhoernen.

Gernhard (with the Paradoxa). Lips. 1819.

Otto. Lips. 1830.

LÆLIUS (DE AMICITIA).

Ed. Princ. Guldenschaff. Colon.

Ulrich Zell. Colon.

These have no date, but Guldenschaff's is the earlier, and both are older than the edition of the philosophical works by Sweynheym and Pannartz.

Gernhard. Lips. 1825.

Beier. Lips. 1828.

4. METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY:—

ACADEMICA.

Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz (in the philosophical works).

Davis. Cantab. 1725.

Görenz. Lips. 1810.

Orelli. Turici. 1827.

DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM.

Ed. Princ. without name or date. Believed to be from the press of Ulrich Zell, at Cologne, and about 1467.

Joannes ex Coloniâ. Venet. 1471.

Davis. Cantab. 1728.

Rath. Hal. Sax. 1804.

Görenz. Lips. 1813.

Otto. Lips. 1831.

Madvig. Hafn. 1839.

TUSCULANÆ QUÆSTIONES.

Ed. Princ. Ulrich Han. Romæ, 1469.

There are several other editions in the 15th century.

Davis. Cantab. 1709.

Rath. Hal. 1805.

Orelli et Variorum. Turici, 1829.

Kühner. Jenæ, 1829.

Moser. Hannov. 1836-37 (the most complete).

PARADOXA.

Ed. Princ. (with the De Officiis). Fust and Schöffner. Mainz. 1465.
Reprinted by Fust and Gernshem, 1466.

Published with the De Officiis, De Amicitia, and De Senectute, by Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ, 1469.

The same, with the Somnium Scipionis, by Vindelin de Spira. Venet. 1470.

There are many editions of the 18th century.

Wetzel. Lignitz, 1808.

Gernhard. Lips. 1819.

Borgers. Lugd. Bat. 1826.

5. THEOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY:—

DE NATURA DEORUM.

Ed. Princ. in the philosophical works by Sweynheym and Pannartz.
Davis. Cantab. 1718.
Moser and Creuzer. Lips. 1818.

DE DIVINATIONE.

Ed. Princ. as above.
Davis. Cantab. 1721.
Rath. Hal. 1807.
Creuzer, Kayser, and Moser. Francof. 1828.

DE FATO.

Published together with "De Divinatione."

SUBSIDIA ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF CICERO.

Brucker, *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*. Vol. II., pp. 1—70.
Sibert, *Examen de la Philosophie de Ciceron*.
(Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. Vols. XLII. and XLIII.)
Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Vol. IV., pp. 76—168.
Waldin, *De Philosophiâ Ciceronis Platonica*. Jena. 1753.
Zierlein, *De Philosophiâ Ciceronis*. Hal. 1770.
Brieglieb, *Programma de Philosophiâ Ciceronis*. Cob. 1784.
Fremling, *Philosophia Ciceronis*. Lund. 1795.
Hulsemann, *De Indole Philosophiæ Ciceronis*. Luneb. 1799.
Gedicke, *Historia Philosophiæ Antiquæ ex Ciceronis scriptis*. Berol.
1815.
Van Heusde, M. *Tullius Cicero φιλοπλάτων*. Traj. ad Rhen. 1836.
Kühner, M. *Tullii Ciceronis in Philosophiam et ejus partes merita*.
Hamb. 1825.

II. SPEECHES.

Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ. 1471.
Valdarfer. Venet. 1471.
Ambergau. Venet. 1472.
There is also an edition without name or date supposed to be the true
Editio Princeps.
Roigny. Paris. 1536.
Grævius. Amstel. 1695—1699. (Variorum Edition.)
Klotz. Lips. 1835.
The editions of separate speeches are very numerous.

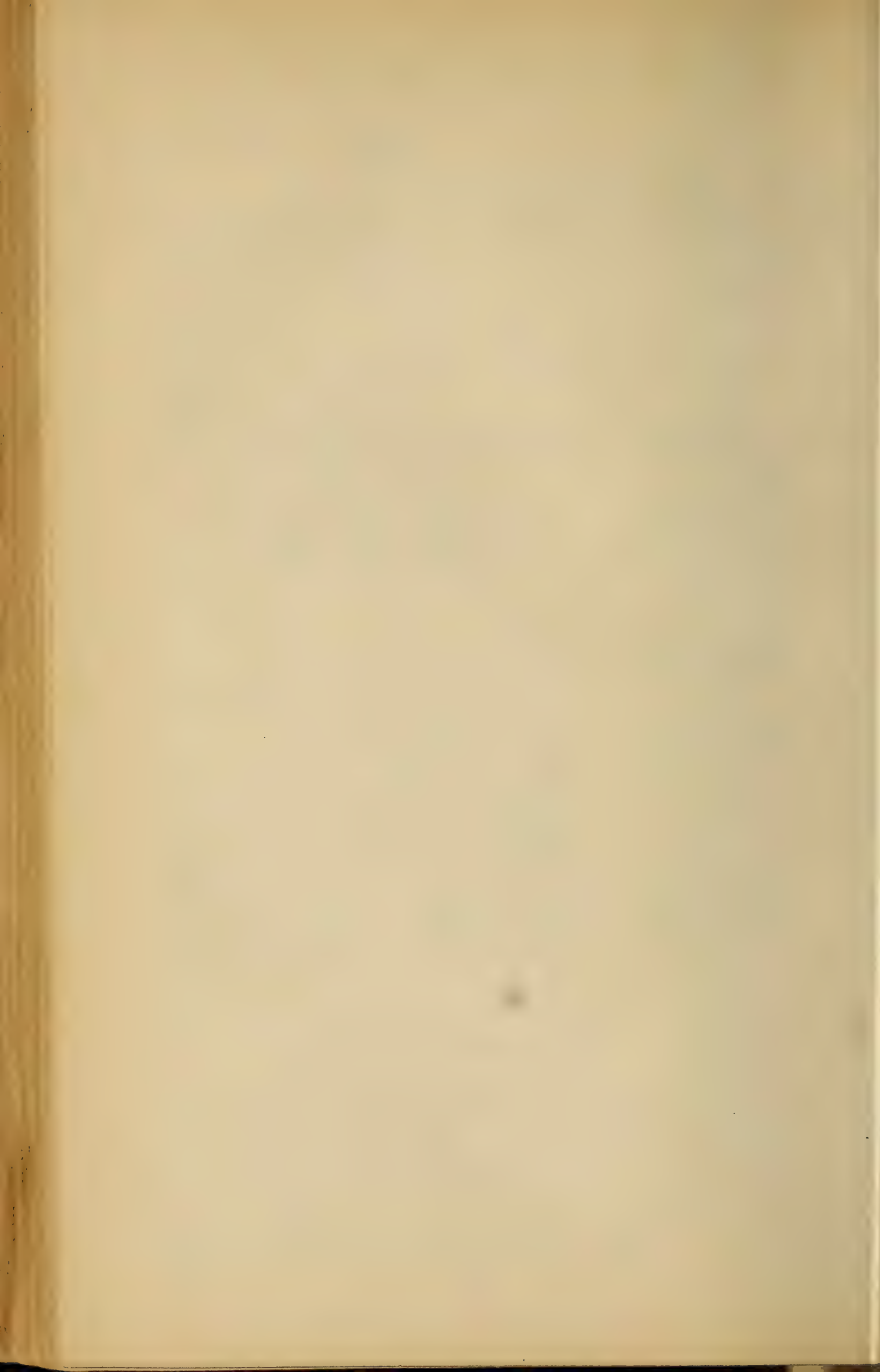
III. LETTERS.

- Ed. Princ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Romæ. 1470.
 Jenson. Venet. 1470.
 Aldus adnotante Minucio. Venet. 1548.
 Schütz. Hal. 1809—1812. (This edition omits the letters to Brutus.)
 Subsidiium :—
 Abeken. Cicero in seinen Briefen.

COMPLETE WORKS.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ed. Princ. Minutianus. Mediol. 1498. | Lambinus. Paris. 1566. |
| Manutius and Naugerius. Venet. 1519 | Gruter. Hamb. 1618. |
| —1523. | Gronovius. Lugd Bat. 1691. |
| Ascensius. Paris. 1522. | Verburgius. Amst. 1724. |
| Cratander. Basil. 1528. | Olivet. Genev. 1743—1749. |
| Hervagius. Basil. 1534. | Ernesti. Hal Sax. 1774—1777. |
| Junta. Venet. 1534—1537. | Schütz. Lips. 1814—1823. |
| C. Stephanus. Paris. 1555. | Orelli. Turici. 1826—1837. |





CICERONIANISM.

BY THE LATE

REV. EDWARD SMEDLEY, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND AFTERWARDS
PREBENDARY OF LINCOLN.

This article is reprinted from the Lexicographical department of the former edition of the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," as a kind of appendix to Mr. Newman's paper, being an illustration of the influence exercised by the authority of Cicero long after the language had ceased to be written by those who spoke it.



Erasmus.

CICERONIANISM.

TOWARDS the latter end of the XVth century a literary heresy Ciceronian-ism. arose in Italy, the supporters of which assumed the name of CICE-
RONIANS. Their principle was, that in writing Latin no word Ciceronians. ought to be used unless it was sanctioned by the authority of Cicero. The chief scholars of the day ranged themselves on opposite sides, and the controversy was sometimes waged with no slight acrimony. Among the first who entered the lists may be mentioned Paolo Cortesi. This learned Tuscan, on transmitting to Politian a Cortesi. collection of letters which he had taken the trouble of amassing, (to little purpose as his correspondent told him,) avowed himself a staunch Ciceronian. The reply of Politian may be found in the Politian. last letter but one of the VIIIth book of his Epistles. He asks Cortesi whether he prefers the smooth visage of the ape, which after all is but a caricature of the human countenance, to the honest roughness of the lion and the bull? He condemns the languor and weakness, the lack of energy, of life, and of originality of such sluggish and slumbering imitators, who beg their bread, as it were by morsels, for the use of the day; and who, if the author whom they are in the habit of mangling should not happen to be at hand, cannot put their words together without some illiterate barbarism. He urges his friend to study and to digest Cicero as he would any other fine writer; but not timidly to swim by him as by a cork, nor servilely to plant his steps upon the very same track as his leader.

Ciceronian-
ism.

Hermolaus
Barbaro.
Muretus.

Politian retained these opinions to the last, and when dedicating his own epistles to Pietro de Medici, about a month before his death, he advanced good reasons for not having confined himself to the school of Cicero, or of any other master. This letter to Cortesi produced a reply from him but little worthy of his reputation, and the combat soon thickened; Hermolaus Barbaro brought his stores of erudition in behalf of Politian; and Muretus honourably recanted a youthful opinion which inclined him to the opposite party. In his *Varie Lectiones*, (xvii.) is a chapter entitled *De stultitiâ quorundam qui se Ciceronianos vocant*, in which he tells a pleasant story relative to this dispute. It seems that he had carefully treasured up several uncommon words, which really did occur, though rarely, and perhaps as ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, in the writings of Tully. They were not, however, to be found in the index of Nizolius, which had been assumed as the touchstone of Ciceronianism; and on a visit which some of the more bigoted partisans of that sect paid to one of Muretus's lectures, he took especial pains to introduce these words into his oration. What was the sly and mischievous joy of the critic when he saw his fastidious friends shrugging up their shoulders and contracting their brows, and heard them with wry faces whispering to each other, that their brains were muddled and their ears tortured by such flagitious barbarisms! nay, when according to the custom of his time, they escorted him to his own house, as a fitting compliment, they could not refrain from some expressions signifying that he had ill-used them by thus violating their feelings. Having enjoyed his sport sufficiently, he let them into his secret; and as soon as the words were recognised to be Cicero's, then, he adds, the tone was wholly changed, and that which had been stigmatised as coarse, rough speech, became on a sudden sweet and soft and polished; *ut lupini aquâ macerati omnem amaritatem exuerant simulatque eas Ciceronis esse constiterat*.

Longueil.

On the side of the opposite party Longueil gave a remarkable testimony of his attachment to these fantastic principles. After having acquired a considerable reputation for the purity of his Latin style, which had been unconfined in its range of authorities, in his latter years, while on a visit at Rome, he composed two Tracts in Ciceronian Latin. One, *Christophori Longoli Civis Romani, Perduellionis rei, Defensiones duo*: the other, *ad Lutheranos jam damnatos*; and so enamoured was he of this new vein, that on his death-bed he instructed his executors to reserve these pieces only, and to commit all his former works to the flames; an injunction which in part was too faithfully obeyed. Another follower of this sect was Paulus Manutius, who, in the judgment of Scaliger, wrote better Ciceronianism than Longueil. The first, he said, accommodated Tully to his own purpose; the latter was compelled to quit his own meaning in order to follow that of Tully: but

Paulus
Manutius.

Paulus, it should be remembered, had already edited Cicero, and must have been, *siquis alius*, deeply versed in his style. The example of Longueil on his death-bed was followed by Navagiero; and the only two of his works which he sought to rescue from the flames were his Ciceronian Funeral Orations; on Bartolomeo d'Alviano, and the Doge Leonardo Loredano. Calcagnini, the profound canon of Ferrara, who requested to be buried in the Dominican Library, in order that he might repose when dead in the same apartment in which the greater part of his living days had been passed, although a Ciceronian, encountered the rod of Majorajius, for some expressions which he had used in his Disquisition on the *Officia*. Even Majorajius himself, in the opinion of his sect, did not go far enough: he was but a lukewarm Ciceronian, for he admitted the words of other Roman authors, and Nizolius rebuked him for his heterodoxy.

Ciceronian-
ism.

Navagiero.

Calcagnini

But the most distinguished work which arose from this controversy, and the only one which is remembered by posterity, is the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus. With that unequalled mixture of wit and learning which adorns all his compositions, this "great injured name" marshalled himself against the reigning folly; and by his light and agreeable raillery discomfited the host of pedants, who in vain turned upon their careless assailant all the heavy artillery which they could bring into the field. Three interlocutors support the dialogue; the first, Nosoponus, a confirmed Ciceronian, who professes that he would rather be a perfect imitator of his great oracle than enjoy a consulate, a pontificate, or even a canonisation. For this exaggerated admiration, however, Erasmus was not without grave authority. The preference had been really expressed by Lazaro Buonamico, who added that he should have chosen the eloquence of Tully before the empire of Augustus. Bulephorus and Hypologus banter Nosoponus upon his diseased fancy, and almost succeed in converting him. The dialogue abounds with pleasant writing, and is rich in characters of contemporary authors. Look, say the opponents of Nosoponus, to the pagan images with which your Latin must of necessity be invested; and they then turn the following passage into Ciceronian speech: "Iesus Christus, Verbum et Filius æterni Patris, juxta prophetias venit in mundum, ac, factus homo, sponte se in mortem tradidit ac redemit Ecclesiam suam, offensique Patris iram avertit a nobis, eique nos reconciliavit, ut per gratiam fidei justificati, et a (Diaboli) tyrannide liberati, inse-ramur Ecclesiæ, et in Ecclesiæ communione perseverantes, post hanc vitam consequamur regnum cælorum." This Christian paragraph, to become Ciceronian, must submit to a strange metamorphosis. "Optimi Maximique Jovis interpres ac filius, Servator, Rex, juxta Vatum responsa, ex Olympo devolvit in terras, et hominis assumtâ figurâ sese pro salute Reipublicæ sponte devovit

Ciceronianus
of Erasmus.

Ciceronian-
ism.

Diis Manibus; atque ita concionem, sive civitatem, sive Rempublicam suam asseruit in libertatem, ac Jovis Optimi Maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum illo redegit in gratiam, ut, persuasionis munificentia ad innocentiam reparati, et a sycophantæ dominatu manumissi, cooptemur in civitatem, et, in Reipublicæ societate perseverantes, quæ fata nos evocârint ex hac vitâ, in Deorum immortalium consortio rerum summâ potiamur." How little caricature is used in this extract may be determined by an inspection of Bembo's Letters. Though secretary to Leo X., and invested with the purple, he does not scruple, in the *History of Venice*, to make the senate of that state exhort the reigning pontiff, "Uti fidat Diis immortalibus, quorum vicem gerit in terris;" instead of "fides" he writes "persuasio;" instead of "excommunicatio," "ab aquâ et igni interdictio:" and, even when addressing official despatches in the very person of the representative of St. Peter, he blames the inhabitants of Recanati for providing unsound timber for the Casa di Loretto in such terms as these: "Ne tum nos tum etiam *Deam ipsam* (the Virgin Mary) inani lignorum inutilium donatione lusisse videamini:" and, while exhorting Francis I. to a crusade against the Turks, he invokes him "per Deos atque homines."

Doletus.

It is not easy to describe the fury with which the Ciceronians assailed the dialogue of Erasmus. Doletus, the unhappy printer, whose Lutheranism or Atheism (for his enemies accused him of both, and with some, of those times, the charges were synonymous) afterwards brought him to the stake, first attacked Erasmus himself in a dialogue, *De Imitatione Ciceronianâ*, in which Sir Thomas More and Simon de Villeneuve maintain the dispute; and afterwards poured his wrath upon Floridus Sabinius, who had espoused the other party, and was overwhelmed with prose and verse, with argument, invective, and epigram. The whole of Italy was in flame. Sambucus, Sadoletus, Johannes Lascaris, Julius Camillus, and Paulus Jovius, all entered the lists; and Erasmus was falsely accused of undervaluing Cicero, not of exposing Ciceronianism.

Scaliger.

It was reserved, however, for the elder Scaliger to produce the most signal monument of literary bitterness and inconsistency which the annals of controversy can display. In 1531 he put forth *Oratio adversus Des. Er. Eloquentiæ Romanæ vindex*, a tract, which six years afterwards was followed by a second of the same kind. If Catiline or Cethegus themselves had risen from the dead, Ciceronianism could not have encountered rounder terms for their vituperation than those which are here levelled against Erasmus. He is called "Romani nominis vomica; Eloquentiæ scopulum; Latinae puritatis contaminator; Eloquentiæ evorsor; Literarum carnifex; omnium ordinum labes; omnium studiorum macula; omnium ætatum venenum; mendaciorum parens; furoris alumnus; Furia,

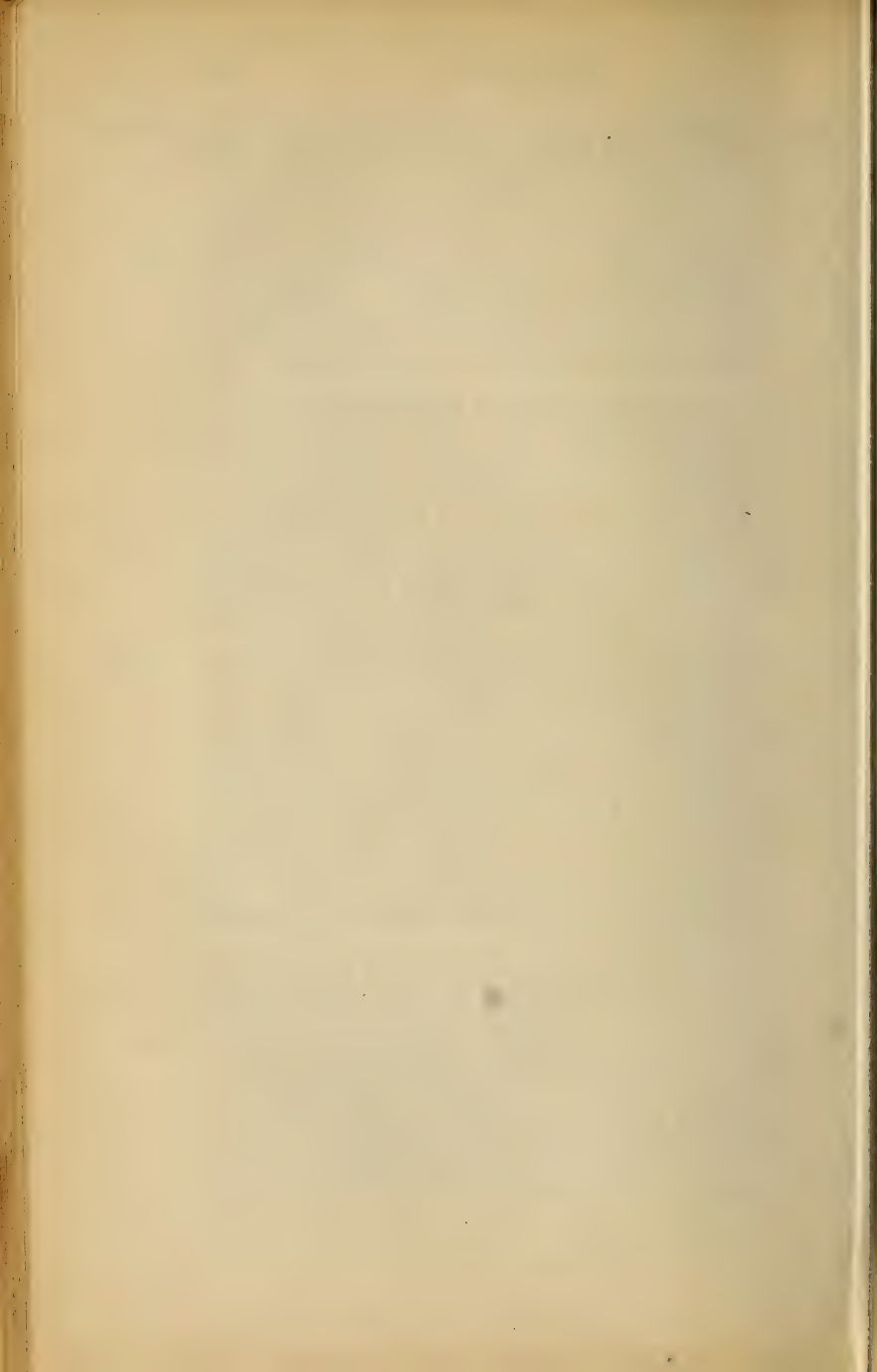
cujus scriptis incolumibus Respublica sive Christiana, sive Literaria, stare non potest : ” finally, he is “ Cœnum, Busiris, Vipera generis humani, monstrum, parricida et triparricida.” In a letter written by his father, which the younger Scaliger afterwards suppressed, but which may be found in the edition of Thoulouse (xv. addressed to Ferronius) he condescends to still more unmeasured abuse. He taxes his meek and modest antagonist, (if he who personally had never written against him can be called an antagonist) with the dishonour of his birth : “ spurius es,” he says, “ ex incesto natus concubitu, sordidis parentibus, altero sacrificulo, alterâ prostitutâ.”

Ciceronian-
ism.

Erasmus unjustly suspected Cardinal Aleander, against whom he nursed a strong dislike, to be the author of the first of these orations. He felt the invective of it acutely ; and it is said that he collected and burned all the copies which he could get into his hands. Scaliger afterwards recanted, not his Ciceronianism, but his ferocious calumnies. He even wrote an epitaph on the death of him whom he had thus atrociously libelled : but it was a composition which was little calculated by its merit to appease his injured ghost, if it could be supposed still to retain the memory of literary quarrels. Infinite self-gratulation, however, must have resulted to Erasmus from his satire. Though, at the moment, it diminished the number of his admirers, and exposed him to the bitterest malevolence, it nevertheless struck a death-blow at Ciceronianism. This silly fancy faded away like the romance of the Spaniards before the pen of Cervantes. A few of the Italian school attempted, but in vain, to prolong the existence of the expiring sect, as a few coxcombs after them from time to time have attempted to revive it. But it was no longer doubted by the great majority of scholars, that pure Latinity could be drunk from other sources besides that of Tully ; and that it was a mistaken and illiberal monopoly, which sought to confine the stream of Roman eloquence in the narrow bed of a single channel.

The reader who wishes for more on this subject may consult the various tracts of the authors who have been incidentally mentioned in our brief notice above. The literary historians of the Cinquecenti will give him plentiful details. Some of Bayle's remarks (particularly in the lives of Bembo, Majorajius, and Erasmus) furnish curious anecdotes. Many facts will be found scattered up and down Jortin's rambling and ill-adjusted, but overflowing *Life of Erasmus* ; the whole is neatly and concisely put together in Burigny's *Vie d'Erasmus* ; and Baillet, in *Les Jugemens des Savans*, (lvii.) has stated the chief criticisms upon the *Ciceronianus* itself.

Bayle.



THE
HISTORIANS OF ROME.

BY THE LATE
THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.
HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL.

Reprinted from the original edition.

THE HISTORIANS OF ROME.

THEOPOMPUS	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	U.C. 400.	A.C. 354.
CLITARCHUS			U.C. 420.	A.C. 334.
THEOPHRASTUS	BORN	U.C. 381. A.C. 373. DIED	U.C. 466.	A.C. 288.
HIERONYMUS }	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	U.C. 500.	A.C. 254.
TIMEUS }				
DIOCLES, UNCERTAIN, BUT BEFORE SECOND PUNIC WAR.				
QUINTUS FABIUS PICTOR	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	U.C. 529.	A.C. 225.
LUCIUS CINCIVS ALIMENTUS			U.C. 542.	A.C. 212.
MARCUS PORCIUS CATO	BORN	U.C. 521. A.C. 233. DIED	U.C. 606.	A.C. 148.
LUCIUS CALPURNIUS PISO	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	U.C. 620.	A.C. 134.
LUCIUS CÆLIUS ANTIPATER			U.C. 633.	A.C. 121.
CNÆUS GELLIUS			U.C. 630.	A.C. 124.
CAIVS LICINIUS MACER }			U.C. 700.	A.C. 54.
LUCIUS ÆLIUS TUBERO }				
QUINTUS VALERIUS ANTIAS }			U.C. 670.	A.C. 84.
LUCIUS SISENNA }				
POLYBIUS	BORN	U.C. 548. A.C. 206. DIED	U.C. 630.	A.C. 124.
CAIVS CRISPUS SALLUSTIVS, BORN	U.C. 668. A.C. 86. DIED	U.C. 719.	A.C. 35.	
CAIVS JULIVS CÆSAR	BORN	U.C. 653. A.C. 101. DIED	U.C. 710.	A.C. 44.
TITUS LIVIVS	BORN	U.C. 661. A.C. 93. DIED	U.C. 737.	A.C. 17.
DIONYSIVS HALICARNASSENSIS	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	U.C. 749.	A.C. 5.
DIODORUS SICVLVS			U.C. 710.	A.C. 44.
APPIANVS				A.D. 143.
DION CASSIVS				A.D. 229.
VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS				A.D. 3.
CAIVS CORNELIVS TACITVS	BORN	A.D. 57. DIED	CIRCITER	A.D. 99.
CORNELIVS NEPOS	DIED	CIRCITER	U.C. 729.	A.C. 25.
PLUTARCHVS			DIED	A.D. 119.
CAIVS SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS	DIED	CIRCITER	A.D. 120.	
LUCIVS ANNÆVS FLORVS	FLOURISHED	CIRCITER	A.D. 116.	
JUSTINVS				A.D. 148.
VALERIVS MAXIMVS				A.D. 23.



Dea Roma.

THE HISTORIANS OF ROME.

WE propose in the present section to give some account of the progress of historical writing from the age of Xenophon to that of Tacitus; or, which is nearly the same thing, to notice the characters of the principal writers, whether Greeks or Latins, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the history of Rome.

But before we proceed to speak of those authors, of whose works enough has been preserved to allow us to judge sufficiently of their merits and defects, it will be proper to give a brief sketch of those also who are known to us only through the reports of others; their own writings, with the exception of some scattered fragments, having been long since lost. THEOPOMPUS of Chios, a scholar of Isocrates, who continued the History of Thucydides to the end of the Peloponnesian war, and in another work gave an account of the actions of Philip of Macedon, is said by Pliny¹ to have been the oldest Greek writer who made any mention of the affairs of Rome. However, he merely noticed the capture of the city by the Gauls; an event which seems to have excited some interest in Greece, as it was spoken of not only by Theopompus, but by Aristotle,² and by Heraclides of Pontus, both of whom flourished at the same period. CLITARCHUS, the follower and historian of Alexander, named the Romans among the different nations who sent embassies to his

Earliest
writers who
have spoken
of Rome.

Theo-
pompus.

Clitarchus.

¹ Histor. Natural, iii. 5.

² Plutarch, in Camillo, c. 22.

Theo-
phrastus.

master, probably to deprecate his displeasure ; and THEOPHRASTUS, so well known for his lively sketches of Moral Characters, as well as by his works on plants and minerals,¹ is said to have bestowed some attention on the affairs of Rome. In his *History of Plants*, which is still preserved to us, he speaks of an unsuccessful attempt of the Romans to land on the coast of Corsica ; and this is the first mention of their name, which is to be found in any original Greek

Hieronymus.

writer now extant. A few years after Theophrastus, lived HIERONYMUS of Cardia, who, according to Dionysius,² first gave a connected sketch of the early history of Rome : and TIMÆUS, a Sicilian,

Timæus.

besides treating of the first part of the Roman Annals in his *Universal History*, wrote also a separate account of the Italian campaigns of Pyrrhus. But, according to Plutarch,³ it was not Hieronymus of Cardia, but DIOCLES of Peparethus, who first published that report of the foundation of Rome, which, having been adopted by the most ancient Roman annalists, has been exclusively transmitted to posterity, and has caused all the other traditions to be forgotten, which once were circulated on the same subject.

Diocles.

Plutarch asserts in plain terms,⁴ that Q. Fabius Pictor, the oldest Roman annalist, borrowed his narrative of Romulus from the work of Diocles ; and Dionysius asserts as plainly,⁵ that the account of Fabius was in its turn followed as an authority by Cato and L. Cincius ; who, together with Fabius, are the most distinguished of the early Roman historians. If this statement then be true, the original Roman writers were themselves only the transcribers of the narrative of a foreigner ; and we cannot be sure that any part of the story of Romulus is founded on traditions which are unquestionably of Roman origin.

How much
of the early
Roman
History is
probably of
domestic
origin.

But a more temperate judgment of the matter will pronounce a less sweeping sentence. It is exceedingly probable that Fabius Pictor may have borrowed the story of the birth of Romulus, and of his personal adventures, either from Diocles or from some other Greek writer ; because it is exactly the sort of narrative which is apt to originate in the fancy of an injudicious writer of a later age, and there was no Roman historian older than himself from whom he could have copied it. The accidents of Romulus's infancy bear a remarkable resemblance to the Persian tradition of the birth and early life of Cyrus, to which Herodotus has given celebrity ; and the stories of Brutus the Trojan in our own country, and of similar heroes in other countries of modern Europe, prove sufficiently that circumstantial narratives of the first settlement of a people may be composed without resting in the slightest degree on any domestic tradition. But the distinction which Cicero⁶ makes between the

¹ Pliny, *ubi supra*.

² Dionysius Halicarnass. i. 6.

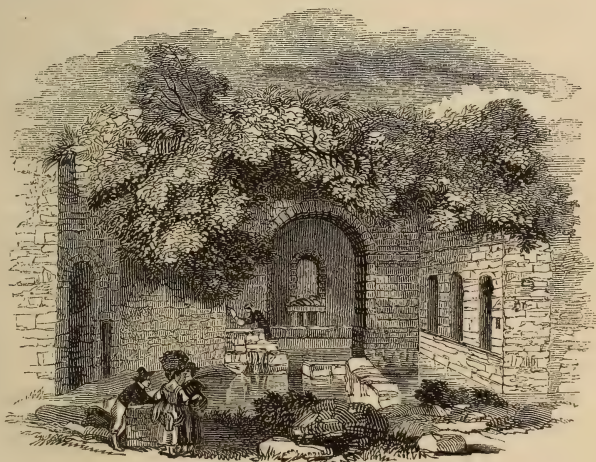
³ In Romulo, c. 3.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ i. 79.

⁶ De Republicâ, ii. 2. "Ut jam a Fabulis ad Facta veniamus."

personal adventures of Romulus before the foundation of Rome, and the institutions which were traced back to the period of his government, seems in the main a just one. The first he calls "Fables," the second "Facts;" and although the ignorance of careless writers has materially disguised those facts, yet the outlines are of a kind not likely to have been invented by a mere fabulist, but such as would have been preserved either in actual public records, or by the continued existence in later times of the institutions to which they refer. We may be well satisfied that neither Diocles, nor any other Greek, invented the account of the union between the Romans and Sabines; of the division of the people into three tribes, the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, and into thirty *Curie*; of the distinction between the patricians and plebeians; of the lictors and other insignia of dignity which were borrowed from Tuscany; and of those curious ceremonies which Plutarch describes as having been practised at the foundation of the city. With regard to the reigns of the successors of Romulus, we may assert the genuineness of many facts transmitted to us by the early annalists



Fountain of Egeria.¹

with still greater confidence. The fragments of the laws of Numa preserved to us by Festus; the law of murder in the reign of

¹ And in all that Numa did, he knew that he should please the gods; for he did everything by the direction of the nymph Egeria, who honoured him so much that she took him to be her husband, and taught him in her sacred grove by the spring that welled out from the rock, all that he was to do towards the gods and towards men.—*Livy*, i. 19, 20. *Ovid*, *Fasti*, iii. 276.

Tullus Hostilius; the form of the treaty between Rome and Alba; the *Jus Feciale*, which Livy seems to have copied from L. Cincius; the enlargement of the three original tribes by Tarquinius Priscus; and, above all, the account of the Census of Ser. Tullius, and his dividing the whole people into thirty local tribes, quite distinct from the tribes in which the citizens of different races had been classed according to their different blood; these, and other points of a similar nature, may be regarded as unquestionably genuine: while the more popular part of the Roman story, the personal characters and exploits of their kings, the events of foreign war, the causes and merits of domestic revolutions, and, much more, all the details of particular actions, may be safely ascribed to the foolish loquacity of some unwise writer; or to that dishonest vanity which is known to have produced so much falsehood in the memoirs of private families; or to the policy of a predominant party, seeking to give a false colour to the circumstances by which its own ascendancy was established.

Q. Fabius
Pictor.

It is unfortunate for the Roman history that QUINTUS FABIVS PICTOR was the first and most popular of the Roman annalists. The common account of the events of the first four hundred and fifty years of the State's existence, is doubtless in the main copied from him; and it is quite sufficient to show how great was his carelessness, how shallow was his judgment, and how blind was his partiality. Instead of labouring to separate the few facts which were preserved to his time by genuine records or unsuspected traditions, from the mass of idle inventions and misrepresentations with which they had been overwhelmed, he presented the whole to his readers in one heterogeneous compound, as if all were to be received with equal confidence. Instead of searching for such original records as were still in existence, though not generally made public; such as the treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage in the first year of the Republic, and that which Porsenna dictated to the Romans, when they were forced to surrender their city to him; he listened to the memoirs of the Valerian family, and to the temptations of national vanity, which represented P. Valerius Publicola as a colleague of L. Brutus in the consulship, and described the King of Clusium as abandoning gratuitously a prey, which was confessed to be already within his grasp. The general tenor of the story, usually given as the history of Rome, abundantly confirms that character of Fabius given by Polybius, who describes him as a writer at once partial and injudicious; warping the truth in order to enhance the fame of his countrymen; yet doing this with so little ability, that the inconsistencies and ignorances of his narrative often afford their own confutation.

L. Cincius
Alimentus.

The merits of LUCIVS CINCIVS ALIMENTVS were apparently of a far higher order than those of Fabius. He was prætor in the

year of Rome 542,¹ about the middle of the second Punic war; and at one period of that war he became Hannibal's prisoner,² and learned from his own mouth the amount of the army with which he had entered Italy, and of the losses which he had sustained since he crossed the Rhone. He is called by Livy,³ a curious investigator of ancient monuments and records; and the fragments which are preserved of his different works seem fully to confirm this character. Most of these related to various points connected with the antiquities and Constitutional history of Rome; such as the *Comitia*:⁴ the *power of the Consuls*:⁵ the *duty of a Lawyer*:⁶ the *Fasti*:⁷ *military affairs*,⁸ &c. Besides all these, he wrote a regular history of Rome, from the earliest ages down to his own times; and this, if we may believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁹ was composed in Greek; but as he asserts the same thing of the Annals of Fabius Pictor, which were clearly written in Latin, it is not improbable that he mistook in both instances a Greek translation for the original work. In the fragments of Cincius, which are preserved by Festus, there are some notices of great value, particularly his account of the alliance between Rome and Latium,¹⁰ which he represents in a very different light from that in which it is exhibited by the common historians of those times. But it should be remarked, that almost all these fragments are quoted from his minor works, which by their titles were evidently more laboured, and of a less popular character than his general history. It is not impossible, that in the latter he may have followed Fabius in repeating the story most adapted to flatter the pride of his readers, and to which the family memoirs, contained in the funeral orations of the most distinguished patricians, had already given a general circulation; ¹¹ while in his more scientific works he had really endeavoured to discover and to state the exact truth. When Fabius and Cincius wrote, history was still considered more as a means of giving pleasure, and encouraging patriotic enthusiasm, than as a severe and impartial record of the actions and condition of mankind; and thus Livy and Dionysius, whose histories bear evident marks of having been *got up* from the mere common sources of information, and who, while they read

L. Cincius
Alimentus.

¹ Livy, xxvi. 23.

² Ibid. xxi. 38.

³ vii. 3.

⁴ Festus, *in voce* Patricii.

⁵ Festus, Prætor ad Portam.

⁶ Ibid. Nuncupata Pecunia.

⁷ Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 12.

⁸ Aulus Gellius, xvi. 4.

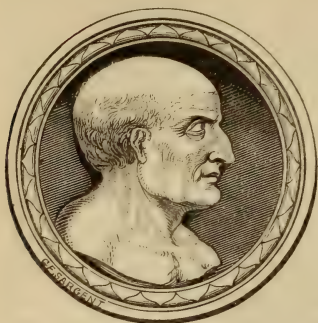
⁹ Ibid. i. 6.

¹⁰ Festus, Prætor ad Portam.

¹¹ Something of this kind may be observed in Cardinal Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*. In the body of his work he has repeated the common tales which he found recorded by former writers, and generally received by the Roman Catholics; but in the Essays or Discourses on particular points, which he has prefixed to some of the volumes, he writes in a totally different spirit; he is candid, cautious, and sensible, and has given the fairest account with which we are acquainted of the subjects on which he treats.

the annals of Cincius, were not likely to study his other works, have not availed themselves of that more correct information, which his legal and antiquarian treatises would have afforded them.

M. Porcius
Cato.



Cato the Censor.

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO flourished only a few years later than Fabius and Cincius. He was born about sixteen years before the beginning of the second Punic war;¹ and filled the office of quæstor in the year of Rome 549, in the consulship of M. Cethegus and P. Tuditanus. He was elected consul nine years afterwards; and eleven years later, in the year of Rome 569, he obtained the censorship; from which circumstance, he is usually designated by the title of Cato the Censor, to distinguish him from his equally celebrated great-grandson, Cato of Utica. After a busy and active

manhood, and having on all occasions testified the strongest aversion for the arts and literature of Greece, he began in his old age² to study the Greek language, and to devote himself to the investigation of the antiquities of Italy, for which he found the Greek writers among his principal authorities. At an earlier part of his life he had published several speeches, as well as a Treatise on Agriculture; but we are at present only considering him as an historian; and the work which entitled him to this name was called *Origines*, or *Antiquities*, and consisted of seven books;³ the first of which contained the History of Rome under its Kings; the second and third treated of the origin of all the several States of Italy; the fourth and fifth embraced the two first Punic wars; and the two last carried on the history of the wars that followed down to the prætorship of Ser. Galba, in the year of Rome 602. He died in the year 604, at the age of eighty-five, in the consulship of L. Marcius and Marcius Manilius.

Of Cato's merits as a historian it is not very easy to form a judgment. His learning is spoken of with praise by Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, and Livy; but it was not merely learning which was required, but an ability to weigh the merits of the numerous writers whose works he read, and to distinguish between that which was trustworthy in them, and that which was worthless. We are told that Cato wrote his *Origines* when he was advanced in years, and whilst he was prosecuting his study of the Greek writers with

¹ Cicero, de Claris Oratoribus, 15, 16.

² Cicero, de Senectute, 8.

³ Cornelius Nepos, in Catone, 3.

all the keenness which he derived from the novelty of the pursuit. Under such circumstances he would be likely to attach an excessive value to the information which he found in them; their Greek etymologies of Italian names, however fanciful, would be apt to impose upon him, from the merits and importance which a language newly acquired always assumes, and from our fancied ability to see in it a derivation for many words, the origin of which we had never been able to ascertain. He relates the story of the sow and her thirty pigs,¹ which Æneas found on the banks of the Tiber, and whose number was typical of the number of years which should elapse before the Trojans should build the town of Alba. We are inclined to suspect that the *Origines* of Cato, if we possessed them, would be little more than a transcript of the History of Fabius, or of those Greeks from whom Fabius himself borrowed his narrative. But his particular treatises on various points of the constitution, of which so long a catalogue may be collected from Festus, were probably of much greater value; as he was likely in these to have relied more on the authority of laws, or of existing usages and general traditions, and less on the writings of such historians as Fabius and Diocles of Peparethus.

M. Porcius
Cato.

Next in order of time to Fabius, Cincius, and Cato, may be ranked LUCIUS CALPURNIUS PISO. He was consul in the year of Rome 620, when Tiberius Gracchus was murdered; and had been tribune sixteen years before, and had then brought forward the first law ever enacted in Rome for the punishment of corruption and extortion in the provinces.² His annals seem to have gone back to the earliest times, as A. Gellius³ quotes from him an anecdote of the private life of Romulus; and to have been carried down at least to the second Punic war.⁴ Of their merits we know nothing; Cicero indeed speaks of them rather contemptuously, but this is on account of what he calls the meagreness of their style;⁵ and he takes no notice of their character in more important particulars.

L. Calpurnius
Piso.

LUCIUS CÆLIUS ANTIPATER, who lived a few years later than Piso, is commended in like manner for the eloquence and correctness of his language,⁶ when compared with that of the earlier writers; but we are told nothing further concerning him. There is, however, a passage in Livy⁷ which conveys a favourable impression of him, where it is said, that Cælius had given three different accounts of the death of Marcellus; one, according to the common tradition; another, following the statement given by the son of

L. Cælius
Antipater.

¹ Sex. Aurelius Victor, de Origine Gentis Romanæ.

² Cicero, de Claris Oratoribus, 27.

³ ii. 14.

⁴ Livy, xxv. 39.

⁵ "Reliquit Annales, sanè exiliter scriptos."—*De Claris Orat.* 27.

⁶ Cicero, de Legibus, i. 2; de Oratore, ii. 13.

⁷ xxvii. 27.

L. Cælius
Antipater.

Marcellus, when pronouncing his father's funeral oration; and a third, which he offers as the true story, the fruit of his own investigations of the subject. This certainly implies some carefulness and weighing of testimony on the part of the historian; and it is confirmed by the character given of him by Valerius Maximus,¹ "that he was an author to be depended upon;" and by the circumstance that he, almost singly, as far as appears among the Roman annalists, has stated with truth the passage of the Alps, by which Hannibal entered Italy, when he says that he crossed by the Cremonis Jugum,² or Little St. Bernard.

Other early
historians.

To the names of early historians already mentioned, may be added those of CAIUS SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS,³ CNÆUS GELLIUS, QUINTUS CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS, (who translated his history from one written in Greek by ACILIUS,⁴ and who must have been a most voluminous author, as Aulus Gellius quotes the 150th Book of his Annals;)⁵ CAIUS LICINIUS MACER, LUCIUS ÆLIUS TUBERO, and QUINTUS VALERIUS ANTIAS. We may be well assured, that none of these writers would have deserved much praise if their works had survived to us; the exaggerations of Valerius Antias are well known; those of Claudius, on some occasions, nearly rival them; and Licinius Macer and Ælius Tuberо quote the *Libri Lintei* differently as to the same fact, a circumstance which implies some carelessness in one or both of them.

L. Sisenna.

The name of LUCIUS SISENNA, who lived, together with Valerius Antias,⁶ under the dictatorship of Sylla, is mentioned with much more respect. He was the author of a History of the Civil War between Marius and Sylla; and is said by Cicero to have far surpassed every other Roman historian; and by Sallust, to have investigated and described the subject of which he treats, better and more carefully than any other writer. His work would have been exceedingly valuable; as we have unfortunately no contemporary account of that eventful period, which intervened between the third Punic war and the commencement of Cicero's political career.

One only history of the beginning of the VIIth century of Rome has reached posterity in a state sufficiently uninjured to enable us to judge fully and fairly of its merits; and to this we shall next call the attention of our readers, fatigued perhaps like ourselves with the unsatisfactory review of fragments, and the enumeration of almost forgotten names. POLYBIUS, the son of Lycortas, was a native of Megalopolis, a city situated within the

¹ i. 7. "Cælius, certus Romanæ Historiæ Auctor."

² Livy, xxi. 38.

³ A. Gellius, vi. 4. Cicero, de Legibus, i. 2.

⁴ Livy, xxv. 39; xxxv. 14.

⁵ i. 7.

⁶ Velleius Paterculus, ii. Cicero, de Claris Oratoribus, 63. Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. 95.

limits of Arcadia, but in its political relations being a member of the Achaian confederacy. His father appears to have been a man of ability and patriotism, who exercising a considerable influence in the councils of his country, endeavoured to preserve the independence of Achaia by a manly and free demeanour towards the Romans, without provoking their enmity by displaying a fruitless spirit of opposition. Polybius entered into public life at an early age, and steadily supported and followed the policy of his father; so that his conduct exposed him to the resentment of the Romans, when their victory over the last king of Macedon at once disposed and enabled them to treat every relic of liberty in Greece as an affront to their supremacy. The party amongst the Achaians,¹ who hoped to win the favour of the Romans by an excessive servility, accused their more independent countrymen of being disaffected to the interests of Rome; and on this charge, Polybius, with more than a thousand others, was transported into Italy, and there detained for about seventeen years. His fellow prisoners were mostly confined in Tuscany, or in other districts of Italy; but he himself,² through the interest of P. Scipio Æmilianus, and his brother, whose fondness for Greek literature had first led to their acquaintance with him, was allowed to reside at Rome. His acquaintance with P. Scipio, in particular, grew by degrees into an intimate friendship; and when, after the lapse of seventeen years, those Achaians who had survived their captivity were allowed to return home, Polybius continued to live with his friend, and was his companion in the third Punic war,³ when he brought the siege of Carthage to a conclusion, and destroyed the city. In the succeeding year he was an eye witness⁴ of the miseries brought upon his countrymen by their last ill-advised contest with the Romans; and, on this occasion, he used his influence with the Roman officers to preserve untouched the statues of Aratus and Philopœmen, who were represented by the flatterers of Rome as having been the enemies of the Roman power. After the final settlement of the affairs of Greece by the ten commissioners, whom the senate, as usual, despatched to determine the future condition of the conquered country, Polybius was directed to go round the several cities of Peloponnesus, to endeavour to pacify their mutual jealousies, and to superintend the first operation of the new constitution, which the Romans had imposed upon them. The latter years of his life appear to have been passed in his own country, where he is said to have died⁵ in consequence of a fall from his horse, at the advanced age of eighty-two, about 124 years before the Christian æra.

¹ Polybius, lib. xxx. c. 10. Pausanias, Achaica, c. 10.

² Polybius, lib. xxxii. c. 9.

³ Polybius, Fragment, lib. xxxix.

⁴ Ibid. lib. xl. c. 7, 8.

⁵ Lucian, Macrobian, p. 917, ed. Paris, 1615.

Polybius.

A long life so divided between an active participation in civil and military duties, and a leisure abundantly favoured with the means of acquiring information, was well calculated to form an excellent historian. The times, too, in which Polybius lived, presented him with a most attractive subject; he had witnessed the progress and completion of that career of conquest, which bestowed on a nation of half barbarians the greatest power in the civilised world, and which had established between the different countries bordering on the Mediterranean, a mutual connection till then unknown. Owing to this revolution, Greece could no longer pretend to claim the highest rank amongst nations; she was herself reduced to absolute subjection, while those great offshoots from her vigorous root, the kingdoms formed by the successors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt, were themselves obliged to submit to the control, or to court the protection, of Rome. That barbarians should thus have obtained dominion over Greeks, could only be ascribed, in the fond persuasion of the latter, to that blind power of fortune against which the greatest human wisdom must struggle in vain. But Polybius had learnt to appreciate more truly the causes of the Roman ascendancy; and found them perfectly agreeable to the acknowledged principles which determine the fate of nations. He saw that the Romans owed their success, in part at least, to the inherent superiority of their institutions, and the undeviating singleness of aim which marked their policy. His long residence at Rome, the acquaintance which he had there gained with the Latin language, and still more his personal intimacy with some of the most distinguished Romans, enabled him to describe faithfully to the Greeks the exploits, character, and institutions of their conquerors; which other writers among his countrymen, partly from ignorance, partly from servility, and partly from the fondness of ordinary minds for splendid fables, had greatly misrepresented.

Perhaps, however, the habit of conversing with men of uncultivated minds, who were always looking to him, as to their teacher, for lessons of moral and political wisdom, produced on the character of Polybius its usual effect, in leading him to expatiate with self-complacency on points which men in general understood as well as himself, and to mistake very trite and ordinary observations for truths at once original and striking. Many parts of his work, however useful they might have been if written in Latin, and addressed to Roman readers, must have appeared absolutely ridiculous to a Greek who had received the ordinary education of his countrymen. His long remarks on the usefulness of geography, and his tedious way of describing the shapes of different countries, must have appeared at once needless and dull to those of his readers who were familiar with the abundant information, and the lively sketches of Herodotus. When he stops, in almost every

page, to descant upon some common-place axiom of morals or politics, we can imagine how impatiently an Athenian would have turned over the volume, while he recollected with a sigh, those brief touches of a master's hand, by which Thucydides has furnished matter of thought for twenty centuries. Much indeed of his reflections is really valuable, and even when we are most tempted to complain of their triteness, we must generally allow their soundness. But the prosing tone which pervades the work detracts generally from its merit, inasmuch as, by fatiguing and disgusting the reader, it prevents his memory from grasping readily the facts contained in the history; and, by overlaying the narrative with a mass of cumbrous digression, it adds to the obscurity which the very nature of the subject necessarily entailed upon it. In an universal history, such as Polybius attempted to write, it requires not only great clearness of arrangement, but great liveliness in the detail, in order to bring out into the most conspicuous light those points on which the reader's attention ought most to dwell; and, by rendering the tamer parts of his journey as engaging as possible, to keep his mind in sufficient strength and spirits for observing the relations of the different objects with one another, and forming to himself a connected notion of the ever changing scene. Now there never was a writer endowed with less animation, or with less of a poetic spirit, than Polybius. Though it appears that he had himself visited the Alps for the purpose of ascertaining Hannibal's route, yet not one spark of feeling seems to have been awakened in him by the remembrance of that magnificent scenery; and the tameness of his description diminishes the influence of its fidelity. Throughout the whole of his work there is perhaps no single passage which fixes itself by its excellence on the reader's memory; and this one fact is by itself sufficient to prove, that the mind of Polybius was not of the very highest order. Great men will leave somewhere or other imprinted on their writings the traces of their superior power; and amidst all the sobriety of narrative and patient investigation of particular facts which testify their sound sense and judgment, there will break forth flashes of a comprehensive and magnificent spirit, which show that the peculiar talent of the historian is directed by the master mind of a wise and good man. But it would have been too much for the ordinary condition of humanity, that even Greece should have produced a second Thucydides.

Yet although Polybius was not a historian of the very highest class, his merits are still far above mediocrity, and he may be placed amongst the greatest names of the second order. He was sensible, well informed, and impartial; and he possessed the great advantage of a practical familiarity with political and military affairs, which sets him far above the mere garrulous literati of the

Polybius.

later ages of the Roman commonwealth. It is well known that he has preserved the true representation of several events of the early Roman history, in which the Roman annalists seem unanimously to have followed a false and partial statement : and to him alone are we indebted for our knowledge of the remarkable treaties concluded between Rome and Carthage, at different times, before the first Punic war. His impartiality, however, may perhaps be suspected when he speaks of the exploits of the family of Scipio ; the account of the concluding scene of the second Punic war, and the breach of faith imputed to the Carthaginians, have always seemed to us, to savour very much of the unfairness of Cæsar in his Commentaries, and to present a picture widely different from that which an unbiassed or unfettered historian would have transmitted to us. Perhaps, indeed, he copied the memorials of the family of Scipio, without being able, from his close connection with Scipio Æmilianus, to scrutinise their correctness very closely : and the same powerful influence seems to have checked and shackled the free course of his sentiments in much of the latter part of his history ; nor was it possible for him to write in the language which justice required of a series of crimes perpetrated by men still living, and who were in the highest stations of power and influence at Rome. Yet, if we compare his statements with those of the Roman writers themselves, we shall find that he made every effort to discharge his duty faithfully ; and that it is in the cautious tone of his history, and not in the perversion of facts, that we may trace the unavoidable constraint which circumstances imposed on him. The loss of a considerable portion of the sixth book of his work, in which he had given some notices of the antiquities of the Roman story, may be viewed with unmixed regret ; and the same may be said of the loss of the greatest part of the subsequent books, containing the continuation of Hannibal's operations in Italy, after the battle of Cannæ. In these earlier transactions there was less difficulty in expressing his opinions with perfect freedom ; nor are we aware of any thing to detract from the high authority which his narrative of Hannibal's first campaign in his third book has always deservedly enjoyed.

Exaggerated
reputation
of Roman
Literature.

No nation has ever possessed a literature the real merit of which is so disproportionate to its fame as that of Rome. The political greatness of the Romans gave a general prevalence to their language ; and those who learnt it and spoke it were naturally inclined to magnify the excellence of its writers, and to maintain their equality with those of Greece. At a later period, when the communication between the Greek empire, and the west of Europe, was almost entirely interrupted, the language and authors of ancient Rome were regarded with an almost idolatrous veneration, when compared with the half formed dialects and ignorant writers of

France, Spain, Italy, and England, during the darkness of the middle ages. Habit strengthened this admiration, and caused it to continue to a period when it became misplaced and unreasonable; just as men have been known to retain in after life the same exaggerated estimate of their teacher's talents, which they had formed, naturally enough, when contrasting them as boys with their own imperfect powers and scanty knowledge. Thus the Italians still affected to look up to the poets of Rome as to models of excellence, whom it was their greatest glory to imitate, when they had in fact already equalled, if not surpassed, them. And even at this day, when almost every nation in Europe might justly assert the equality of its own literature with that of Rome, we are still accustomed to talk of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, as if the two nations ought to be placed on the same level, and the admiration which the one may justly claim, should be bestowed in equal measure on the other. From this habit of regarding the Greeks and the Romans as rivals in excellence, it followed that for every Greek writer of eminence, some parallel was sought for among those of Rome. The fame of Herodotus and Thucydides was not therefore to remain unmatched, and two Roman historians were to be found who might be put in competition with them. And as the style, rather than the matter of a work, was too much the principal object of the criticism of those times, Sallust and Livy were selected for this high dignity; and the conciseness of the former was supposed to point him out as the rival of Thucydides, while the fluency of the latter suggested the comparison between him and Herodotus.

Exaggerated
reputation
of Roman
literature.

The merits of CAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS,¹ though very Sallust.
unequal to the exaltation thus bestowed on them, are yet of a very

¹ Sallust was born B.C. 86, at Amiternum, in the Sabine territory. He was of a plebeian family, and early obtained the office of quæstor. At the age of thirty-six he was ejected from the Senate by the censors, on the ostensible ground of adultery with Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and wife of T. Annius Milo; but, not improbably, because he had attached himself to the faction of Cæsar, to which the censors were hostile. In three years he had regained his rank, and became tribune of the commons, and afterwards prætor. He accompanied Cæsar to Africa, and was appointed governor of Numidia, where he seems to have acted with injustice and oppression. He returned to Italy, and settled at Rome, where he lived in privacy to the age of fifty-two. It was in this retirement that his histories were composed. We possess but a small portion of the works of Sallust. Five books of histories are ascribed to him; and they are supposed to have been a continuation of Sisenna. But it is not unlikely that all Sallust's histories, like those extant, were those of detached periods and events, and that they were collected into books by the grammarians. Two epistles, "*De Republicâ ordinandâ*," are ascribed to him; also a "*Declamatio in Ciceronem*," in reply to a "*Declamatio in Sallustium*." Both declamations are supposed to be the work of rhetoricians. Quintilian has twice quoted the declamation of Sallust; and though, it is true, a subsequent forger might have inserted the quotations in his work, it is to be remembered that Sallust himself was a rhetorical writer.—*Editor.*

Sallust.



Sallust.

high order. We can only judge of his character by the two detached narratives which have come down to us entire; his account of the conspiracy of Catiline, and that of the war with Jugurtha. Both indeed are strangely tinged with the besetting fault of Roman literature, a laboured and unnatural tone, which betrays the forced and tardy introduction of a taste for letters among the Roman people. In this respect the Roman and French literature most strongly resemble one another; and the resemblance belongs to the similarity of the two people in some striking points of national character. Both may be considered as eminently deficient in imagination; both were destitute of any natural craving for the higher pleasures of the mind; both waited with great patience till external circumstances brought the existence of such pleasures to their notice, and made them think that it would conduce to their glory to indulge in them. But genius will not be courted successfully by those who woo her from such unworthy motives: and thus the Augustan age and that of Lewis XIV. have produced, for the most part, minds only of the second and third order; who will never hold the same rank with the greatest of other ages and other countries. In this manner the histories of Sallust seem to have been written as professed literary compositions; and the writer appears much more to have studied to make them eloquent and striking, that they might tend to his own glory, than to have regarded the sober instruction either of his own generation or of posterity. Hence the ambitious tone of the introductions to both his narratives, which, to say nothing of their inconsistency with his own personal character, are ill placed and empty; being written in that style of pretended philosophy which runs into generalisation, in order to escape the unwelcome labour of informing itself fully with particular facts. Yet, with all this, there is much in Sallust which deserves high praise. His impartiality is greater than we should expect, when we consider his own close connection with the faction of Cæsar; he speaks strongly but truly of the excessive profligacy and oppression of the aristocracy; yet he does ample justice to the virtues of Metellus and Cato; and his sketch of the character of Sylla seems drawn with entire fairness. He has been accused of underrating the merits of Cicero in his account of the conspiracy of Catiline; but this charge must have originated from the habit into which men have fallen of

estimating Cicero's conduct according to his own excessive panegyrics of it; compared with which the language of temperate and just praise must appear faint and niggardly. It is, on the contrary, highly honourable to Sallust that he has never joined in the cry of several of his political associates, in condemning the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices, as an action at once illegal and tyrannical. Such a view of the transaction might have been expected from a partisan of Cæsar, when we remember that Cæsar himself had protested at the time against the execution as contrary to law, and had advised the substitution of perpetual imprisonment in its room. The value of the work is increased also by its being a contemporary history; so that we have none of that ignorance of laws, customs, and various minute particulars, which occur so frequently in the compilers of a later age. Nor should the liveliness of the style be forgotten; a quality so excellent, that it more than makes amends for some occasional obscurities, and even for some affected words and expressions; inasmuch as it keeps up the reader's attention, and thus puts him in a state to study the work most profitably.



Julius Cæsar.

With far less literary pretension, yet with an object equally personal, and even more injurious to historical excellence, the *Commentaries* of CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR¹ will next claim our Cæsar.

¹ Cæsar was a voluminous writer. Of his poetry and oratory, notices are given in the appropriate portions of this work. Several of his letters are preserved in Cicero's correspondence. He wrote a treatise intituled "Anticato," in two books, in reply to Cicero's panegyric on Cato; another, "De Ratione Latinè Loquendi;" "Libri Auspicionum," or "Auguralia," a treatise which, as Cæsar was pontifex maximus, must have been very curious; "Aphorismata," sayings deemed by Cæsar worth preserving, but which, for reasons of his own, Augustus suppressed. The Gallic wars were continued by A. Hirtius, or Oppius (for the authorship is disputed). The Alexandrine, African, and Spanish wars are attributed to one of those authors.—*Editor*.

Cæsar.

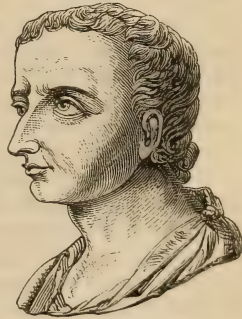
attention. We have already expressed our astonishment that they should ever have gained the reputation of impartiality, or that they should be quoted as proofs of the modesty of the writer. From the first page to the last they are a studied apology for his crimes, and a representation of his talents and victories in the most favourable light. From his attack on the *Helvetii*, down to his rebellion against his own country, he describes himself as always just and moderate, ever ready to listen to proposals of peace from his enemies, and forced to conquer Gaul, and to overthrow the constitution of Rome in mere self-defence. With much more truth, certainly, yet still with evident exaggeration, he contrasts his own unwearied activity with the remissness of his antagonists; diminishes his own losses and aggravates theirs; imputes his disasters to accident or treason, while his successes are the natural result of his own superior plans, and the courage and discipline of his soldiers. To rely on the fairness of such a narrative would argue, therefore, but small discernment as to the criteria of historical evidence; and to call Cæsar a good historian would only show our ignorance of one of the main qualifications which history requires. Yet, wherever there is no apparent motive for disguising or corrupting the truth, the authority of the *Commentaries* is most excellent. Unlike the honest ignorance of some of the writers whom we shall presently notice, and who *would* tell the truth whenever they *could*, Cæsar on the other hand enjoyed such superior means of information, and was so active in availing himself of them, that it is evident he *could* tell the truth whenever he *would*. Hence arises the great value of the sketches which he has given us of the political state, natural productions, manners and customs of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. Owing also to the same cause, his geographical and topographical details are beautifully clear and accurate; and his descriptions of military movements, of the common usages of the service, of the operations of sieges, and the construction of bridges, and engines of war, are replete with information of the most unquestionable fulness and accuracy. In addition to these merits, his style is simple and animated, and formed with such rare ability, as to wear the semblance of unadorned soldier-like frankness and candour, when the narrative is indeed written with the most artful purposes of a consummate intriguer and adventurer.

Resemblance
between the
*Commen-
taries* of
Cæsar and
the *Memoirs*
of Napoleon
Bonaparte.

A similar union of intentional misrepresentations, of deep and extensive information, and of language at once simple and forcible, may be observed in the *Memoirs* of the late Emperor Napoleon, and serves to heighten the resemblance which existed already in other points between him and Cæsar. Both were eminent for an unwearied activity of body and mind; both followed the same principle in their military operations, anticipating attack, relying on

the ascendancy of their name and the terror inspired by the daring rapidity of their movements, striking always at the vital points of their enemy's power, and never losing the fruit of past exertions by checking themselves too soon in their career of victory, and by stopping to satisfy themselves with what they had done already, while there yet remained any thing more to do. Both, though unsparing of their soldiers' lives, were yet completely masters of their affections; and knew how to awaken in the hearts of their immediate attendants an almost enthusiastic regard. Both also provoked their ruin by a vanity which found its gratification in insulting wantonly the feelings of mankind, and which coveted the ostentatious display of power as much as the real possession of it. In their literary characters, if the titles which remain to us of Cæsar's various works imply in him a greater proficiency in Science, in critical learning, and in poetry; yet the *Memoirs* and Dissertations of Napoleon display a much deeper spirit of reflection on military and political subjects, and a much more extensive knowledge on all points of history, geography, and statistics, than we can find in the *Commentaries* of his rival. The narratives of both, notwithstanding the little strictness of principle which either possessed, are yet exceedingly valuable; because, with all their unfairness, there is necessarily a great number of points on which nothing was to be gained by a departure from the truth, and on all which their great ability and perfect information enable us to rely on their statements with implicit confidence. But it is necessary that the reader should be constantly on his guard, to observe where they can have any interest in misleading him; and on such occasions he should recollect that their capability of telling the truth becomes absolutely a reason for suspecting their evidence, as it enables them to conceal it more artfully, and misrepresent it with greater plausibility.

Resemblance
between the
*Commen-
taries* of
Cæsar and
the *Memoirs*
of Napoleon
Buonaparte.



Livy.

We are now arrived at the Augustan age, and we must request the candid attention of our readers to the remarks which we are about to offer on the merits of Livy. We have already¹ on more than one occasion spoken of this writer in terms which must have surprised and perhaps offended his admirers; and though we do not feel the slightest doubt of the justice of our censures, yet it is

¹ History of the Roman Republic, in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," Introductory Dissertation on the Credibility of Early Roman History, pp. 3—8.

Livy.

due to an opinion generally entertained to give our reasons for altogether dissenting from it. Of the family and personal fortunes of TITUS LIVIUS, little, we believe, is known. He was born¹ at Patavium, or Padua, removed to Rome, where he enjoyed the protection and regard of Augustus, and died in his native city, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius.² It is allowed that he was never actually engaged in military or political affairs, but that he was a mere man of letters; and it is clear from the very nature of his work, that, for almost all the facts contained in it, he must have relied upon the writings of others. He appears to have been a man of very upright and amiable disposition, and of very good natural talents; but whether it was owing to the wretched education of the times, or to the want of a diffusion of knowledge, and a free intercourse with one another among men of different conditions and employments, scarcely any of the Historians of Rome are of much value, except those who were themselves, in some measure, practically acquainted with public business. What the rhetoricians could teach him, Livy learned with readiness; and his natural abilities, aided by their instructions, enabled him to write with animation, with dignity, and with eloquence; while his natural good feeling, where no prejudice interfered with it, has given an honest and amiable character to most of the moral sentiments which he expresses. It is said, moreover, that in his account of the civil wars, he spoke of the party opposed to Cæsar and to Augustus with fairness, and even with regard; not suffering his connection with the Emperor to lead him into any unworthy servility. In fact, the last Books of his History, which embraced the events of his own times, and of those immediately preceding them, must have been incomparably more valuable than any part of his work which has been preserved to us. Living at Rome, and being often with Augustus himself, he must have heard a great number of authentic anecdotes, and have gathered various reports from the mouths of eye-witnesses, respecting the principal actions of the civil wars. Besides this, every man must know something of the laws and constitutional forms of his country in his own age; nor can he avoid being acquainted with the manners and habits of thinking which are prevalent around him. Many, therefore, may write a valuable contemporary history who are quite incompetent to the task of exploring the condition and the actions of former times, and of describing faithfully a state of manners and of political circumstances, which can only be known by long and patient investigation. But of this part of his duty, Livy appears to have entertained a very imperfect notion. Like those painters, who, when choosing for their subject some event of the early history of Rome,

¹ B.C. 59.—*Editor.*² A.D. 17.—*Editor.*

destroy the truth of their pictures by giving to the buildings the style and splendour of the Augustan age, so has Livy drawn the Romans of every period in the costume of his own times; and the senators and plebeians of the first years of the Commonwealth are mere copies of those whom he might have almost seen and heard himself, in the disorders immediately preceding the rebellion of Julius Cæsar. Doubtless the character of the nobility and commons of Rome underwent as great changes in the course of years as those which have taken place in our own country. The Saxon Thanes and Franklins, the Barons and Knights of the fourteenth century, the cavaliers and Puritans of the seventeenth, the country gentlemen and monied men of a still later period, all these have their own characteristic features, which he who would really write a History of England must labour to distinguish and to represent with spirit and fidelity; nor would it be more ridiculous to paint the members of a Wittenagemot in the costume of our present House of Commons, than to ascribe to them our habits of thinking, or the views, sentiments, and language of a modern statesman.

The fault of which we have just been speaking, together with most of the others with which Livy's History is chargeable, is to be ascribed to the great deficiencies of his knowledge. A history compiled mainly from the writings of others, and embracing a space of several centuries, was at the time at which he produced it comparatively novel; and men were not yet aware of the prodigious labour required to execute such a task properly. Livy appears to have read no more than the principal chronicles or other narratives which treated of the successive periods of the Roman story, and to have consulted them just as his immediate purpose required. This is the simplest explanation of his omitting all mention of the famous treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage in the first year of the Commonwealth, preserved to us, as we have already noticed, by Polybius. Livy knew that the work of Polybius related to the sixth century of Rome, and therefore he never thought of reading it while he was engaged with the events of the third century. In the same manner he was well acquainted with the *Origines* of Cato, and the History of L. Cincius; but he seems to have been perfectly ignorant of their various legal and antiquarian treatises, in which their object was really to discover the truth, and not, as in their narratives, to write an engaging and popular story.

The same cause also will account for his total ignorance of the real issue of the war between Porsenna and the Romans. He followed, no doubt, his ordinary guides, the Chronicles of Fabius, Cato, Piso, &c.; without suspecting the existence of such a document as the actual Treaty between the two contending parties, which even a hundred and fifty years afterwards was accessible to Tacitus and the elder Pliny. With this extreme negligence, some-

Livy.

thing of wilful blindness was probably mingled. He did not wish to scrutinise too narrowly a series of accounts, all of which tended to flatter the national pride of his countrymen; and thus even the notorious exaggerations of Valerius Antias,¹ although exposed by Livy himself in other parts of his work, are preferred to the authority of Polybius, in order to represent the victory of the Metaurus as a full compensation for the defeat of Cannæ, even in the actual numerical loss sustained by the vanquished in the field of battle. In other instances we are tempted to ascribe his seeming negligence to a physical impossibility of arriving at certainty; as on any other supposition it is almost too monstrous for belief. When he quotes two different versions of the *Libri lintei* from two different writers, without telling us which was the true one,² we must charitably believe that the *Libri lintei* were no longer in existence, rather than suppose Livy to have been so indolent as not to have taken the trouble of walking from one part of Rome to another, in order to consult them with his own eyes. His intimacy with Augustus must have placed within his reach whatever monuments of ancient times were then remaining throughout Italy; but how few are the instances in which he ever refers to any such authority. Much less did he dream of acquiring any of the accessory knowledge which is so indispensable to an historian. Of geography; of the great general truths of political science, such as the ordinary progress of the state of society, and the various interests which successively arise to take part in the internal dissensions of a Commonwealth; of all the great questions of political economy, Livy was careless and ignorant. Born almost within sight of the Alps, his knowledge of their topography and scenery was utterly vague, and often utterly erroneous; and the marshes, through which Hannibal had to force his way at the commencement of his second campaign in Italy, are placed by Livy on the wrong side of the Apennines, and ascribed to the floods of the Arno. The whole history of the first four hundred years of Rome he has related in such a manner as to give it the appearance of being a mere fiction; instead of throwing light upon his subject, he has darkened and confused it, so that it requires no small labour to extract the truth from the mass of inconsistencies, mistakes, and exaggerations with which he has overlaid it. He describes Ser.

¹ We think we cannot be mistaken in fixing upon Valerius Antias as the writer whom Livy copied on this occasion. The exaggeration of "fifty-six thousand men" slain on the part of the Carthaginians (Livy, lib. xxvii., c. 49), instead of the "ten thousand," which is the number given by Polybius, lib. ii., c. 3, can surely come from no other than him whom Livy himself describes as "omnium rerum immodicè numerum augenti," lib. xxxiii., c. 10, and who, in like manner, raises the amount of the Macedonian loss at Cynocephalæ from 8000 to 40,000.

² Lib. iv., c. 23.

Tullius as owing his throne at first solely to the election of the Senate; and supposes his object in framing his famous *Census*, to have been to give a decided preponderance to the aristocratical interest in the *Comitia*; at the same time that he represents him as offending the Senate by carrying into effect an Agrarian law; and when it is evident that his unpopularity with the Patricians was the main cause which enabled his son-in-law to deprive him of his throne and life. In his description of the *Census* itself, he shows that its tendency was to establish an oligarchy, founded on property, not on birth; whereas the whole tenor of his subsequent narrative manifests that the government was purely aristocratical, and exclusively in the hands of the Nobles, and not of the rich. Again, in the *Census*, we have an account of a military system of arms and of tactics, totally different from those of the legion; yet, in none of his descriptions of battles, do we find any traces of the institutions enjoined by Ser. Tullius, but very frequent mention of the weapons and divisions in use amongst the Romans in Livy's own age. Now it is true that the system of Ser. Tullius was overthrown immediately after his death; and that thus the government, after the expulsion of Tarquin, was not an oligarchy, nor were the arms and tactics of the soldiers those of the phalanx; but neither, again, were they those of the legion, such as it was in later times; and the real story of the variations which they underwent, and of the constant connection between these changes and the political state of the Commonwealth (although when we have once discovered it from other sources, we may trace it here and there in Livy's narrative), was yet most certainly not understood by himself, nor does he seem to have formed any definite notions at all upon the subject.

With such an indistinctness in his views, and with so much ignorance, it was not possible that Livy should seize the clue of a multitude of crowded events; that seeing distinctly what was important and what was not, he should know where to condense his narrative, and where to be minute; and should place his readers in a situation from whence they might easily catch the general outline of the story, and find it relieved by the shadow into which the less interesting parts of the picture had been thrown. We will venture to say, that never was the history of a great war more uninstruc-tively written than that of the second Punic war by Livy. Amidst the profusion of his details, the reader is at once wearied and confused; he wanders about like a traveller lost in an immense forest of underwood; thicket succeeds to thicket, and each in itself is gay and beautiful with its flowers and its foliage; but the scenery has no striking features, and the wood has no certain paths, no elevated ground, the eminence of which might serve as a central point wherewith to connect and group the other parts of the landscape.

Livy.

Still more intolerable is the tediousness of the last fifteen remaining Books of his History; which, without conveying one particle of valuable information as to the internal state of Rome, or of any other country, detail with the utmost minuteness every petty action of all the uninteresting wars in which the Romans were involved in Spain, Liguria, Greece, and Asia. The same character may be given of the ten first Books, which abound in the same minuteness of detail, and are equally barren of any clear or sensible views of what was important and what was worthless. In these earlier Books, indeed, Livy must often, in all probability, have written his descriptions from his own imagination, just as Dion Cassius copied some of his from the History of Thucydides. Nothing can be more impertinent than such pretended embellishments; and thus the famous description of the destruction of Alba, which has so often been praised for its elegance, might indeed have been justly admired in a novel, but, like all other unauthorised statements, it is a sure proof of a shallow mind when inserted in a work which aspires to the name of History.

Of the
speeches of
Livy.

The speeches introduced by Livy, which Quintilian has so highly extolled, must not be passed unnoticed. It were unfair indeed to blame an individual author for adopting the general practice of his age; and it would have required a mind of a very different order from Livy's, to have discovered and renounced its absurdity, when it was sanctioned by custom, and was one of the readiest means of obtaining popularity. But it would argue no small want of judgment in ourselves, if we were now to consider such idle declamations with any feelings of similar admiration. None of them are at all characteristic of their pretended speakers, nor of the age to which they are ascribed; but in all, the same author and the same style are presented to us, inventing arguments in the true method of the exercises of the rhetoricians, and only anxious to dress them up in the most harmonious and striking language. We would only request those who may think our censure too severe, to read over the speech ascribed to Menenius Agrippa, in the second Book of Livy, in which he tells the old fable of the belly and the members to the dissatisfied Commons, and then compare it with the speech on the same subject, put into the mouth of the same speaker by Shakspeare, in his play of *Coriolanus*. If Livy could have inspired his version of it with one half of the spirit and character which runs through every line of that of the English poet, we might have almost forgiven him for inserting a speech written by himself, in a work that should contain nothing but what was genuine. But Shakspeare, though unacquainted with the particular history of Rome, well knew the sort of language which a popular orator in rude times was likely to address to an exasperated populace; and this he has given with his own inimitable liveliness and power. Livy, with

very little more knowledge, and infinitely less ability, has written that which cannot possibly be mistaken for the composition of any other person than himself. Livy.

If it be asked to what we must attribute the great reputation which Livy has so long enjoyed, the question, we think, is capable of receiving a very simple answer. History was regarded as a *literary composition* by the critics of the Augustan age, and that which followed it; and thus the style of a Historian was the point on which his character mainly depended. Quintilian, when bringing forward Livy as a rival to Herodotus, extols him merely for the unaffected beauty of his narrative, and the inconceivable eloquence of his speeches,—with the same discernment of the real excellences of a Historian as he has shown in another passage, where he selects the pithy conciseness of Thucydides, and the simple sweetness of Herodotus, as the merits which have entitled them to the highest place among writers of History. Yet the language of Quintilian has been echoed by succeeding critics, who have dilated on the beauty of Livy's style, and the excellence of his descriptions, as if these qualities were sufficient to make him a good Historian. He was, moreover, a writer of the Augustan Age; and the greater purity of his Latin, as belonging to that golden period, has procured for him, in the judgment of Schools and Colleges, a preference over Tacitus, who was regarded as a writer of the silver age of Latinity. And when we consider how little the world at large has known of Greek and Roman literature, and that it has done little more than repeat the opinions of those who were called the learned, we shall not wonder that Livy has acquired a great name; since his panegyrist has been either those who have not studied him at all, or those who from the different nature of their pursuits, have been quite incapable of appreciating his deficiencies as a Historian, and have dwelt with a natural fondness upon the undeniable beauty of his style.

Causes of the
undue
reputation
which Livy
has enjoyed.

It is time, however, that these errors should be dispelled, and that Livy should be tried in a more just balance, and estimated after a truer standard. So long as he shall be considered a good Historian, it will be an ominous sign of the inattention of men in general to the nature of a Historian's duties, and of the qualifications which he ought to possess; it will forbid us to hope that History will be studied in a wiser spirit than heretofore, or that, being more judiciously cultivated, it will be made to yield a more beneficial return. But this is a hope that we are loth to relinquish; and we would fain do all in *our* power to promote its accomplishment. This is our apology for the length to which we have now carried our criticism of Livy; we *know* that he is a bad Historian, and we would fain effect the same conviction in the minds of others. For this end nothing is necessary but to compare his work in one

Livy.

or two careful perusals with that of Thucydides. *There* would be seen the contrast between what an excellent Historian should be and what Livy is : the contrast of perfect knowledge and unwearied diligence, with ignorance and carelessness ; of a familiar and practical understanding of all points of war and policy, with an entire strangeness to them ; of a severe freedom from every prejudice and partiality, with a ready acquiescence in any tale that flatters national vanity and pride. Nor would the comparison of the Speeches of the two Histories be less pointed and instructive. In the one we should find the genuine and characteristic sentiments of the times, the countries, and the parties, to which they are ascribed. The principles of morality and policy which were avowed or acted upon, and the sort of arguments which might be successfully used, are given on an authority known to be deserving of the fullest belief. In the other there is nothing genuine, and therefore nothing valuable ; the sentiments and arguments are merely those of an unpractical man of a later age ; they convey no information ; they cannot be treated as developing the character of their pretended authors ; they may be "inconceivably eloquent" in the eyes of a Rhetorician, but to him who estimates History rightly, it was a waste of time to write them, and, except only so far as they are specimens of language, it is a waste of time to read them.

We would not have the above remarks, which we have felt it our duty to offer, mistaken or misinterpreted. It is *solely* to the want of merit in Livy in his province *as a Historian* that they are addressed. As an exemplar of purity of diction ; as a consummate master of all the rhythmical cadences and harmonious combinations of language ; and as a painter of the beautiful forms which the richness of his own imagination called up, he may be pronounced unrivalled in the whole course of literature.

Contrast
between the
early and
later Grecian
writers of
History.

The chronological order of our criticism has now brought us to Diodorus Siculus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus ; and we shall proceed to notice the character of the later Greek Historians generally, amongst whom these two writers held a conspicuous place. Nothing, perhaps, is more striking than the contrast between the early and the later periods of Grecian literature ; between the extraordinary excellence of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, and the extraordinary worthlessness of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Appian. We cannot doubt, indeed, but that writers of this latter class were sufficiently numerous even before the age of Alexander ; and even Herodotus exposes many tales which were circulated by some of his contemporaries, and which breathe the very same spirit with those to be found so often in the pages of later Historians. But happily we have no monuments of early Grecian History, except such as are of the highest value ; so

that our impression of the period which produced them is naturally somewhat more favourable than the reality. Afterwards there appeared no revival of their excellences; and as the circumstances of the times became more unfriendly to the formation of great minds, those who under better culture might have risen above mediocrity, now sank beneath it; and those who might have been awed into silence by the splendour of contemporary genius, were encouraged to essay their feeble voices amidst the universal weakness of all around them. The times, we have said, were unfavourable to the formation of great minds; not so much from any direct restraints imposed upon literature by the government (for of this there seems to have been but little during the reign of Augustus), but from the removal of those opportunities of practical discipline to the character, which in the free States of antiquity counterbalanced, in some measure, the want of education and the difficulties of obtaining knowledge. The army was becoming a distinct profession; and every citizen was no longer obliged, as in the Commonwealths of Greece and Rome, to learn the duties and acquire the experience of a practical soldier. Those restless political intrigues, and those better and more honourable calls for action, which self-defence, or the public good, held out so often to the citizens of the little Republics of an earlier Age, were now crushed and silenced; and the welfare of the great national society to which he belonged was now to every man the object only of an occasional and impotent wish, instead of a daily principle of active exertion. Trade and navigation were uncongenial to the character of the Romans, and were thus depressed in public estimation; so that they held a distinct and subordinate place, and could not operate with much effect on the general mass of society. Doubtless the field of literature was open; and the patronage of the Augustan Age may be thought eminently favourable to its improvement. But the ancient notions of literature were very different from those of the present age. The original names bestowed on places of literary study, *σχολή*, *γυμνάσιον*, and *Ludus literarius*, names so improperly applied in the eyes of modern schoolboys, express very strikingly the feelings of the Greeks and Romans concerning them. Books were their relaxation from the severer business of life; and hence, as is well known, a taste for letters was regarded with jealousy, at an earlier period of the Roman History, as the mark of an indolent and trifling mind. But something of the original evil of looking to literature chiefly as to an amusement, has occasioned at once the omissions and the faults with which that of the ancients is chargeable. In the reign of Augustus there was a great demand for Poetry, for Oratorical compositions, for Criticism, and for entertaining narrative; but little or none for Political Economy, for legitimate History, for Experimental or Moral Philosophy. There

Contrast
between the
early and
later Grecian
writers of
History.

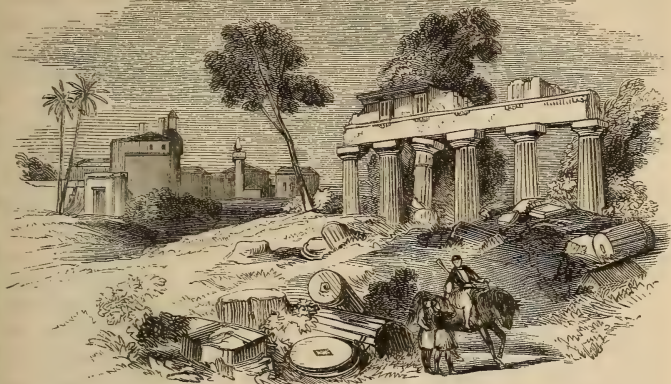
Contrast
between the
early and
later Grecian
writers of
History.

was nothing then in the state of the public taste to encourage a writer to attempt works of laborious research, and of deep and extensive thought and knowledge. Fame and profit were to be gained at an easier rate by cultivating the more flowery paths of literature; and talents are so independent of wisdom that, where fame and profit invite them, they are generally sure to direct their efforts. Nor must we forget the scarcity of books amongst the causes which account for the badness of the greater part of ancient History. It was absolutely impossible for many authors to procure the knowledge which they needed; books could not be purchased, on account of the dearth of their price, and they could be consulted oftentimes only in the public libraries of large cities, at a considerable distance, perhaps, from the spot of the writer's residence. Nor even to those living at Rome itself, could a public library ever supply the place of a private one. Indolence would often tempt a writer to rest satisfied with an imperfect recollection of a passage, rather than make the exertion of going to another quarter of the city to ascertain its purport exactly; and, above all, he who reads in a public library reads for a particular object, but does not and cannot indulge in that quiet and leisurely and extensive study which is only to be enjoyed at home, and which alone fills the mind with abundant and well-digested knowledge. It was not, therefore, to be expected that a Greek, coming to Rome in the hope of arriving at wealth and renown by his literary talents, should have been able or willing to make himself a really good Historian. Instead of the arduous task of storing himself with all sorts of knowledge, political, geographical, and military—instead of the slow and unostentatious labour of reading and digesting various authorities, sifting their value, and extracting from them what was most excellent—a simpler and easier path lay before him, which would lead him far more surely and speedily to the accomplishment of his objects. To cultivate his style with assiduity, so as to render his narrative agreeable; to exercise himself in the lessons taught him in the Schools of Rhetoric, so as to diversify his story with ingenious and eloquent Orations; to learn how to give a striking and novel appearance to the old common-places of morality, which were to be interspersed from time to time; and to express on all occasions a fitting admiration and reverence for the glory and greatness of Rome: these were methods better adapted than any others to lead an author to popularity and patronage, and, therefore, independently of their own natural attractions, they were sure to be most generally practised.

Dionysius of
Halicar-
nassus.

We must not be understood to mean that the operation of these causes was always uniform; or that there may not have been many exceptions to that which we still believe to have been the general rule. But with regard to DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS, we

Dionysius of
Halicar-
nassus.



Halicarnassus.

think that *his* deficiencies were of a nature which no change of circumstances could have removed. He appears not to have possessed any original capacity, which might have been improved by culture or experience, but a natural weakness of judgment and want of vigour, which must always have kept him far below mediocrity as a Historian. He is prolix, ignorant of political and military matters, flagrantly partial, and incompetent to apprehend the real state, manners, and character of the people of whom he wrote. The eloquence, which is the redeeming charm of Livy's pages, is uniformly a stranger to those of Dionysius; the Speeches which, considered merely as rhetorical compositions, are in Livy so forcible and beautiful, are in Dionysius utterly vapid. He tells us in his preface that he spent two-and-twenty years in Rome, and that having learned the Latin language, and gained an acquaintance with the Roman writers, he employed the whole of this period in acquiring the knowledge necessary for his History. This he derived, as he tells us, partly from the personal communications of those eminent for their information, and partly from the approved Chronicles of M. Cato, Q. Fabius, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Ælius Tubero, Gellius, Piso, and others. To say nothing of the judgment evinced in this classification of authorities, it is observable that he does not make any mention of the legal and antiquarian dissertations of Cato and Cincius, of which we have already spoken, but merely of their Chronicles; having, probably, like Livy, neglected their other works from which so much more of valuable

Dionysius of
Halicar-
nassus.

information was to be drawn. The tenour of his narrative makes it probable that those learned Romans, who assisted his researches, were of that class who in simplicity believed, or from interested motives extolled, the private memoirs of the great families of Rome; and who sought to flatter the vanity of their patrons by the invention of fabulous pedigrees, such as those of Cluentius and Memmius, whose pretended ancestors were Cloanthus and Mnestheus, the companions of Æneas.

Diodorus
Siculus.

The part of the history of DIODORUS SICULUS which remains to us enters but little upon the affairs of Rome. Yet his account of the first invasion of the Gauls is curious, inasmuch as he agrees with Polybius in representing the ransom demanded by the Gauls as actually paid; and places the pretended victory obtained over them by Camillus some months later than their evacuation of the Roman territory. It is also to a fragment of Diodorus that we are indebted for the discovery of the manner in which the story about the death of Regulus originated, and for the fact, that the cruelties said to have been committed upon him by the Carthaginians were in reality practised by his own sons upon some Carthaginian prisoners whom the Senate had put into their custody. Besides these passages, we find in Diodorus a clear and probable account of the revolt of the slaves in Sicily, in the early part of the seventh century of Rome; and a remarkable narrative of an insurrection excited by an insolent member of the Equestrian Order, T. Minucius. It is pleasing to find that he took great pains to acquire by travelling a correct knowledge of the different countries described in his work; and there is a general tone of honesty and fairness pervading his history, which shows that he was always inclined to speak the truth whenever he could discover it. His error lay in his design of writing a universal history; an undertaking, no doubt, exceedingly grand and attractive, but utterly incompatible with the limited length of human life, and our physical capabilities of acquiring knowledge. By thus attempting to do too much, he has done nothing as perfectly as he otherwise might have done it; nor is he one of those historians on whose information we can rely with entire confidence, or who, by the excellence of his work, has introduced any striking improvements into history.

Appian.

The two writers whom we have last mentioned both flourished during the reign of Augustus. Instead, however, of observing any exact chronological order, we shall next speak of the two other Greek historians who have written most at large on Roman affairs, Appian and Dion Cassius. APPIANUS was a native of Alexandria, and lived during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the elder Antoninus. He spent some time at Rome, where he followed the profession of an advocate in the Imperial Courts, and was after-

wards made Procurator of Egypt. In the plan of his history he has adopted a geographical division of his subject, and has attempted to trace the course of events by which the several provinces successively became subject to Rome; after the completion of this part of his task, he added the History of the Civil Wars of Rome, from the first disturbances occasioned by Tib. Gracchus to the battle of Actium, and the establishment of the imperial power; concluding the whole with a supplementary book, in which he gave an account of the revenue derived from the several parts of the empire, and of the military and naval force which was kept up in his own time. Unfortunately this last book, which, from his official situation, was likely to contain much valuable matter, has entirely perished, together with large portions of the rest of his work; we still retain, however, besides some considerable fragments, one entire book on the History of Spain, another on that of Syria, a third on that of Illyria, two on the Punic wars, one on the long contest with Mithridates, and five on the civil wars of Rome, which carry down the story of them as far as the murder of Sex. Pompeius, u. c. 719. Thus the whole of Appian's existing history is necessarily a compilation from the writings of others, without any mixture of information gained from his own personal inquiries or experience. Such a work, when composed by a man of low understanding and scanty knowledge, is as worthless as any history can be, and this is the character which we are obliged to bestow on the history of Appian. It is true, that amidst the dearth of better information, even the writings of such an author as this are to a certain degree valuable, as they contain some facts which are not to be found elsewhere. We are indebted to him for a translation of the proclamation issued by the Triumvirs to announce and to justify their dreadful proscription; and also for some curious anecdotes of the proscription itself.

DION CASSIUS was a native of Nicæa in Bithynia,¹ and flourished during the latter part of the second, and the first thirty or forty years of the third century of the Christian era. His father was a man of some consideration, who had been intrusted with the command of the province of Dalmatia,² and had enjoyed the dignity of Consul in the last year but one of the reign of Commodus. Dion Cassius himself practised for some time as an advocate at Rome; he was raised to the prætorship by the Emperor Pertinax,³ and appears to have been treated with kindness by the Emperor Septimius Severus. It was in the reign of this latter prince that he commenced the compilation of his history; and his own account of the motives which induced him to undertake it is too curious to be omitted.⁴

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxv. p. 857. edit. Leunclav.

² Ibid. xlix. p. 413. Cassiodorus, *Chronicon*.

³ Dion Cassius, lxxiii. p. 835.

⁴ Ibid. p. 828.

Dion
Cassius.

He had written and published a small work on the subject of the dreams and prodigies which had encouraged Severus to expect to obtain the throne; and he sent a copy of it to Severus, who, after having read it, returned a very flattering written acknowledgment to the author. "It was towards evening," says Dion, "when I received this answer, and I soon retired to rest; during my sleep a divine power gave me a charge to compose a history; and accordingly I wrote that part (namely, the Life of Commodus) which the reader has just now completed. When I found that this was generally approved of, and that Severus himself expressed himself satisfied with it, I conceived the wish to compile an entire history of the affairs of Rome, and to embody in this larger work the portion which I had already written, that I might transmit to posterity, in one continuous narrative, the whole history from the first beginning to as late a period as my lot would allow me to continue it." He then adds, that he employed ten years in collecting his materials, and twelve more in the composition of his work, residing for that purpose chiefly at Capua,¹ as a delightful situation in which he might enjoy uninterrupted leisure. But when Alexander Severus became emperor, he was called forward into public life; was twice appointed consul,² the second time as the colleague of the emperor himself; and was successively intrusted with the governments of Africa, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. In this last situation he rendered himself so odious to the soldiers, by the strict discipline which he enforced among them, that in the mutiny in which Ulpian, the Prætorian Prefect, so well known for his fame as a lawyer, was murdered at Rome, the mutineers demanded of the emperor that Dion Cassius should in like manner be surrendered to their vengeance. This request was steadily rejected; yet when Dion was afterwards chosen by Alexander Severus as his colleague in the consulship, he was advised by his sovereign to spend his term of office at a distance from Rome, lest his appearance in public, in the capacity of a magistrate, might dangerously irritate the minds of the soldiers. The latter years of his life were passed in his native country Bithynia, agreeably, he tells us, to an intimation of his destiny, which he once received in a dream, when a vision commanded him to inscribe on the last page of his history two lines from Homer, describing the removal of Hector from the battle by the care of Jupiter, and his escape "from the dust, and from the slaughter, and from the blood, and from the tumult."

In reviewing the history of Dion Cassius, recollecting at the same time his account of the manner in which he was led to write it, we cannot but regret that he, like so many others, should have been ignorant, according to the expression of Hesiod, "how much the half is better than the whole." Had he been contented with

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxvi., p. 860.

² Ibid. lxxx., p. 917.

what he at first accomplished, the history of the reign of Commodus—or had he only carried on the narrative from that period through the subsequent events of his own times—he would have deserved an honourable place amongst impartial and well-informed contemporary historians. But the unfortunate desire of forming a complete work, and of giving to the world an entire body of Roman history, led him to go over ground of which he wanted an adequate knowledge, and to repeat, without improving, a story which had been often told before. He was too little acquainted with the laws and constitutions of the old commonwealth to describe them accurately, or to trace with a clear and strong pencil the successive parties which arose, and the varying characters which they assumed at different periods. The defects of his knowledge he attempted to compensate by borrowing morsels of description from some ancient historian, when he wished to draw a striking picture of any event; or by introducing long speeches of his own composition, such as those which he ascribes to M. Antonius at the funeral of Cæsar; to Cicero and Q. Fufius Calenus in the Senate; and to Mæcenas and Agrippa, when they are supposed to advise Augustus, the one to retain, and the other to resign, his absolute power. In short, the early part of his history is as unsatisfactory as the latter books are really valuable; so true is it, that a very ordinary man may be a useful historian of the events of his own times; but that the story of a remote period can only be profitably told by one of indefatigable industry and most extensive knowledge—one whose powers of weighing evidence, of selecting what is most important amongst the facts presented to him, and of placing it in the clearest and most striking light, are commensurate with his diligence and learning.

In all the four writers whom we have last noticed, we may observe one prevailing fault besetting them, though not in an equal degree; namely, an extreme wordiness both in their narratives and their remarks. The same fault is a source of offence in the most eminent of the modern Italian historians, such as Guicciardini and Davila; and in both cases it has arisen from the same cause. Both the Greek and Italian languages are so harmonious, and so naturally eloquent, that they conceal in some measure from the eyes of the writer the poverty of his thoughts, or the little substantial good which he is communicating, amidst the luxuriance of his beautiful sentences. Thus he is tempted to run on without restraint, and to be careless of the sterling value of his materials, when they are so easily susceptible of the most delicate polish, and can hardly fail to wear an ornamental appearance. Such languages are productive of serious evils to ordinary writers. They seem to derive from them a power far beyond their own nature, and thus they are exposed to the usual fate of those who are raised to an elevation which they are unfit to occupy; nor can

Dion
Cassius.

it be doubted, we think, that this cause has greatly contributed to the extraordinary prolixity and emptiness of the second and third rate writers of Greece and modern Italy.

Velleius
Paterculus.

In resuming again the chronological order of our review, and proceeding to notice the Roman historians subsequent to Livy, the historical sketch of VELLEIUS PATERCULUS next claims our attention.¹ His father had been employed in the army of Tiberius Cæsar in Germany during the reign of Augustus, and he himself served under the same commander in different capacities for the space of nine years; and on the accession of Tiberius to the imperial throne, he was one of the first persons nominated by him to be elected to the office of Prætor. Under these circumstances, and either enjoying, perhaps, or expecting, still greater marks of favour, it is natural that he should speak of Tiberius, and of his minister, Sejanus, in language very unlike that in which more impartial historians have described them. By the terms, too, in which he expresses himself with regard to Brutus and Cassius, we are reminded of that increased courtliness which marked the writers of Imperial Rome; and we are led to recollect the story of Cremutius Cordus, who was tried for treason, because in a history of the civil wars he had mentioned the conspirators against Cæsar with admiration. But there is more, perhaps, in this of apparent than of real partiality; it was an undisturbed practice to call Brutus and Cassius parricides; and such terms were a necessary passport to secure the unmolested circulation of a historian's work. It does not seem to us, that Paterculus is guilty of that unfairness which we have noted in the writings of Cæsar; who, seldom indulging in reproachful epithets against his antagonists, contrives, by his representation of the facts, to produce a much stronger impression against them than he could have created in any other manner; and who, nevertheless, at the same time, has gained credit for his pretended moderation and candour. Paterculus, on the contrary, does not misrepresent the facts; and if we rub off the exterior coating of false colouring with which he has a little disguised their surface, we shall find them in substance mostly unchanged and uninjured. His work is so mere an outline that it hardly deserves the name of history; yet, considered as a sketch, it is drawn with great force and judgment. His enumeration of the different Roman colonies, with the dates at which they were respectively founded, is conceived in a spirit far above most of the writers whom we have been reviewing; it is a piece of gratuitous information which he must have collected himself, without finding it in the books from which he formed his narrative; whereas Livy and Dionysius, and Dion Cassius and Appian, generally content

¹ Paterculus was born about B.C. 19, and was, probably, put to death in A.D. 31, among the friends of Sejanus.—*Editor*.

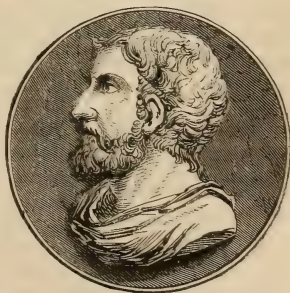
Velleius
Paterculus.

themselves with copying from the chronicles of their predecessors, and never dream of communicating any information which they do not find made ready for their hands. It is, however, a favourable circumstance for the fame of Paterculus, that the fate of his work has been exactly the reverse of that of Livy; the latter part, which treats of events nearer his own age, has been preserved, while the account of the early history of Rome from Romulus to the second Macedonian war has been entirely lost. Had this been preserved, we might have found him as indiscriminate a copyist of foolish and ignorant authorities as any of his contemporaries; but as it is, we cannot compare him with Livy, where Livy probably was most excellent; and his superiority over Appian and Dion Cassius is obtained with little difficulty, not only on account of his earlier date and his greater ability, but because as a Roman he had so much more familiar a knowledge of the names, customs, laws, and family history of his countrymen, and is free therefore from those mistakes which the Greek writers of Roman history, with the exception of Polybius, are continually committing.

At length we have arrived at the greatest of the Roman historians, and one of the most eminent among those of every age and nation, CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS.¹ He was born about the

Tacitus.

year of Rome 810, A.D. 57, about three-and-forty years after the death of Augustus. His father is supposed to have been the same Cornelius Tacitus whom Pliny² describes as belonging to the Equestrian Order, and Procurator of the Belgian Gaul. At an early age he applied himself to the study of eloquence, with a view to obtain distinction as an advocate, the sole capacity in which an orator might then display his talents; and, as he was of a rank to aspire to political honours, he served some campaigns in the army,



Tacitus.

as the necessary qualification required of every candidate for a magistracy. When he was only one-and-twenty years old, he married the daughter of the famous Cn. Julius Agricola; he was one of the prætors ten years afterwards;³ and nine years later, u.c. 850, in

¹ We have borrowed this sketch of the Biography of Tacitus from Brotier's Preface to that Historian, having merely verified his statements by referring ourselves to the authorities which he has quoted.

² Histor. Natural, vii. 16.

³ Tacitus, Annal. xi. 11. [He was also one of the quindeceimviri of the Ludi Seculares.—*Editor.*]

Tacitus.

the first year of the reign of Nerva, he was appointed to the dignity of Consul.¹ Once after this period his name is mentioned,² together with that of the younger Pliny, as the joint and successful accusers of Marius Priscus, Proconsul of Africa, for multiplied acts of cruelty and corruption in his Province. But the later years of his life seem mostly to have been devoted to the composition of his Histories; a labour in which he was interrupted by a premature death, apparently before the close of the reign of Trajan. In point of external advantages, therefore, no Roman had hitherto been so well fitted for the office of a historian. Practically acquainted with civil and military affairs, gifted with a fair fortune, enjoying the highest public honours, with ample and undisturbed leisure, and writing in the reign of a sovereign who had no desire to see the truth concealed or corrupted, he had all opportunities of acquiring information, without any temptation to forsake his duty as an historian from motives of hope or fear; and it could only be a question whether his own moral and intellectual qualities were such as worthily to correspond with the favours conferred on him by fortune.

These qualities were undoubtedly of a very high order. He observes a fair and temperate tone in his censures even of the worst characters, and does not allow himself to be hurried away by the feelings of moral indignation which could not but arise within him, when contemplating such a tissue of various crimes as that which it was his business to record. His remarks are always striking, mostly just, and often profound; his narrative is clear, sensible, and animated; he communicates information on subjects to which the thread of his story does not of necessity lead him, and on which a mere compiler, who collects at the moment his knowledge for the task which he has in hand, can never afford to venture. Of this nature is the valuable sketch of the distribution of the military force of the empire, and of the state of the government and of the people, which occurs at the beginning of the fourth Book of his *Annals*. Such also is the summary view of the progress of the Roman legislation in the third Book of the same work. His delineations of characters are lively and apparently just; his sentiments on political questions fair and judicious. His authority with regard to all points of Roman History is highly valuable, and for those times with which he is more immediately concerned, we could hardly desire a better guide. His faults are to be ascribed to such causes as we have already noticed as injurious to ancient literature. Not even Tacitus could overcome the habit of regarding history as a literary composition, intended to satisfy the expectations of professed critics, and to promote the literary fame of the writer. We see continually symptoms of the ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν; the composition

¹ Pliny, Epist. ii., 1.² Ibid. ep. 11.

written with effort, in the hope of gaining a prize. Hence the excessive ornament of the language; and hence also those idle specimens of rhetoric, which are introduced as the pretended speeches of different persons mentioned in the history. We remember that Whitaker, in some one of his works, we believe in his *Review of Gibbon*, endeavours to discredit the authority of Tacitus as an historian, because he puts a speech into the mouth of the Emperor Claudius, on a solemn occasion, very different from that which he actually delivered. The pretended speech is to be found in the eleventh Book of the *Annals*, and is said to have been spoken in the Senate, when the inhabitants of Transalpine Gaul petitioned to be rendered eligible to the highest public offices at Rome. Now, it so happens, that a copy of the real speech of Claudius, engraved on a large brazen plate, was discovered at Lyons in the year 1528; and we are thus enabled to ascertain exactly how much of the pretended version of it given by Tacitus is genuine. Whitaker argues that a historian who would so audaciously insert a fictitious speech of his own composition into his history, and at the same time represent it as having been actually spoken, can no longer be relied on with confidence in any part of his work, although we may not have the means of proving him to be in error. Brotier, on the other hand, the learned editor of Tacitus, defends his author in the true spirit of an ancient critic, by saying that the original speech is "old fashioned, weak, and little calculated to convince its hearers; so that it was the business of Tacitus to make something that should be more worthy of the occasion, the place, and the majesty of the Emperor."¹ It is tiresome to reflect how much of this kind of silliness has been written by classical editors, commentators, and critics; and how long it has obstructed the progress of sound ideas on the subject of ancient literature. But Whitaker is not to be listened to when he infers that Tacitus is not to be trusted in his account of facts, because he has ascribed to Claudius a speech which was never spoken. The introduction of fictitious speeches was one of the regular ornaments of ancient history, on which much of the reputation of the author depended. It was never pretended that they were genuine, nor was any reader likely to be so simple as to mistake them for such; so that if the real speech of Claudius had been familiar to every person in Rome, Tacitus would never have been blamed for substituting in its place one of his own invention, but would rather perhaps have been censured for want of original talent if he had merely inserted in his history a faithful copy of it. In the same manner, when we read the speech of Galgacus, in the *Life of Agricola*, no one would be so weak as to suppose that any Roman had taken notes of the Celtic original, and had transmitted

¹ Notæ et Emendat. ad lib. xi., c. 24. Annal. C. Corn. Tacit.

Tacitus.

to Rome a translation of it ; but at the same time it would be hard to infer that Tacitus had allowed himself to describe from his own imagination the facts of the Caledonian war. Our objection to these fictitious speeches is simply that they are a waste of paper ; that they are a mere impertinence, occupying a space in the history, and employing a portion of the writer's time and attention, which ought to have been devoted to something better. But the spirit which could tolerate or demand that such tawdry ornaments as these should be hung upon the plain magnificence of history, was too closely connected with another and a worse tendency—that of shrinking from the full amount of labour which a conscientious historian should undergo, and of reporting idle tales with respect to foreign nations, rather than consulting their own accounts of themselves. We now allude to that passage in Tacitus which describes the origin and early history of the Jews ; it certainly betrays much ignorance or much indolence that he should have contented himself with retailing the vague and contradictory reports of foreigners, when he might so easily have learnt their true history, either from the work of Josephus, or from their original historians themselves, whose writings, translated into the Greek language, were, as we know, very generally read throughout a considerable part of the empire. It would not be fair to attach any particular blame to Tacitus for a fault of this nature, when it was one which the habits and feelings of his times so largely encouraged ; but it shows the radical defects in the views of history entertained by the Romans, when a man of such rare accomplishments as Tacitus could not altogether emancipate himself from their influence.

The
Biographers.Cornelius
Nepos.

The prevailing faults which marked the historians of these times are to be observed also in the biographers. Three writers of this class will demand a brief notice—Cornelius Nepos, Suetonius, and Plutarch. CORNELIUS NEPOS,¹ who flourished in the Augustan age, and was familiarly acquainted with Cicero and Atticus, has left us a sketch of the life of the latter, which possesses great value ; inasmuch as it is the account of an eminent and amiable man, written by a contemporary and a friend. We wish that we had many such memoirs of distinguished Romans, as no species of writing more effectually conveys a full and lively knowledge of the state of society and opinion at any given period. How much clearer and more instructive, for example, are the notions of the XVIIIth century which we derive from Boswell's *Life of Johnson*,

¹ What we possess of Cornelius Nepos is only a small portion of his works, if, indeed, the lives be his, which, with the exception of that of Atticus, may be questioned. He wrote *Chronica*, apparently an epitome of universal history ; *Exempla* ; *De Viris Illustribus*, probably the work which we possess ; *Epistolæ ad Ciceronem* ; *De Historicis* (at least, if he is the author of the life of Dion) ; and poems.—*Editor*.

than from Smollett's *History of England*; and the instance is a strong one, as no one would place the talents of Boswell within many degrees of those of the author of *Roderick Random* and *Humphrey Clinker*. Cornelius Nepos.

But the praise which we have bestowed on the biographer of Atticus can by no means be extended to the other two writers whom we have classed with him. PLUTARCH, a native of Chæronea, in Plutarch.

Bœotia, was probably some few years older than Tacitus, but is mentioned as flourishing, like him, during the reign of Trajan. He was much respected by the Emperor, and received from him, according to Suidas, the rank of Consul, with an extraordinary authority over all other magistrates in Illyria. He is said to have died in his native city, during the reign of Antoninus Pius. With his moral works we have at present no concern; and his Lives are so generally known by means of translations, even to those who are unacquainted with the original, that it may seem superfluous to offer any observations upon them.



Plutarch.

It is sufficient to remark that they are not contemporary biography; and must, therefore, have been compiled from books, and not written from personal knowledge. And as far as they touch upon the province of history, we may expect to find in them, in an aggravated degree, those same faults of imperfect information and carelessness, which we have noticed as characterising the historians of the same period. With regard to the more purely biographical part of them, Plutarch does not appear to have exercised a very nice discrimination in his selection of anecdotes; and many which he reports are improbable; occasionally, however, he has fallen in with authorities of a higher kind, and we are then indebted to him for preserving to us some very curious and important particulars. He has also the great merit of frequently mentioning the name of the writer from whom he is copying his narrative; and we are thus enabled to judge for ourselves of the degree of confidence which we should repose in him.

The third biographer whom we proposed to notice was C. SUE- Suetonius.
TONIUS TRANQUILLUS.¹ He also flourished in the reigns of Trajan

¹ Suetonius was "adolescens" twenty years after Nero's death (Suet. Nero, 57). He must, therefore, have been born about the time of that event, A.D. 68. His father, Suetonius Lenis, was tribune of the 13th legion; but the son seems to have had a distaste for public life in every way, and to have been solely devoted to literary pursuits. He was the intimate friend of the younger Pliny, who

Suetonius.

and Adrian, and was familiarly acquainted with the younger Pliny. He was the author of several works, none of which, however, have reached posterity, except the *Lives of the twelve Cæsars*, and two short books containing *Sketches of the Lives of the most eminent Philologists and Rhetoricians*. In his biography of the Cæsars, his narrative of their actions is exceedingly summary, and the largest space is devoted to a number of miscellaneous particulars, illustrative of their characters and habits. Like Plutarch, he seems to have collected these from several very different authorities; but he had one great advantage over the Greek biographer in the superior knowledge which he naturally possessed of the laws and usages of the Romans; so that on those subjects his testimony is much more trustworthy. We do not see any grounds for the charge of malignity which has been sometimes brought against him: on the contrary, he appears to us to have recorded the virtues and vices of the Cæsars with great impartiality; and certainly it is not the fault of Suetonius, if their vices appear to preponderate.

Florus.

Little need be said of the few remaining historians, if so they may be called, who have contributed something to our knowledge of the affairs of Rome. L. ANNÆUS FLORUS, who lived in the reign of Trajan, has left us a series of detached sketches of the different wars and civil dissensions in which the Romans were engaged from the days of Romulus to those of Augustus. Such a work is a mere help to the memory rather than a history; and is scarcely a fitter subject for criticism than a chronological table of events.¹

recommended his learning and amiable qualities to the notice of Trajan, and requested the Emperor to grant his friend the "jus trium liberorum," which solicitation was complied with. The correspondence is extant, Plin. Epist. x., 95, 96. Suetonius was "magister epistolarum" to the Emperor Hadrian. Of this office he was deprived on the same ground as that which caused the deprivation of many other officials, an alleged intimacy, not perhaps criminal, but inconsistent, with the Emperor's wife Sabina, during her husband's absence in Britain. We possess but a small portion of the writings of Suetonius. Besides his lives of the Cæsars, his books on the Grammarians and the Rhetoricians, his life of Terence (also, as we have seen, attributed to Donatus), and those of Horace, Persius, Lucian, Juvenal, and Pliny the Elder, all which are extant; he wrote *De Ludis Græcorum*, *De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum*, *De Anno Romano*, *De Notis*, *De Ciceronis Republicâ*, *De Nominibus Propriis*, *De Generibus Vestium*, *De Vocibus Mali Ominis*, *De Româ Ejusque Institutis et Moribus*, *Historiæ Cæsarum*, *Stemma Illustrum Romanorum*, *De Regibus*, *De Institutione Officiorum*, *De Rebus Variis*, &c., all of which, except a few fragments, are lost. —Editor.

¹ Of the biography of Florus nothing is known with any certainty. From the contemptuous language of Dr. Arnold, a reader unacquainted with Florus might infer that this writer should be classed with Goldsmith or Pinckney, or even lower; yet the work of Florus is written with literary pretension, and not without literary merit. His descriptions of Rome under Romulus, *Res erat unius ætatis, populus virorum*; of Samnium, after the conquest, *Ita ruinas ipsas urbium*

JUSTINUS FRONTINUS, or MARCUS JUNIANUS JUSTINUS, who Justinus. dedicates his work to the Emperor Antoninus (if the passage be genuine), was merely the epitomiser of the larger history of TROGUS POMPEIUS; and the merits or faults of the narrative are not, therefore, to be attributed to him. It professes to be an universal history, commencing with the earliest times, and terminating at the period when the several nations of whom it treats fell under the power of Rome. Of Rome itself there is only given a sketch of its origin, according to the common accounts; and in some instances, as in the case of Parthia, the account of a nation is carried down to the reign of Augustus, if it had not been conquered at an earlier period. Trogus Pompeius seems to have been a very common-place compiler; and, therefore, the merit of his work is very unequal. A great part of it appears to be copied from writers of no great ability or accuracy; but sometimes, as in the sketch given of the Parthian constitution, the materials must have been borrowed from a better source; and we thus occasionally glean some valuable information, which we could not easily find elsewhere.

The anecdotes of VALERIUS MAXIMUS, who wrote in the time of Valerius Maximus. Tiberius, afford us some curious particulars; but the accuracy of such collections is never to be much relied upon, as the authors think themselves at liberty to transfer any striking story into their pages which they may find anywhere recorded, without feeling bound to examine the evidence on which it rests, or to strip it of any exaggeration which it may have gathered since its first production.

Here then we shall terminate our review of the Historians of Rome. We may appear to have dealt out to them an unequal measure, in bestowing more of our attention on some, and less upon others, than they may be thought to have deserved. But our Reflections on the duty of a Historian. object has not been to enter into a minute criticism of individual writers, but chiefly to notice those defects in ancient history, which seem to have arisen from general causes, and to be referable to the peculiar circumstances and opinions of that period of antiquity with which we have been concerned. We have entered at some length into this part of our subject, not certainly from any wish to speak with severity of any individual writer, but because the faults which we have noticed have exercised a most injurious influence on modern history; nor will the mischief be removed till both the

diruit, ut hodie Samnium in ipso Samnio requiratur; and numberless other touches, remind us of Tacitus. Hannibal's expedition, and the destruction of Carthage, are not dry outlines, but spirited coloured sketches, evidencing the hand of a master. These, too, are rather samples than exceptions. The historical value of Florus is a different question. He adopts without a word of qualification the most palpable fables, and relates them with no less earnestness than if he was recording the most unimpeachable facts. He is, therefore, only an authority for what was believed, and that not by the most intelligent, in his day.—*Editor.*

Reflections
on the duty
of a
Historian.

magnitude of the evil and its causes be fully and strongly stated. The influence of which we speak may be traced distinctly through the great Italian historians, and those of the XVth or XVIth centuries, who composed their works in Latin, down to the French and English historians of the XVIIth, and even of the XVIIIth centuries. It is to be observed in the habit of regarding history as a *literary composition*, and as a source of literary fame to the author; in the consequent neglect of plain and useful, but laborious and unostentatious subjects of inquiry, and an excessive attention to all that was ornamental, whether in matter or style. It was a habit which encouraged the natural indolence of human nature, by attaching the highest fame to that which required least trouble, and undervaluing the labour which it neglected by representing it as unnecessary and undignified. From this alone could have sprung that preposterous ambition in any one individual to write an universal history, or, in modern times, to write the history of more than one single century. No one would have ever attempted such a work, if any just notions of the extent of a historian's labour had been entertained either by writers or readers.

If eloquent narrative or ingenious disquisition may supply the place of deep and exact knowledge, then indeed we may profess without difficulty to write histories as extensive as we please in their range of time and place. But if no man can describe any period as he ought to do, without obtaining as nearly as possible the knowledge of a contemporary; it is obvious that this knowledge can only be gained by a general study of all the existing memorials of that period; by a perusal, not only of its annalists and historians, but of its divines, philosophers, poets, novelists, and writers of a still more fugitive description, from whom the physical and moral state of society at any one time, can alone be adequately learned; and it is still more obvious, that where those materials are as numerous as they are in modern times, it is physically impossible for one man to do more than acquaint himself with those which relate to one limited period. One sacrifice of selfishness is thus required in a historian, that he should resign the detail of many brilliant eras, and satisfy himself with one alone, and that perhaps not the most attractive; another, and perhaps a greater, is also called for, that the quantity of his writing should not be in proportion to that of his reading; that he should be content to toil through many a page, without informing the world of the amount of his industry, and without deriving any more visible fruit from it than the increased richness and soundness of knowledge which will transpire through every portion of his work. We shall be told, that this is to expect what never will come to pass; that he who has taken great pains will always wish to gain due credit for it; that he who has bestowed much time in

ascertaining some unimportant fact, will think it entitled to the same share of the reader's attention, which it has demanded of his own. It may be, indeed, that we shall never see a perfect historian; but the nearest approaches to perfection are ever gained by holding up to all aspirants an uncompromising standard, and by requiring them to strain every faculty to the utmost. He who writes for the instruction of others has entered on no flowery path of selfish gratification; but has undertaken a sober and solemn duty; from which, as from every other, selfishness must be assiduously excluded. It is not fame, however brilliant, or any self-satisfaction in the display of intellectual excellence, which can lawfully be the object of a historian; but to do good after his measure, by the conscientious exercise of those faculties which God has given him; while he bears continually in humbling remembrance, the end for which they were given, and the guilt either of abusing them or glorying in them.

Reflections
on the duty
of a
Historian.



MSS., EDITIONS, &c., OF THE HISTORIANS OF ROME.



SALLUST.

- Ed. Princeps. Romæ. 1470.
 Corte. Lips. 1724.
 Havercamp. Hag. 1742.
 Gerlach. Basil. 1823—1831.
 Kritz. Lips. 1828—1834.
 Translations. Stewart. Lond. 1806.
 Murphy. Lond. 1807.
 Barclay (Jugurtha).

See Index of Editions and Translations prefixed to Frotscher's Edition.

CÆSAR.

- Ed. Princ. Romæ. 1449.
 Jungermann. Francof. 1669.
 Groevius. Lugd. Bat. 1713.
 Cellarius. Lips. 1705.
 Davis. Cantab. 1727.
 Oudendorp. Stuttgard. 1822.
 Morus, edente Oberlin. Lips. 1819.

LIVY.

- MSS. 1st. dec. Cod. Parisinus. (10th century.)
 — " Mediceus. (11th century.)
 3rd. " Puteanus.
 4th. " Bambergensis.
 — " Moguntinus.
 5th. " Laurischamensis.
 Ed. Princ. Romæ. Sweynheym and Pannartz. 1469.
 2nd Edit. Romæ, Udalricus Gallus. 1469 or 1470.
 3rd Edit. Venet. Vindelin de Spira. 1470.
 Aldus. Venet. 1518—1533.
 Gryphius et alii. Paris. 1543.
 Manutius. Venet. 1592.
 Gruterus. Francofurti. 1689.
 Gronovius in Elzev. varior. 1679. And edited by Clericus. Paris.
 1735—1741.
 Crevier. Paris. 1735—1742.
 Drakenborch. Lugd. Bat. 1738—1746. (The standard edit.)
 Stroth and Döring. Goth. 1796—1819.
 Ruperti. Gotting. 1807—1809.
 Bekker and Raschig. Lips. 1829.

Subsidia :—

- Lachmann. Commentationes de fontibus Historiarum T. Livii.
 Gotting. 1822—1828.
 Translation :—Baker.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

The lives which we possess under the name of Cornelius Nepos were published, with some variations, under the name of Ormilius Probus, a contemporary of the Emperor Theodosius, by Jenson, Venet. 1471; by Bernardinus Venetus (no date); and at Milan, though without name of place, year, or printer, but not later than 1496. The work was ascribed to Ormilius Probus entirely, until the Strasburg edition of 1506 attributed the Life of Atticus to Cornelius Nepos. Lambinus, in his edition (Paris, 1569) first asserted the whole book to be the work of Cornelius Nepos. Subsequent editions are:—

- Schottus. Francof. 1609.
 Gebhardus. Amst. 1644.
 Bocclerus. Argent. 1648.
 Bosius. Jenæ. 1675.
 *Van Staveren. Lugd. Bat. 1773.
 Heusinger. Krug. 1747.
 Fischer. Lips. 1759.
 Harles. Lips. 1806.
 Paufla. Lips. 1804.
 *Tzschucke. Gotting. 1804.
 †Titze. Prag. 1813.
 *†Lemaire. Paris. 1820.
 *Berner. Turici. 1820.
 †Bardili. Stuttgart. 1820.
 †Dähne. Lips. 1827.
 †Roth. Basil. 1841.
 †Benecke. Berolin. 1843.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

This author comes to us on the faith of one MS. only, which Beatus Rhenanus discovered in the Monastery of Murbach, but which has since perished. A copy was made by Amerbachius, a pupil of Rhenanus, which was collated with the edition by Orelli.

- Ed. Princ. Rhenanus. Basil. 1520.
 Lipsius. Lugd. Bat. 1591 and 1607.
 Gruter. Francof. 1607.
 Ger. Vossius. Lugd. Bat. 1639.
 Bœclerus. Argent. 1642.
 Thysius. Lugd. Bat. 1653.
 Heinsius. Amstel. 1678.
 Hudson. Oxon. 1693.
 P. Burmann. Lugd. Bat. 1719.
 Ruhnken. Lugd. Bat. 1789. A very valuable edition in respect of subsidia. Reprinted by Frotscher, Lips. 1830—1839.
 Jani. }
 Krause. } Lips. 1800.
 Cludius. Hanov. 1815.

* Useful working editions.

† Containing *Subsidia*, on the question of authorship.

Lemaire. Paris. 1822.

Orelli. Lips. 1835.

Kreyssig. Lips. 1836.

Bothe. Turici. 1837.

Subsidia :—

Morgenstern De Fide Hist. Velleji Paternuli. Gedani. 1798.

TACITUS.

Ed. Princ. Vindelin de Spira. Venet. 1470.

(Last six books of Annals, the Histories, Germany, Dialogue de Oratoribus).

Ph. Beroaldus. Romæ. 1515. (Entire works.)

Beatus Rhenanus. Basil. 1533.

Ernesti, by Oberlin. Lips. 1801.

Brotier. Paris. 1771.

Bekker. Lips. 1831.

Orelli. Turici. 1846 and 1848.

Agricola.—

Walch. Berlin. 1827.

Germania.

Grimm. Gotting. 1835.

Dial. de Orat.

Orelli. Turici. 1830.

For further information on Editions, see Hain's Repertorium and Schweigger's Handbuch der Classischen Biographie.

Subsidia :—

Bötticher's Lexicon Taciteum. Berolin. 1830. Lipsii Commentarii et Excursus.

Translations :—

Greenway (Annals and Germany).

Savile (Histories and Agricola).

Gordon.

Murphy.

SUETONIUS.

Fifteen editions of this writer were printed before A.D. 1500. The oldest with a date is Romæ, 1470.

Casaubon. Paris. 1610.

Schild. Lugd. Bat. 1647.

P. Burmann. Amstel. 1736. With valuable apparatus.

Baumgarten-Crusius, edente C. B. Hase. Paris. 1828.

Subsidia :—

Krause de Suetonii Tranquilli Fontibus et Auctoritate. Berol. 1841.

(See Bähr's Geschichte der Röm. Lit. under Suetonius, for more particulars of this writer.)

Translations :—

Holland. Lond. 1606.

Thomson. Lond. 1796.

FLORUS.

Ed. Princ. Gering, Friburg, and Cranz, at the Sorbonne, 1471, under the inspection of Gaguin. Two other editions, one in Gothic and one in Roman letter, dispute the precedency with this. There are six impressions of the fifteenth century.

Camers. Viennæ Pannon. 1518. Basil. 1532.

Vinetus. Paris. 1576.

Stadius. Antverp. 1594.

Gruterus and Salmasius. Heidel. 1609.

Freinshemius. Argentorati. 1655.

Grævius. Trajecti ad Rhen. 1680.

Dukerus. Lips. 1832.

Titze. Prag. 1819.

Seebode. Lips. 1821.

JUSTIN.

Ed. Princ. Jenson. Venetiis. 1470. There is another edition without date or printer's name, probably of the same year.

The editions of this author may be considered successive improvements.

They are :—

Sabellicus. Venet. 1507.

Aldus. Venet. 1522.

Bongarsius. Paris. 1581.

Grævius. Lugd. Bat. 1683.

Hearne. Oxon. 1705.

Gronovius. Lugd. Bat. 1760.

Frotscher. Lips. 1827.

Translations :—

Codrington, 1654 ; Brown, 1712 ; Bayley, 1732 ; Clarke, 1732 ; Turnbull, 1746. All printed in London.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Ed. Princ. Supposed to be a folio in Gothic characters, without date or printer's name ; but known to have been printed by J. Mentelin at Strasburg, and supposed to be about 1470. Two other editions contest the honour, viz.—Schoyfer, Mogunt. 1471 ; and Vindelin de Spira, Venet. 1471. Fourteen distinct editions were published before 1490.

Aldus. Venet. 1502.

Manutius. Venet. 1534.

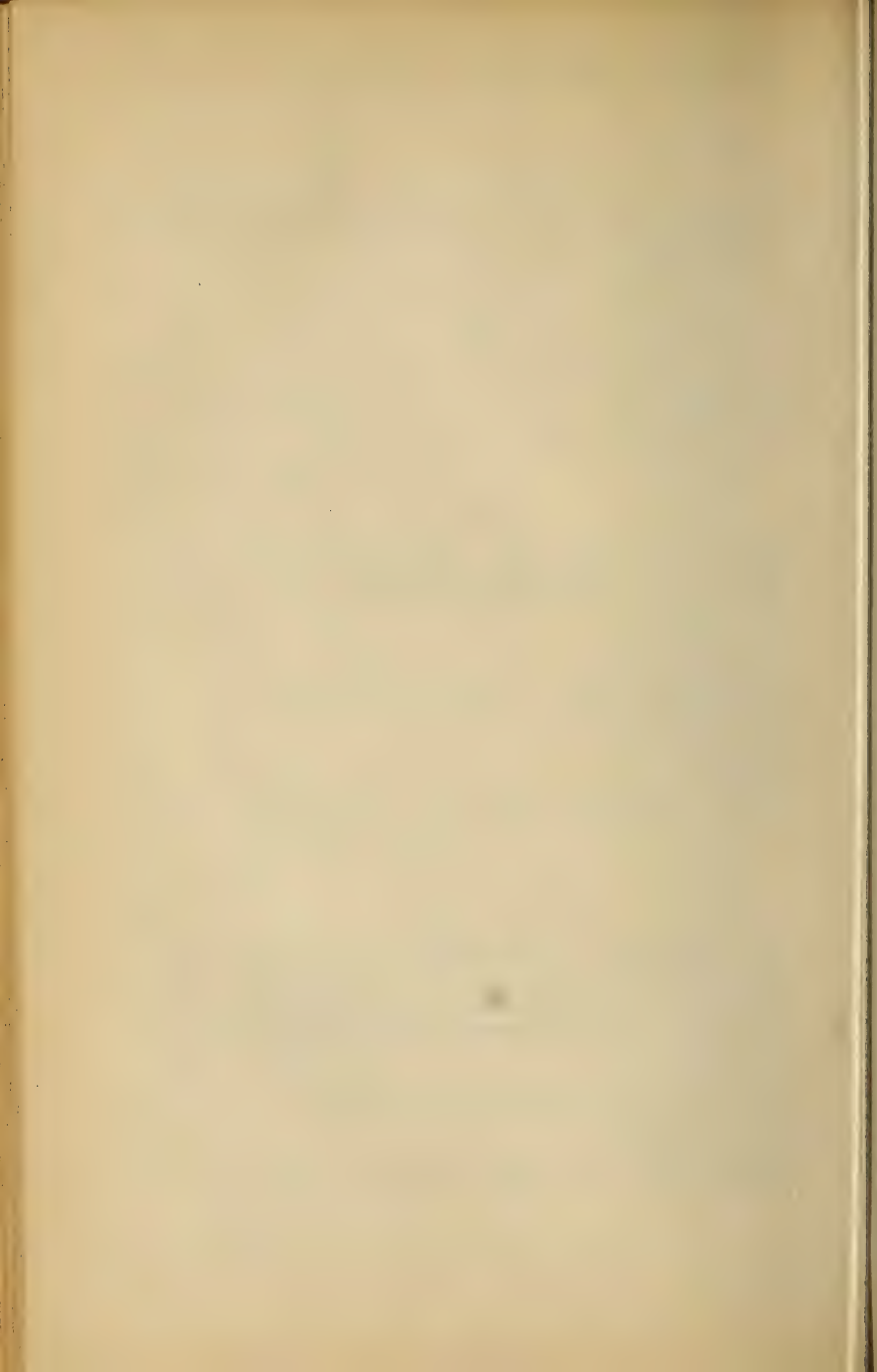
Pighius. Antv. Plantin. 1657.

Vorstius. Berol. 1672.

Torrenius. Lugd. Bat. 1726.

Kappius. Lips. 1782.

Translation.—Speed. Lond. 1678.



STATE OF
ROMAN LITERATURE
IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.

BY THE LATE
THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.

HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL.

Extracted from the Biography of M. Ulpian Trajanus Crinitus, Contributed by Dr. ARNOLD to the HISTORY of ROME, forming part of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.



Trajan.

STATE OF ROMAN LITERATURE IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.

FROM A.D. 98 TO A.D. 117.

WE have already expressed our opinion, that the merits of Roman Literature, even in its most flourishing period, have been greatly overrated; and we believe that a review of its condition at the end of the 1st century of the Christian era might tend to lessen our wonder at the ignorance which afterwards prevailed throughout Europe. Our first impression would probably be highly favourable: we meet with the names of a great many writers, whose reputation is even now eminent; we know that learning was not only held in honour in the eastern provinces, where it had been long since cultivated, but that Gaul, and Spain, and Africa, abounded with schools and orators, and that a taste for literary studies had been introduced even into Britain. The names of the most distinguished orators at Rome were familiarly known in the remotest parts of the empire,¹ and any splendid passages in their speeches were copied out by the provincial students, and sent down to their friends at home, to excite their admiration, and serve as models for their imitation. Even the Roman laws, once so cold and so disdainful of literature and the fine arts, had in some points adopted a more conciliating language; and the profession of a sophist² was a legal exemption from the duties of a juryman in the

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¹ Dialogus. de Oratoribus, viii.

² Pliny, Epist. x. 66.

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Conventus or circuits of the provincial judges. The age of Trajanus then had greatly the advantage over that of Augustus in the more general diffusion of knowledge, while, in the comparison of individual writers, the eminence which Virgil and Horace attained in poetry was at least equalled by the historical fame of Tacitus. But although knowledge was more common than it had been a century before, still its range was necessarily confined; nor before the invention of printing could it possibly be otherwise. Pliny expresses¹ his surprise at hearing that there was a bookseller's shop to be found at *Lugdunum*, or Lyons; yet this very city had been for a long time the scene of public recitations in Greek and Latin, in which the orators of Gaul contended for the prize of eloquence. Thus, instead of the various clubs, reading-rooms, circulating libraries, and book-societies, which make so many thousands in our day acquainted with every new publication worthy of notice, it was the practice of authors at Rome to read aloud their compositions to a large audience of their friends and acquaintance; and not only poetry and orations were thus recited, but also works of history.² To attend these readings was often, naturally enough, considered rather an irksome civility; they who went at first reluctantly were apt to be but languid auditors; and we all know, that, even to those most fond of literature, it is no agreeable task to sit hour after hour the unemployed and constrained listeners alike to the eloquence or dulness, to the sense or folly of another. The weariness then of the audience was to be relieved by the selection of brilliant and forcible passages; their feelings were to be gratified rather than their understandings; and amidst the excitement of a crowded hall, and an impassioned recitation, there was no room for that silent exercise of judgment and reflection which alone leads to wisdom. From this habit, then, of *hearing* books rather than *reading* them, it was natural that poetry and oratory should be the most popular kinds of literature; and that history, as we have observed in our notice of the Roman historians, should be tempted to assume the charms of oratory, in order to procure for itself an audience. A detail of facts cannot be remembered by being once heard; and many of the most useful inquiries or discussions in history, however valuable to the thoughtful student, are not the best calculated to win the attention of a mixed audience, when orally delivered. The scarcity of books, therefore, inducing the practice of reading them aloud to many hearers, instead of reserving them for hours of solitude and undisturbed thought, may be considered as one of the chief causes of the false luxuriance of literature at Rome in the reigns of the first emperors, and of its early and complete decay. We have already noticed the unworthy ideas which the Romans

Reciters.

¹ Pliny, Epist. ix. 11.

² Ibid. Epist. vii. 17; ix. 27. Compare also i. 13; vi. 15; viii. 12.

entertained of its nature, and how completely they degraded it into a mere plaything of men's prosperous hours, an elegant amusement, and an embellishment of life ; not a matter of serious use to individuals and to the State. Works of physical science, and much more such as tend to illustrate the useful arts, were therefore almost unknown ; so also were books of travels, details of statistics, and everything relating to political economy. Had books of this description been numerous, it would indeed have been strange if the Roman Empire had afterwards relapsed into ignorance. The nations by whom it was overrun would readily have appreciated the benefits of a knowledge which daily made life more comfortable, and nations more enlightened and more prosperous : and the advantages of cultivating the understanding would have been as obvious to men of every condition in Rome as they are actually at the present time in England, Germany, and America. As a proof of this we may observe, that the only two kinds of really valuable knowledge which the Romans had to communicate to their northern conquerors, were both adopted by them with eagerness ; we mean their law and their religion. The Roman Code found its way, or rather retained much of its authority in the kingdoms founded upon the ruins of the empire, and its wisdom imperceptibly influenced the law of those countries which affected most to regard it with jealousy and aversion. And the Christian religion, in like manner, survived the confusion of the fourth and fifth centuries, and continually exercised its beneficent power in ensuring individual happiness, and lessening the amount of public misery. If, together with these, Rome could have offered to her conquerors an enlarged knowledge of Nature and of the useful arts, and clear views of the principles of political economy and the higher science of legislation in general, we need not doubt that they would have accepted these gifts also, and that thus the corruption to which her law and religion were exposed would have been in a great measure obviated. For it is a most important truth, and one which requires at this day to be most earnestly enforced, that it is by the study of facts, whether relating to Nature or to man, and not by any pretended cultivation of the mind by poetry, oratory, and moral or critical dissertations, that the understandings of mankind in general will be most improved, and their views of things rendered most accurate. And the reason of this is, that every man has a fondness for knowledge of some kind ; and by acquainting himself with those facts or truths which are most suited to his taste, he finds himself gaining something, the value of which he can appreciate, and in the pursuit of which, therefore, all his natural faculties will be best developed. From the mass of varied knowledge thus possessed by the several members of the community arises the great characteristic of a really enlightened age—a sound and sensible judgment ; a quality

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The Romans entertained unworthy ideas of Literature.

The Roman Law and Religion.

Importance of the study of Facts.

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which can only be formed by the habit of regarding things in different lights, as they appear to intelligent men of different pursuits and in different classes of society, and by thus correcting the limited notions to which the greatest minds are liable, when left to indulge without a corrective in their own peculiar train of opinions. Want of judgment, therefore, is the prevailing defect in all periods of imperfect civilisation, and in those wherein the showy branches of literature have been forced by patronage, while the more beneficial parts of knowledge have been neglected. Nor is it to the purpose to say, that the study of facts is of no benefit, unless we form from them some general conclusions. The disease of the human mind is impatiently to anticipate conclusions; so little danger is there that it will be slow in deducing them, when it is once in possession of premises from which they may justly be derived. But, on the other hand, wherever words and striking images are mainly studied, as was the case in ancient Rome, man's natural indolence is encouraged, and he proceeds at once to reason without taking the trouble of providing himself with the necessary materials. Eloquence, indeed, and great natural ability, may, in the most favourable instances, disguise to the vulgar the shallowness which lurks beneath them; but with the mass of mankind this system is altogether fatal:—learning, in the only shape in which it presents itself to their eyes, is to them utterly useless; they have no desire to pursue it, and, if they had such, their pursuit would be fruitless. They remain therefore in their natural ignorance; not partaking in the pretended cultivation of their age, and feeling no deprivation when the ill-rooted literature which was the mere amusement of the great and wealthy is swept away by the first considerable revolution in the state of society.

Decay of
Learning.

The decay of learning, then, which we are called to account for, is of all things the most readily explained. Unsubstantial as it was, it would have worn out of itself, as it did at Constantinople, even if no external violence had overwhelmed it. Facts, indeed, whether physical or moral, are a food which will not only preserve the mind in vigour, but, increasing in number with every successive century, furnish it with the means of an almost infinite progress. But the changes on words and sentiments are soon capable of being exhausted; the earliest writers seize their best and happiest combinations, and nothing is left for their successors but imitation or necessary inferiority. Poetry had fallen sufficiently low in the hands of Silius Italicus, and history in those of Appian and Dion Cassius; the Romans themselves in the reign of Trajanus acknowledged their inferiority to their ancestors in oratory, and in a few centuries more the vessel was drained out to the dregs. The great excellence of Tacitus is a mere individual instance, and we might as well ask, why Rome had produced no historian of equal merit

before him as why she produced none such after him. One other great man had died only a few years before the accession of Trajanus, whose example, had it been imitated, might have produced a great revolution in the intellectual state of the Roman Empire. We speak of the elder Pliny, the natural historian. The particulars of his life and death recorded by his nephew,¹ no less than the contents of his own work, display a thirst after real knowledge, and an active spirit in searching for it, by a personal study of the great book of Nature, which rose far above the false views and the literary indolence of his contemporaries. But he was a splendid exception to the spirit of his age, and there arose none to tread in his steps. Posterity were contented to read his writings, rather than improve upon them by imitating his example; and his authority continued to be quoted with reverence on all points of natural history, even down to a period when errors, which in him were unavoidable, could no longer be repeated without disgrace.

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Trajan.

Pliny the
Elder,

It may be asked, however, why the example of Pliny was not

Why human
knowledge
was
neglected in
this age.

¹ C. Plinius Secundus was born at Verona, or Novum Comum, the modern Como. The preponderance of evidence we should assign to the latter place, as the family estate was there, and inscriptions found in that neighbourhood refer to the family, which was one of wealth and consideration. He came to Rome when young, and with a view to intellectual culture. At the age of twenty-three he served in the army under L. Pomponius Secundus, by whom he was appointed commander of a troop of cavalry, and of whom he wrote a memoir. The scientific bent of his mind was brought to bear upon his military duties; and he composed a treatise, *De Jaculatione Equestri*, and the history of the wars in Germany, in 20 books. After six years' service, he returned with his chief to Rome, where he practised as an advocate. Retreating to his native country, he composed a work called *Studiosus*, probably for the more immediate benefit of his nephew. After this he wrote a grammatical work, in 8 books, intitled *Dubius Sermo*, which appears to have excited considerable opposition, though it was never formally refuted. Not long before the death of Nero, Pliny was appointed procurator of Spain. While in this office he lost his sister and brother; the son of the former was, by the father's desire, intrusted to his guardianship; and, consequently, in the reign of Vespasian, he returned to Rome, and adopted his nephew. He was on intimate terms with that Emperor, and with Titus, to whom he dedicated his *Historia Naturalis*, which, probably, owed its origin to the interest which he had long taken in the rare animals exhibited in the shows at Rome. His reading was almost perpetual, and prodigiously extensive. He left to his nephew 160 volumes of commentaries on various subjects, the results of his incessant studies. Some time before they had reached this number, Pliny had been offered for them the sum of 400,000 sesterces. The details of the death of Pliny will be found in a most interesting letter of his nephew to Tacitus. (Ep. vi. 16.) He was in command of the fleet at Misenum, August 24, A.D. 79, when the great eruption of Vesuvius, which overthrew the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, commenced. Contrary to the advice of all around him, he set sail for Stabia, to visit his friend Pomponianus, and to make observations of the phenomenon. He reached this place in safety; but on the following morning, when the earthquake rendered it necessary to quit the house, and lie down in the open air, he died on a sail which had been laid down for him, suffocated, apparently, by the sulphureous vapour.—Editor.

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followed, and why the most valuable parts of human knowledge were so unhappily neglected. In addition to the cause which we have already mentioned, namely, the scarcity of books, the practice of recitations, and the consequent discouragement of any compositions that were not lively and eloquent, there are several other circumstances which tended to produce the same effect. The natural indolence of mankind, and their attachment to the old beaten track, were powerful obstacles to the improvements that were most required; and if so many centuries elapsed in later times before the birth of Bacon, we need not wonder that no man of equal powers with Pliny arose at Rome between the age of Trajanus and the fall of the Western Empire. We must consider also the general helplessness of mind produced by such a government as that of Rome; which, while it deprived men of the noblest field for their exertions—a participation direct or indirect in the management of the affairs of the nation—did not, like some modern despotisms, encourage activity of another kind, by its patronage of manufactures and commerce. If we ask, further, why commerce did not thrive of itself without the aid of the government, and why the internal trade kept up between the different parts of an empire so admirably supplied with the means of mutual intercourse was not on a scale of the greatest magnitude, the answer is to be found partly in the habits of the nations of the south of Europe, which, with some exceptions, have never been addicted to much commercial enterprise, and much more to the want of capital amongst private individuals, and the absence of a demand for distant commodities amongst the people at large, owing to their general poverty. The enormous sums lavished by the emperors, and possessed by some of the nobility, or by fortunate individuals of the inferior classes, have provoked the scepticism of many modern readers, as implying a mass of wealth in the Roman Empire utterly incredible. They rather show how unequally property was distributed; an evil of very long standing at Rome, and aggravated probably by the merciless exactions of many of the emperors, who seemed literally unsatisfied so long as any of their subjects possessed anything. The Indian trade, which furnished articles of luxury for the consumption of the great, was therefore in a flourishing condition; but not so that internal commerce in articles of ordinary comfort, which in most countries of modern Europe is carried on with such incessant activity. Where trade is at a low ebb, the means of communication between different countries are always defective; and hence there exists undisturbed a large amount of inactivity and ignorance, and a necessarily low state of physical science and the study of nature. So that from all these causes together, there would result that effect on the intellectual condition of the Roman empire which we have described as so unfavourable.

From this unsatisfactory picture we turn with delight to the contemplation of a promise and of a partial beginning of moral improvement, such as Rome had never seen before. We need not dwell upon the need that there was for such a reform, except to observe, that there can be no better proof of a degraded state of morals than the want of natural affection in parents towards their offspring; and that the practice of infanticide,¹ or that of exposing children soon after their birth, together with the fact that Trajanus found it necessary to provide for five thousand children at the public expense, and that Pliny imitated his example on a smaller scale in his own town of Comum, sufficiently show how greatly parents neglected their most natural duty. It is remarkable, also, that the younger Pliny, a man by no means destitute of virtue, could not only write and circulate indecent verses, but deliberately justify himself for having done so.² Yet, with all this, the writings of Epictetus and M. Aurelius Antoninus, if we may include the latter in a review of the reign of Trajanus, present a far purer and truer morality than the Romans had yet been acquainted with from any heathen pen. The providence of God, the gratitude which we owe him for all his gifts, and the duty of submission to his will, are prominently brought forward; while the duties of man to man, the claims which our neighbours have upon our constant exertions to do them service, and the excellence of abstaining from revenge or uncharitable feelings, are enforced with far greater earnestness than in the writings of the older philosophers. We cannot, indeed, refuse to admire the noble effort of the stoic philosophy to release mankind from the pressure of physical evil, and to direct their minds with undivided affection to the pursuit of moral good. When the prospect beyond the grave was all darkness, the apparently confused scene of human life could not but perplex the best and wisest; sickness, loss of friends, poverty, slavery, or an untimely death, might visit him who had laboured most steadily in the practice of virtue; and even Aristotle himself³ is forced with his own hands to destroy the theory of happiness which he had so elaborately formed, by the confession that the purest virtue might be so assailed with external evils that it could only preserve its possessor from absolute misery. The Stoics assumed a bolder language, and strove with admirable firmness to convince reluctant nature of its truth. Happiness, as they taught, was neither unattainable by man, nor dependent on external circumstances;

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The moral state of the Empire.

The Stoic Philosophy.

Its excellences.

¹ Is not the prevalence of infanticide among the Romans indicated by the observation which Tacitus makes concerning the Jews?—*Hist.* v. 5. *Augendæ multitudini consulitur. Nam necare quanquam ex agnatis, nefas.* And, again, he says the same thing of the Germans, *German.* 19: *Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur.*

² *Epist.* iv. 14; v. 3.

³ *Ethic. Nicomach.* i. 10: Ἀθλίος μὲν οὐδέποτε γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ εὐδαίμων, οὐ μὴν μακάριός γε, ἂν Πριαμικαῖς τύχαις περιπέσῃ.

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the providence of God had not,¹ according to the vulgar complaint, scattered good and evil indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the wicked; the gifts and the deprivations of fortune were neither good nor evil; and all that was really good was virtue, all that was really bad was vice, which were respectively chosen by men at their own will, and so chosen that the distribution of happiness and misery to each was in exact proportion to his own deservings. But as it was not possible to attain to this estimate of external things without the most severe discipline, the Stoics taught their disciples to desire nothing at all² till they had so changed their nature as to desire nothing but what was really good. In the same way, they inculcated an absence of all feelings, in order to avoid subjecting ourselves to any other power than that of reason. When our friends were in distress,³ we might appear outwardly to sympathise with their sorrow, but we were by no means to grieve with them in heart; a parent should not be roused to punish his son,⁴ for it was better that the son should turn out ill than that the father should be diverted from the care of his own mind by his interest for another. Death was to be regarded as the common lot of all,⁵ and the frailty of our nature should accustom us to view it without surprise and alarm. In itself it must be an extinction of being,⁶ or a translation to another state, still equally under the government of a wise and good Providence; it could not then be justly an object of fear, and our only care should be to wait for its coming without anxiety, and to improve the time allotted to us before its arrival, whether it were but a day or half a century.

Its im-
perfections.

Such were the doctrines of the Stoic philosophers of the age of Trajanus; and assuredly it must be a strange blindness or uncharitableness that can refuse to admire them. He can entertain but unworthy notions of the wisdom of God who is afraid lest the wisdom of man should rival it. The Stoic philosophy was unfitted for the weakness of human nature; its contempt of physical evil was revolting to the common-sense of mankind, and was absolutely unattainable by persons of delicate bodily constitutions; and thus, generally speaking, by one-half of the human race, and particularly by that sex which, under a wiser discipline, has been found capable of attaining to such high excellence. Above all, it could not represent God to man under those peculiar characters in which every affection and faculty of our nature finds its proper object and guide. There are many passages in the works of Epictetus and M. Antoninus in which his general providence and our duties towards Him are forcibly declared; still He seems to be at the most no more than a part of their system, and that, neither the most

¹ Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, 38.

³ *Ibid.* 22.

⁵ M. Antoninus, *iii.* 3; *iv.* 32. 43.

² *Ibid.* 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16.

⁶ *Ibid.* *vii.* 32.

striking, nor the most fully developed. But in order to make us like Him, it was necessary that in all our views of life, in our motives, in our hopes, and in our affections, God should be all in all; that He should be represented to us, not as He is in himself, but as He stands related to us—as our Father, and our Saviour, and the Author of all our goodness; in those characters, in short, under which the otherwise incomprehensible Deity has so revealed Himself as to be known and loved, not only by the strongest and wisest of his creatures, but also by the weak and the ignorant.

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One great defect in the ancient systems of philosophy was their want of authority. It was opinion opposed to opinion, and thus the disputes of the several sects seemed incapable of ever arriving at a decision. Plain men, therefore, were bewildered by the conflicting pretensions of their teachers, when they turned to seek some relief from the utter folly and worthlessness of the popular religion. So that a large portion of mankind were likely to adopt the advice of Lucian,¹ to regard with contempt all the high discussions of the philosophers relating to the end and principle of our being, and to think only of the present, bestowing serious thoughts upon nothing, and endeavouring to pass through life laughingly. Something, too, must be ascribed, not only to the discordant opinions of the philosophers, but to their reputed dishonesty; and the suspicion which attached to them of turning morality into a trade. Their temptations were strong, and such as we have seen even the teachers of Christianity unable often to resist. In an age of ignorance, just made conscious of its own deficiencies, any moral and intellectual superiority is regarded with veneration; and when the sophists professed to teach men the true business of life, they found many who were eager to listen to them. Then followed an aggravation of the evils of popular preaching under another name: the sophists aspired to be orators as well as moralists; and their success would depend as much on their eloquence and impressive delivery as on the soundness of their doctrines. In the eastern part of the empire their ascendancy was great; and, if the story of Philostratus be true,² the philosophers in Egypt formed as considerable a body, and, during the stay of Vespasianus at Alexandria, claimed the right of advising princes as boldly, as the Romish clergy of a later period have done. With these means of influence, and the consequent temptation to abuse it, the sophists were without that organisation and discipline which in the Christian church preserved the purity, or checked the excesses of individual teachers; and, not being responsible to any one for their conduct, they were less scrupulous in avoiding censure.

The
Sophists.

¹ Necomanteia, p. 166.

² In vitâ Apollonii Tyanci, v. 27, et seq.

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The same want of organisation prevented them from acting in concert in the several parts of the empire, and from directing their attention on a regular system to all classes of the community, from the highest to the lowest. The sophists were no missionaries; and poor or remote districts, which could tempt neither their cupidity nor their ambition, derived little advantage from their knowledge.

Effects of the
Christian
Religion.

Under these circumstances, the Christian religion had grown with surprising rapidity, and must have produced effects on the character and happiness of individuals far greater than the common details of history will allow us to estimate. If our sole information were derived from Pliny's famous letter, we must yet be struck with the first instance in Roman history of a society for the encouragement of the highest virtues, those of piety, integrity, and purity, and embracing persons of both sexes and of all conditions. Such a project was indeed a complete remedy for the prevailing faults of the times: it promised not only to *teach* goodness, but actively to disseminate it; and to do away those degrading distinctions between slaves and freemen, and even between men and women, which had so limited the views of the philosophers in their plans for the improvement of mankind. Of all subjects for history, none would be so profitable as the fortunes of the Christian society; to trace the various causes which impeded or corrupted its operations, and to bring at the same time fully into view that vast amount of good which its inherent excellence enabled it still to effect, amidst all external obstacles and internal corruptions. We think that its friends have not rightly understood the several elements which have led to its partial failure, while we are certain that its enemies can never appreciate its benefits. But we must not enter upon this most inviting field at present. We hasten to conclude this memoir of Trajanus, after we have briefly noticed the character of his individual government.

Of the
Government
of Trajanus.

The highest spirit of a sovereign is to labour to bring his government, in every point of view, as nearly as possible to a state of absolute perfection; his next highest praise is, to administer the system which he finds established with the greatest purity and liberality. This glory was certainly deserved by Trajanus; and although he never thought of amending some of the greatest evils of the times, yet, as far as his people had suffered from the direct tyranny and wastefulness of former governments, his reign was a complete relief; and we can easily account for the warm affection with which his memory was so long regarded in after ages. He pleased the Romans by observing many of the forms of a free constitution; nor ought we to suspect that in so doing he was actuated by policy only, for he was quite capable of feeling the superior dignity of the magistrate of a free people to that of a tyrant; and he most probably spoke from his heart, when, on

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presenting the sword to the Præfect of the Prætorian guards, he desired him to use that weapon in his service so long as he governed well, but to turn it against him if ever he should abuse his power.¹ There is the same spirit observable in his conduct during his third consulship: as soon as he had been elected, he walked up to the chair of the Consul who presided at the Comitia, and whilst he stood before it, the Consul, without rising from his seat,² administered to him the usual consular oath, that he would discharge his office faithfully. And when his consulship had expired, he again took an oath,³ that he had done nothing, during the time that he had held it, which was contrary to law. These professions of regard to the welfare of his people were well verified by his actions. His suppression of the informers; his discouraging prosecutions under the *Leges Majestatis*; his relaxation of the tax on inheritances; and the impartiality with which he suffered the law to take its course against his own procurators when they were guilty of any abuse of power, were all real proofs of his sincerity; and they were not belied by any subsequent measures at a later period of his reign. The causes which were brought before himself immediately, he tried with fairness and attention;⁴ and it was on an occasion of this kind, when Eurythmus, one of his freedmen and procurators, was implicated in a charge of tampering with a will, and the prosecutors seemed reluctant to press their accusation against a person so connected with the emperor, that he observed to them, "Eurythmus is not a Polycletus" (one of the most powerful of Nero's freedmen and favourites), "nor am I a Nero." In his care of the provinces, and in his answers to the questions to him by the younger Pliny when Proconsul of Bithynia, he manifested a love of justice, an attention to the comforts of the people, and a minute knowledge of the details of the administration, which are most highly creditable to him. It is mentioned, too, that he was very careful in noticing the good conduct of the officers employed in the provinces;⁵ and considered the testimonials of regard given by a province to its governor as affording him a just title to higher distinctions at Rome. The materials for the history of this reign are indeed so scanty that we know scarcely anything of the lives and characters of the men who were most distinguished under it, nor can we enliven our narrative with many of those biographical sketches which, by bringing out individuals in a clear and strong light, illustrate most happily the general picture of the age. But C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, whom Trajanus made Proconsul of Bithynia, affords one memorable exception; and we gladly seize

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxviii. 778. Sex. Aur. Victor. in Trajano.

² Pliny, Panegyric. 64.

³ Ibid. 65.

⁴ Pliny, Epist. vi. 31.

⁵ Pliny, Panegyric. 70.

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Trajan.

Pliny the
Younger.

this opportunity to bestow some particular notice on one of the most distinguished persons who lived in these times.

C. PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS was born at or near Comum, about the sixth year of the reign of Nero, or A.D. 61. His mother was a sister of C. Plinius, the natural historian; and as he



Pliny the Younger.

lost his father at an early period, he removed with her to the house of his uncle, with whom he resided for some years, and was adopted by him, and, consequently, assumed his name in addition to his parental one, Cæcilius. He appears to have been of a delicate constitution, and, even in his youth, to have possessed little personal activity and enterprise; for, at the time of the famous eruption of Vesuvius, when he was between seventeen and eighteen, he continued his studies at home, and allowed his uncle to set out to the mountain without him. In literature, however, he made considerable progress, according to the estimate of those times: he composed a Greek tragedy when he was

only fourteen,¹ and wrote Latin verses on several occasions throughout his life; he attended the lectures of Quintilianus,² and some other eminent rhetoricians, and assiduously cultivated his style as an elegant writer and an orator. In this latter capacity he acquired great credit, and to this cause he was probably indebted for his political advancement. He went through the whole succession of public offices from that of Quæstor to the high dignities of Consul and Augur, and was so esteemed by Trajanus as to be selected by him for the government of Bithynia, because there were many abuses in that province which required a man of ability and integrity to remove them.³ The trust so honourably committed to him he seems to have discharged with great fidelity; and the attention to every branch of his duties, which his letters to Trajanus display, is peculiarly praiseworthy in a man of sedentary habits, and accustomed to the enjoyments of his villas, and the stimulants of literary glory at Rome. His character as a husband, a master, and a friend, was affectionate, kind, and generous; he displayed also a noble liberality towards his native town Comum, by forming a public library there, and devoting a yearly sum of 300,000 sesterces for ever to the maintenance of children born of free parents who were citizens of Comum. A man like Plinius, of

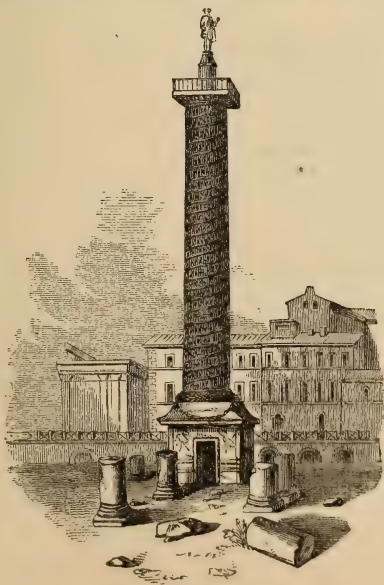
¹ Pliny, Panegyric. vii. 4.

² Ibid. ii. 14.

³ Ibid. x. 41.

considerable talents and learning, possessed of great wealth, and of an amiable and generous disposition, was sure to meet with many friends, and with still more who would gratify his vanity by their praises, and apparent admiration of his abilities. But, as a writer, he has done nothing to entitle him to a very high place in the judgment of posterity. His *Panegyric* of Trajanus belongs to a class of compositions, the whole object of which was to produce a striking effect, and it must not aspire to any greater reward. It is ingenious and eloquent, but, by its very nature, it gives no room for the exercise of the highest faculties of the mind, nor will its readers derive from it any more substantial benefit than the pleasure which a mere elegant composition can afford. His *Letters* are valuable to us, as all original letters of other times must be, because they necessarily throw much light on the period at which they were written. But many of them are ridiculously studied, and leave the impression, so fatal to our interest in the perusal of such compositions, that they were written for the express purpose of publication. In short, the works of Plinius, compared with the reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, seem to us greatly to confirm the view which we have taken of the inferiority of the literature of this period, and of the unworthy notions which were entertained of its proper excellence.

Roman
Literature
in the time of
Trajan.



Column of Trajan.

MSS., EDITIONS, &c.

 PLINY THE ELDER.

Ed. Princ. Venetiis. 1469.

Hardouin. Paris. 1723.

Panckoucke. Paris. 1829—1833. 1836—1838.

Sillig. Lips. 1831—1836.

Translation :—

Holland. Lond. 1601.

Subsidia :—

Salmasii Exercitationes Plinianæ (on the Polyhistor of Solimus).

Disquisitiones Plinianæ, ab A. Jos. à Turre Rezzonico. Parmæ,
1763—1767.

Ajasson de Grandsagne, Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Pline
l'ancien.

PLINY THE YOUNGER.

Ed. Princ. Venet. 1485.

Gesner (à Schäfer). Lips. 1805.

Epistolæ, à Cortio et Longolio, Amsdel. 1734.

Translations :—

Lord Orrery.

Melmoth.

LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF THE
ANTONINI.

BY THE

REV. J. B. OTTLEY, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

ROMAN AUTHORS OF THE AGE OF THE ANTONINI.

LUCIANUS	BORN A. D. 124. DIED	204
PAUSANIAS	FLOURISHED CIRCEITER A. D.	174
JULIUS POLLUX		180
AULUS GELLIUS		130
CLAUDIUS GALENUS	BORN A. D. 131. DIED CIRCEITER	200
LUCIUS APULEIUS	FLOURISHED CIRCEITER	160
ATHENÆUS		220
MAXIMUS TYRIUS		150
MARCUS FABIUS QUINCTILIANUS	BORN A. D. 42. DIED	122



Antoninus Pius.

LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF THE ANTONINI.

In our historical account of the age of the Antonini,¹ no mention has been made of its literature. We have, however, seen that the love of philosophy and studious pursuits was the ruling passion of MARCUS AURELIUS. His *Meditations* contain as pure a code of moral precepts as could be expected from the genius of Paganism, —teaching the immortality of the soul, not as a separate existence, but rather as a reunion with the essence of the Deity.² This work is too well known to require any very particular notice. Some *Letters* of this Emperor are commended by Philostratus as models of epistolary style, and a part of his correspondence with Cornelius Fronto was lately found among the manuscripts in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and published by Angelus Maius in 1815.

Meditations
of Marcus
Aurelius.

As the example of Aurelius encouraged literature at Rome, so his bounty rewarded it in the provinces. His own attachment to the Stoics did not prevent his regarding with an eye of favour the

Literary
patronage
of the
Antonini.

¹ In the HISTORY OF ROME, forming part of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

² Lib. iv. c. 9.

M. Aurelius. patrons of opposite sects: the disciples of Plato, the Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, professors of philosophy and rhetoric, all taught their dogmas with equal freedom in the schools of Athens;



Marcus Aurelius.

and by the generosity of the Antonines, a salary, equal to three hundred pounds sterling, was annexed to each Chair of Science.¹ This imperial favour, which was neither bigoted in its principles, nor parsimonious in its supplies, naturally encouraged emulation, and accordingly we know that many strove, by the exercise of literary talents, to deserve well of their contemporaries and of posterity. But the ravages of time have deprived us of great part of their labours; authentic sources of historical knowledge being few and imperfect, we are compelled to accept our information through the medium of abridgments and compilations. Some works, however, composed about this time, have come down to us in tolerable preservation;

and, although there does not appear among them any master mind whose writings were calculated to influence and guide the tone of public feeling, or stamp its own character on the pursuits of the age, still they are not without their value. The grammarian and philologist are assisted by the labours of Julius Pollux; he who directs his inquiries towards the works of art, which at this period were the ornament of Greece, will find his researches rewarded in the writings of Pausanias; while the student sees an infinite number of subjects connected with antiquity discussed and illustrated in the curious Miscellany of Athenæus. Aulus Gellius and Apuleius depart more widely from the models of pure style than the Greek writers who lived about the same period, Dio Cassius, Maximus Tyrius, and Lucianus. Aulus Gellius is obscure; and in Apuleius, the frequent occurrence of abstract nouns is a sign of declining Latinity. Of Dio mention has been already made in a preceding paper on the historians of Rome, and of Maximus Tyrius we shall have occasion to speak shortly.

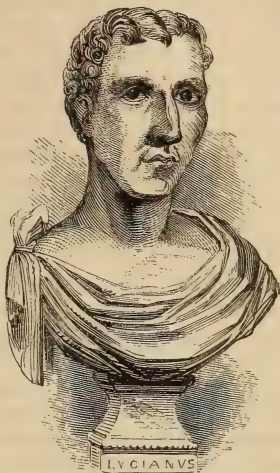
Lucianus.

But among all the authors of this time, LUCIANUS stands unquestionably first in natural abilities, in originality of character, and in playfulness of fancy. Though his talents were not of the very highest order, yet in his own line they were unequalled: his chief strength lay in ridicule, which, though it is not the test of truth, may become an useful auxiliary or a formidable foe to it.

¹ See Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 40, and the authorities there named.

Some of the minor works of Voltaire abound in that vein of ^{Lucianus.} sarcastic humour which forms the great charm of the writings of Lucianus. The French philosopher seems to have persecuted the cause of truth with a feeling of personal hostility ; and his railery has probably been more effectively

mischievous than the subtle reasonings of Hume : but the powers of Lucianus were by accident, and to a certain extent,¹ effectively useful ; more useful, perhaps, than the labours of abler and wiser men. We say by accident, because, although in an age of free inquiry, the instruments, which Lucianus employed with so much dexterity, were precisely adapted to expose sophistry, and clear away the rubbish of heathen superstition ; yet he had no design so excellent and so important, as to establish in their stead the fabric of truth and religion. While, therefore, we admire his singular abilities, we must condemn the man, who being by habit and by natural



inclination studious, by profession a philosopher, and by conviction² a contemner and enemy of the whole system of pagan mythology, should nevertheless make Christianity the subject only of contemptuous allusion,³ rather than of that serious and sober investigation, which were fairly demanded even by the number of its converts, and the authority of its advocates.

It is much to be wished that Lucianus, in his various works, had communicated more respecting his private life and history. The biographical notices, which we find from himself, are scanty, nor have we any other sources from which this defect may be supplied.

We know, however, with certainty, that he was born at Samosata,⁴ ^{His life,} near the Euphrates ; and since it was necessary that he should earn his bread by his own industry, he was placed with his mother's brother,⁵ who was by profession a statuary. This step was taken partly because it was the least expensive, and partly because Lucianus had already shown natural genius and dexterity in modelling figures in wax. Here he commenced inauspiciously, by breaking a tablet ; and, his master having chastised him with severity, he quitted his new employment in disgust. The same night he

¹ Erasmus.

² *Dialogi Deorum, passim.*

³ In *vitâ Peregrini.*

⁴ Quom. scrib. sit Hist.

⁵ *Somnium.*

Lucianus.

saw a vision ;—the Goddess of Sculpture and the Goddess of Polite Literature both appeared before his eyes ; the one covered with the dust of the quarries, the other fair in person and elegant in her attire. Each proposed her claims, and stated the advantages of her respective pursuits ; and when Lucianus determined to commit himself to the guidance of the Goddess of Literature, the other deity, like a second Niobe, became turned into stone. These circumstances form the substance of the treatise *De Somnio* ; seu *Luciani Vita* : the object of which was to encourage those, whose poverty appears to doom them to the walks of laborious life, while natural genius justifies them in aspiring to nobler and more intellectual pursuits. “Though,” says Dryden,¹ “it is not to be supposed that there is anything of reality in this dream or vision of Lucian, which he treats of in his works, yet this may be gathered from it, that Lucian himself having consulted his genius and the nature of the study his father had allotted him, and that to which he found a propensity in himself, he quitted the former, and pursued the latter, choosing rather to form the minds of men than their statues.”

period,

The learned Mr. Moyle has taken some pains to adjust the age of Lucianus ; and, from some notes of time which are preserved in his works, his birth is fixed to the 124th year of Christ, and the 8th of the Emperor Adrian.² After his determination to abandon the art of sculpture, he taught³ the art of rhetoric in Gaul, and practised it at Antioch ;⁴ but his pleadings at the bar not being attended with success, he betook himself at the age of forty to the study of philosophy. He travelled in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor, mixing in the best society. During the latter part of his life he became Registrar (*ὑπομνηματογράφος*) of Alexandria,⁵ which post gave him a considerable share in the management of Egypt.⁶ The manner of his death is doubtful, but he is supposed to have lived to the age of eighty.

and character.

It happens, unfortunately, that as the biographical notices respecting Lucianus are scanty, so the nature of his works is not such as to supply the defect satisfactorily. He appears to have resembled his favourite Menippus, who was *χλευαστὴς τῆς ἐωκίρου καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς*,⁷ and there is a passage in Cicero's *Academica*, wherein Varro is speaking of his own imitation of the Menippæan satires, which may stand for the character of Lucian's works in general : “In illis veteribus nostris, quæ, Menippum imitati, non interpretati, quâdam hilaritate conspersimus, multa admista ex intimâ philosophiâ, multa dicta dialecticè, quæ quo

¹ Life of Lucian.² Moyle's Works.³ Hercules Gallicus.⁴ Suidas.⁵ Pro mercede conductis.⁶ Apologia pro iis qui mercede conducti serviunt.⁷ Antoninus, *τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν*, lib. vi., one who sarcastically mocked the perishable and ephemeral life of man.

faciliùs minus docti intelligerent, jucunditate quâdam ad legendum invitati," &c.¹ He tells us, indeed, that his object was to combine the playfulness and wit of comedy with the graver lessons of philosophical discussion. Lucianus, however, was more a satirist than a philosopher; and, although he had not the honest indignation of Juvenal, although, in polite wit and delicacy of taste, he was inferior to Horace, yet he surpassed them both in facetious humour and powers of derision. The range of his satire is more extensive, and its severity more generally intelligible than that of Aristophanes. Aristophanes was a political wit; and he who would appreciate his comedies must possess a minute knowledge of the history of the times in which he lived; of the personal character of the demagogues whose administration he attacked; and of the political institutions, private habits, and distinguishing peculiarities of the audience which he addressed. The pleasantry of Lucianus is accessible without so much preparatory study. He had, without any real hatred of vice, a quick sense of that part of it which is ridiculous:² no one saw more clearly the frailties of human nature, the "fears of the brave and the follies of the wise:" no one exposed more happily the vanity of those pursuits in which mankind most eagerly engage,³ the disproportionate sorrow which is suffered to arise from disappointment, and the secret vexations which frequently accompany success.⁴ But his lessons, even where they are good, are imperfect: they do not suggest any higher pursuits, they do not instil any worthier motive of action, they do not tend to any useful exertion: the satirist, in his sketches of life and character, borrows freely the pencil of Democritus, and only qualifies his pupils to follow that philosopher's employment. It is, indeed, vain to expect, in the writings of Lucianus, any very high tone of moral feeling, or to find virtue, even in the pagan sense of the word, portrayed with the dignity of Aristotle, or recommended by the eloquence of Plato. Nevertheless, he had honesty enough to hate⁵ the hypocrisy of pretended philosophers,⁶ the arts of casuistical rhetoricians, and the subtleties of scholastic logic:⁷ he had penetration enough to see the absurdity of the whole system of pagan mythology;⁸ and he possessed an inexhaustible fund of wit and humour, to expose these various subjects to the contempt and derision of mankind.

Lucianus.
His works.

¹ Prom. es in verbis. A certain portion of playful wit is sprinkled over those earlier works of mine in which I have imitated rather than explained Menippus. Many parts of them are drawn from a profound philosophy, many from dialectics, mixed, however, with pleasantry, in order that some besides the learned might be invited to peruse them.

² Aristot. Poëtica.

³ Nigrinus, et Navigium seu Vota, et Gallus.

⁴ Hermotimus, et Necyomantia, et Navigium, et Gallus.

⁵ Hermotimus et Piscator.

⁶ Rhetorum Preceptor.

⁷ Vitarum Auctio.

⁸ Jupiter confutatus, et de Sacrificiis, et Dialogi Deorum et Concio Deorum.

Lucianus.

But in the cultivation and use of these dangerous and fascinating talents, truth and falsehood were patronised by turns, as they afforded materials for the display of ingenuity, or the excitement of mirth: the plainest¹ and most important truths of natural religion are treated by him with the same levity as the grossest follies of heathen superstition; the existence of the Deity,² the duty of worship, and the administration of a Providence, are involved in the same ridicule with the characters and actions of the fabulous inhabitants of Olympus. In the dialogue intituled *Jupiter Tragædus*, the cause of natural religion is betrayed by a feeble and frivolous defence. Whether Lucianus here intended to express his own sentiments under the character of Damis, is uncertain: he dedicated his *Alexander*, or *ψευδόμαυτις*, to Celsus, who was an Epicurean; and, in the same treatise, he calls the founder of that sect “an instructor really divine, the only one who understood and taught the system of truth and virtue, and gave freedom to the minds of his followers:” moreover,³ the highest honours in the land of the blessed are allotted to Epicurus and his follower, Aristippus; whereas, in the *Vitarum Auctio*, the former is sold for two minæ, and the latter finds no purchaser. From the unsparing ridicule of this and some other dialogues,⁴ Lucianus was accused of being the enemy of philosophy; and he attempts to defend himself from this charge in the *Reviviscentes*, or *Piscator*. Here an inquiry is supposed to be instituted, over which the Goddess of Philosophy presides, and Diogenes, in the name of his brethren, is appointed to conduct the prosecution. Lucianus argues, on his own behalf, that *false* philosophy alone was the object of his sarcasms, and that he designed to expose the degenerate followers of the ancient sages, who had corrupted the purity of their doctrines, and who pursued the good things of this world as eagerly as their less learned neighbours. The court is satisfied, and the dialogue ends with a tale of considerable drollery and humour.

In the prodigal exercise of his satire, Lucianus does not even spare himself. His observations addressed to Timocles, on the folly and domestic wretchedness of those who become inmates of the families of the rich, as tutors, philosophers, or humble companions, besides being a curious and interesting sketch of the manners of the times, breathe throughout a spirit of manly independence: but when he grew old, and had accepted a place under Government, he satirises his own apparent inconsistency with as much serenity as his enemies could wish, and with far more caustic merriment than they could furnish. Then he adds his own excuse for his own conduct, and, to speak the truth, a very fair and sensible apology it is.⁵

¹ *Jupiter Tragædus*.² *De Sacrificiis*.³ *Veræ Historiæ*, lib. ii.⁴ *Hermotimus*.⁵ *Ἀπολογία περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ αἰσθῶ συνόντων*.

As the ruling passion of Lucianus prevented his adopting, Lucianus.
in earnest, any set of philosophical tenets, so also did it affect his taste in literature. In no other writer do we see more strongly exhibited that unequivocal mark of exuberant wit and defective taste, a fondness for parody, a delight in degrading passages of true poetry, by the apposition of ludicrous and low images; although he could write with good feeling and good sense,¹ he always seems impatient of the restraint of serious composition. His sketch of the character of Demonax² is beautifully drawn; but he soon betakes himself to relate that philosopher's bon-mots and repartees. His remarks on the manner in which history should be written are sensible and just: he appears to have appreciated duly the inimitable excellence of Thucydides; and he inveighs strongly against the historians of his own time, for their ignorance of the proper object of historical composition, their utter disregard of truth, their base flattery, their false estimate of the comparative importance of events, and the prolixity and impertinence of their descriptions. But after a few pages in this rational and serious strain, he proceeds to expose the lying wonders of historians, and the fictions of poetry, in another treatise, which is called, in derision, *Vera Historia*. Here he relates his being absorbed and buried in the bowels of an immense pit, his journey to the moon, and his visit to the shades below. On this occasion,³ as on many others, Homer comes in for his full share of ridicule. Lucianus was familiar with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and, without having enough of poetical taste fully to appreciate their excellence, he had discernment enough to perceive their minutest faults. Many of these, which ought to be ascribed to the age rather than to the poet, are brought into notice with considerable humour; and he must be indeed fastidious who has not sometimes found himself laughing with Lucianus at the expense of the Mæonian bard.

The style of Lucianus is easy and perspicuous, and the subjects His style.
on which he touches are miscellaneous: some of these are, in themselves, highly objectionable; and even where they are not, we find many coarse and indelicate expressions and allusions, the fault of which may, with justice, be attributed to the evil moral taste of his age. The *Dialogues of the Dead* are entertaining, though they exhibit little diversity of character, and though their highest strain of morality inculcates only the pagan precept, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The *Life of Peregrinus Proteus* may Peregrinus.
be read with interest; caution, however, is necessary, for, as Lardner has observed, the treatise contains some misrepresentations, either wilful or undesigned: Lucianus is the only author who has

¹ Nigrinus, et Imagines.² Demonactis vita.³ Contemplantes, Timon, et Dialogi.

Lucianus.

made this rambling philosopher a Christian. That Lucianus was an enemy of Christianity is true, inasmuch as he esteemed all religion a compound of fraud and folly: he speaks, however, the language of contempt rather than of enmity; it does not appear that he persecuted the professors of the true faith with any particular or personal hostility, nor had he taken much pains to acquaint himself with their distinguishing tenets.

Philopatris.

In 1714, Gesner held a disputation at Jena, to prove that the treatise entitled *Philopatris* was not written by Lucianus, because it shows a more minute knowledge of the doctrines and Scriptures of the Christians than can be traced in those works which are confessedly genuine. In the account of the death of Peregrinus, Lucianus says of the Christians, "They worship even now that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced this new system of religion." And again, "These ill-fated men (*οἱ κακοδαίμονες*) persuade themselves that they shall live for ever, wherefore they disregard, and in many cases voluntarily seek death. They live as brethren, having their possessions in common, and regulating their lives according to the laws of that same crucified sophist of theirs (*τὸν ἀνέσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν*) whom they worship."

But the author of the *Philopatris* knew much more respecting the Christians than these passages imply. The dialogue is conducted between Critias and Tisiphon, one being a professed Heathen, and the other an Epicurean personating a Christian. The design is partly to represent the Christians as a sect disaffected to government, and dangerous to civil society, and partly to expose some of their peculiar opinions. We find clear allusions to the Book of Genesis, and several other parts of the Scriptures,¹ on the subject of the Creation, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the ceremony of Baptism. On these grounds Gesner would reject the *Philopatris* from the works of Lucianus; and Mr. Moyle argues on the same side, from the political events which the dialogue mentions, namely, the conquest of the Scythians, the reduction of Egypt, and a victory over the Persians. "These," he says,² "can never be applied to the reign of Antoninus; nor, indeed, to that of any other emperor, except of Dioclesian, in whose reign they all met together, in the same order of time as they are set down, as may easily be seen; but more particularly in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, who places the wars with the Scythians, and the reduction of Egypt many years before the great victory obtained over Narseus, King of Persia, in the year of Christ 302, and twenty-three years before the Council of Nice, at which time I do verily believe this dialogue was written." Nor is the *Philopatris* the only spurious treatise which has come down to us in company with the works of Lucianus. The critics

¹ Lardner.² Vol. i. p. 292.

have observed that *Demosthenis Encomium* is devoid of his Lucianus. wit, elegance, and perspicuity. The *Pseudosophistæ*, *Fugitivi*, *Charidemus*, *Nero* and *Ocypus* are rejected; and also the *Amores*, by Bourdelotius and Kuster. The manner of Lucianus has been imitated in French by Fontenelle, and in Latin by Erasmus. The latter was a great admirer of his works, some of which he translated.

Suidas mentions two persons of the name of PAUSANIAS, one Pausanias. being a Laconian, and the other a native of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia: the topographer probably was not the former of these; for his reflections on the Laconians are severe, and his style approaches the Ionic rather than the Doric. There is reason to suppose he was the second mentioned by Suidas; the same whom Galen calls the Syrian Sophist, and a disciple of Herodes Atticus. From his works we know very little of himself or his family: he was alive in the fourteenth year of Marcus Aurelius: he travelled through Greece, Macedon, Italy, and part of Asia; having also visited the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, Palestine, and the Dead Sea. Fabricius enumerates in the catalogue of the lost works of Pausanias, geographical treatises respecting Asia, Syria, and Phœnicia, together with others entitled—1. *μελέται*, or Declamations; 2. *περὶ συνταξέως*; 3. *προβλήματων βιβλίον*; 4. *Ἀττικῶν ὀνόματων συναγωγή*.

The work of Pausanias which has come down to us is divided into ten books, of which two are devoted to a description of Elis, and one to each of the following districts—Attica, Corinthia, Laconia, Messenia, Achaia, Arcadia, Bœotia, and Phocis. The painter, the architect, and the antiquary will find much that is interesting in the minute and curious details which are given respecting the ancient relics of Grecian temples, buildings, and statues. These passages have been selected by Uvedale Price, translated into English, and published in one octavo volume. The fidelity of the geographical descriptions of Pausanias is thus acknowledged by a modern traveller:—"On arriving from Albania, in the Morea, you quit a region little known at any time, for one which the labours of ancients and moderns have equally contributed to illustrate; and, after wandering in uncertainty, you acknowledge the aid of faithful guides, who direct every footstep of your journey. Pausanias alone will enable you to feel at home in Greece. The exact conformity of present appearances with the minute descriptions of the *Itinerary*, is no less surprising than satisfactory. The temple and the statue, the theatre, the column, and the marble porch have sunk and disappeared; but the valleys and the mountains, and some not unfrequent fragments of more value than all the rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour; these still remain, and remind the

Pausanias.

traveller that he treads the ground once trod by the heroes and sages of antiquity.”¹

The historian will find in the fourth book of Pausanias, an account of the wars between the Messenians and Laconians; and of those, moreover, which took place on the death of Alexander, between Perdiccas, Ptolemy, and Cassander: various observations are introduced throughout the work on ancient games, festivals, offerings, &c., &c., and many oracles are recorded, with their supposed accomplishment. Taylor, who has made the whole work of Pausanias accessible to the English reader, says,² these “Oracles may be considered as a treasure of popular evidence for the truth of his religion: for if it be admitted that they were given, and such events happened as are here related, it is impossible such a series of predictions could be true by casual concurrence.” Such admissions, however, are to be made with caution; and when we have set aside from among the ancient oracles those the date of which is doubtful, those the terms of which are ambiguous, and those which had a natural tendency to work their own accomplishment, “this treasure of popular evidence” will be materially reduced. Some notion of Taylor’s candour may be formed from the following passage. His notes to Pausanias were added to preserve the knowledge of the ancient Theology of the later Platonists; “these,” he says, “are considered by verbal critics and sophistical priests as fanatics, but the discerning reader knows that the former never read a book but in order to make different readings of the words in it, and that the latter wilfully pervert the meaning in some places, and ignorantly in others, of every valuable author, whether ancient or modern.”

The style of Pausanias is abrupt and intricate, rude and unpolished: a variety of grammatical anomalies are collected in the notes of Sylburgius.

Julius
Pollux.

JULIUS POLLUX, a Lexicographer, was born at Naucratis, in Egypt, a city situated not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. He flourished in the reign of Commodus, to whom he addressed a work in ten Books, called *Onomasticon*, intended, as he himself tells us, to be a vocabulary of select synonyms with authorities. He filled the Rhetorical chair at Athens, and was the author of other works now lost; some were entitled *διαλέξεις*, some *μελέται*: of these Philostratus criticises the style as inelegant, and Athenodorus the matter as puerile. Julius Pollux is called by Isaac Casaubon, “Optimus, utilissimus, eruditissimus.”³ The arrangement of the *Onomasticon* is not alphabetical; this will be evident to any one who examines the following heads, which form the subjects of the second Book. 1. *Hominum ætates et vocabula.* 2. *Quæ sunt*

¹ Hobhouse, Journey through Albania, &c.² Taylor, Preface.³ “Most excellent, useful, and learned.”

ante generationem et quæ sunt post generationem. 3. Hominum membra et partes. 4. Partes externæ et internæ. 5. Quæ singulis partibus congruunt nominum frequentissimus usus.

The work of AULUS GELLIUS remaining to us may be called an Aulu
Gellius. ancient commonplace-book. It is introduced to the attention of the reader by a preface commencing with this very candid remark, "Jucundiora alia reperiri queant;" after which he who continues his researches without finding entertainment, has no reason to be discontented with the author. Aulus Gellius goes on to explain the character of his work, and the intention with which it was composed. He tells us, that it was written to employ those hours of recreation which business allowed to his children. Whenever, in the course of his studies, he met with anything either in Greek or Roman literature, or amidst the intercourse of society, which seemed worthy of notice, he transferred it to his tablets, together with his own remarks, without any system or methodical arrangement: this habit assisted his memory, and enabled him to recover facts and opinions, if the books from which they were originally derived lay at any time beyond his reach. The title *Noctes Atticae*, was suggested by the time and place of the compilation: its simplicity is consistent with the tone of modesty which runs through the preface, and is contrasted strongly with those pompous titles, which he says it was customary to annex to works of this description. The object of this author's work, namely, to employ on innocent and useful subjects the leisure hours of his children, must be confessed to be excellent, although we may not admire the taste displayed in the choice of his materials. Unless the children of Aulus Gellius inherited their father's taste for the studies of a Grammarian, they would not find much relaxation or pleasure in great part of his literary labours; especially since there is little elegance or felicity of style to relieve the general dryness of the matter. The book abounds in quotations from old writers, from Eunius, Attius, Quadrigarius, Nævius, Cæcilius, Menander, and others. It is divided into twenty Books, the eighth being lost, and these are again subdivided into short chapters on miscellaneous subjects. Some contain Literary, Historical, and Biographical Anecdotes; others, old Epitaphs, Epigrams, and Proverbs, explanations of legal and other technical terms, and phrases in familiar use, together with their probable Etymology, or observations on the quantity of words, and the correct modes of writing and pronouncing them. One chapter records a ludicrous disputation between two celebrated grammarians in Rome, relating to the vocative case of *Egregius*, whether it should be *egregie* or *egregi*. In connection with grammatical and etymological questions, we hear much of Gabius Bassus, who wrote *De Origine Vocabulorum*, of Nigidius, of Cornutus, and Hyginus; it should, however, be added, that when the cavils of

Aulus
Gellius.

the two latter are directed against Virgil, Aulus Gellius has generally the good taste to defend the poet. His mind certainly inclined much towards verbal criticism; he takes delight in vindicating, by the authority of very old writers, phrases which appear grammatical anomalies, and in reviving the memory of obsolete words, such as *memordi*, *cecurri*, *spespondi*, and *descendidi*, instead of the more classical forms, *momordi*, *cucurri*, *spospondi*, and *descendi*. Still there are many chapters which are interesting and curious.

The authenticity of the titles of the several chapters has been attacked by H. Stevens, and defended by Falster: the student who desires more information respecting Aulus Gellius may consult with advantage a Dissertation prefixed to the *Criticæ Lucubrations* of Lambecius.

Galenus.



Galen.

The celebrated GALENUS was born at Pergamus: his father Nicon enjoyed an ample fortune; and, having cultivated his own mind, and thus knowing by experience the value of a superior education, placed his son under the tuition of the best masters. Accordingly, Galenus passed successively through the systems recommended by the Stoics, Academics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans; the philosophy of the latter he rejected without hesitation. This extensive acquaintance with the opinions of different sects operated advantageously on his mind, by producing a disinclination to attach himself exclusively to any set of instructors,—a disposition which he carried to

the studies of his maturer years. His mind being thus preserved from bigotry, and ready to admit from every quarter sound principles and just inferences, he did not, after the example of preceding physicians, follow blindly any of the sects existing in his day, namely, the Methodic, Dogmatic, or Empiric, but determined to select and appropriate that which appeared valuable in each. From a very early age, Galenus had suffered from weakness of digestion; and the necessity of habitual attention to various kinds of diet and their effects, and experience of the symptoms of internal disorders and their consequences, may have contributed to lead his mind to pursue the study of medicine at large, and to grasp that science in a manner more methodical and comprehensive than preceding writers had done. This might have been one cause of his determination to physic; a dream of his father is assigned as another: Galenus certainly was superstitious. On one occasion, he says, "Being afflicted with a fixed pain in that part where the

diaphragm is fastened to the liver, I dreamed that Æsculapius Galenus. advised me to open that artery which lies between the thumb and second finger of my right hand. I did so, and immediately found myself well." In another instance, we find him prescribing a gargle of lettuce juice, in consequence of a similar dream. Galenus, however, at the age of seventeen, brought to his professional pursuits two qualities which carry their possessor far in any career; a zeal in the pursuit of knowledge which no difficulties alarmed, and a confidence in his own talents which knew no bounds. He visited, in pursuit of professional information, Cilicia, Palestine, Crete, and Cyprus; and remaining some time at Alexandria, made himself acquainted with the nature of the nerves, and discovered a new way of healing injuries of them. On his return to Pergamus at the age of twenty-eight, he applied his method to wounded gladiators with great success. At the expiration of four years, in consequence of some seditious disturbance, he betook himself to Rome, where his skill secured him some powerful patrons, among whom were Eudemus, a Peripatetic philosopher, and Severus, afterwards Emperor; while, at the same time, it excited the envy and opposition of rival practitioners. Their machinations, together with a dread of the plague, drove Galenus again to Pergamus. Scarcely had he arrived when he was summoned to Aquileia by the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. The latter died, and Galenus again visited Rome. His reputation rising rapidly, and the Capital offering ample opportunities for the practice of his art and the prosecution of his studies, he was naturally unwilling to accompany Aurelius in his expedition against the Marcomanni. He had the address to excuse himself under the pretence of a dream from Æsculapius, who, in the visions of the night, forbade his leaving Rome. About this time he composed his celebrated treatise *De Usu Partium*; in which he proves, against the philosophy of Epicurus, from the frame of the human body, the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Creator. Of this tract, which coincides in its details with one part of Paley's well-known *Natural Theology*, it is not too much to say, that, even in the present advanced state of medical science, it may be read with advantage; and at a period when infidelity was fashionable, Galenus deserves praise for having thrown into the opposite scale the weight of his abilities and science.

The facility with which he wrote is proved by the great extent and variety of his works. We learn from Suidas, that some of these were on Geometry and Grammar; two books he compiled as a mere catalogue of the rest, recording the time, place, order, and motive of their composition. Of these works, part were lost in a fire at the Temple of Peace, but a considerable number are preserved. It has been before observed, that Galenus did not so far addict himself to any sect as to follow its opinions implicitly: in

Galenus.

fact, his vanity often betrayed him into intemperate language respecting his contemporaries and predecessors. Yet he seems to have thought very highly of Hippocrates;¹ at the same time assuming to himself the credit of being the first to understand and explain that great author's system, and supply his defects. Between Hippocrates and Galenus there is this difference: the works of the first consist chiefly of facts observed by himself or others; those of the latter are Reasonings and Hypotheses, and therefore have furnished more matter of dispute. Galenus's system was ingenious: when he illustrates any part of Hippocrates, we are indebted to his sagacity and industry; when he harangues respecting faculties, spirits, and occult causes, he reasons well from principles false or precarious, and therefore leaves us in the dark.

Other
medical
writers.

Vanity in writing respecting himself, and affectation in disclaiming praise, are his chief blemishes; the superiority of his talents and the valuable additions he made to the stock of medical science might safely have been left to be appreciated by the judgment of posterity. Eusebius tells us that the respect paid to his memory amounted almost to veneration. His successors were Oribasius, Ælius, Alexander, and Trallianus Mysepsus, of whom Dr. Friend says, "they did not compile so as to have nothing at all new, and what we may call their own, in their very voluminous works; for, though I must confess there are not a great many things in them in proportion to the bulk of their books, but such as may be found in Galenus and others, yet some there are, too, in regard to the real improvement of the art itself." Of these writers, Oribasius made large extracts from the works of Galenus, and Trallianus calls him most divine. Simplicius, moreover, styles him *θανύσιος καὶ πολυμαθέστατος*: and Athenæus introduces Galenus as one of the guests at his banquet. The place and circumstances of his death are not known with accuracy; Fabricius conjectures that he lived till the seventh year of Severus, and the seventieth of his own life.

Lucius
Apuleius.

LUCIUS APULEIUS was a Platonic philosopher, born at Madaura, a Roman colony in Africa. The date of his birth is not known with accuracy, but the names of Lollianus Avitus and Lollius Urbicus, and the omission of the title *Divus*, before the name of Antoninus Pius, enable us to ascertain that he flourished under this Emperor. His mother's name was Salvia, and he inherited from his father Theseus respectability of family and a considerable fortune. The latter, however, was soon exhausted by the expenses of foreign travel, which his zeal in the pursuit of knowledge induced him to incur; he tells us, moreover, in his *Apology*, that much of it was spent in acts of benevolence and charity. His early

¹ Method. Medendi, lib. ix.

studies were conducted at Carthage, where he imbibed that taste for the Platonic philosophy which was confirmed by a residence at Athens. At that celebrated seat of learning he passed through the schools of grammar and rhetoric, and he gives in the following metaphorical sentence an account of his subsequent studies:—
 “Hactenus a plerisque potatur; ego et alias crateras Athenis bibi, Poeticæ commentam, Geometriæ limpidadam, Musicæ dulcem, Dialecticæ austerulam, enimverò universæ Philosophiæ inexplabilem scilicet nectaream.”¹ Engaged in the pursuit of learning, he spared nor time, nor health, nor fortune; and his diligence is attested by the number and variety of the works which he composed. Of these, there remain at present, 1. A Treatise *De Dogmate Platonis*, in three books; the first on Natural Philosophy, the second on Moral Philosophy, and the third on the Categorical Syllogism. 2. A Treatise *De Deo Socratis*, inferior, though not unlike to one by Maximus Tyrius on the same subject. 3. A Treatise *De Mundo*. After these come eleven books of the *Metamorphoseon*, better known to the literary world under the title of the *Golden Ass*. Besides this, we have his *Apology*, or vindication of himself from a charge of magic, (the circumstances of which we shall soon have occasion to mention;) and, lastly, a composition called *Florida*, which seems to consist of passages from speeches delivered at Carthage, extracted by some of his admirers,² and put together without care or connection.

Lucius Apuleius.

His studies.

His works.

The works of Apuleius which are now lost were numerous, both in Greek and Latin: he wrote history, dialogues, epistles, orations, proverbs, various compositions in verse, epigrams,³ satires, together with lyric and dramatic poetry. He, moreover, turned his mind to speculations on medicine, politics, arithmetic, and philology; and, amidst such numerous and opposite pursuits, still found leisure for jocose subjects called “*Ludicra*,”⁴ and for questions adapted to provoke the ingenuity of convivial⁵ discussion, called γρίφοι or enigmas.⁶

After leaving Athens, Apuleius came to Rome, where, by diligent and unassisted labour, he acquainted himself with the Latin language; he studied also the principles of Roman jurisprudence, in which he made such proficiency as to be enabled to support himself by pleading causes. But before his success at the Bar he had lived in great poverty; in Greece he had been initiated into many of the mysteries of pagan worship, and at Rome, being desirous of enrolling himself among the votaries of Osiris, we find him driven

His life.

¹ Florida. “Thus much most people drink. I quaffed other cups at Athens: the cup of poetry adulterated, that of geometry clear, that of music sweet, of dialectics somewhat sour, but that of universal philosophy nectar inexhaustible.”

² Joann. Woweri, *Prefatio*.

³ Ausonius.

⁴ Nonius.

⁵ Macrobius, *Sat*.

⁶ Derived from γρίπος, a net.

Lucius
Apuleius.

to great extremities to defray the necessary cost.¹ But no sacrifice was too great, if it would facilitate his favourite pursuit; and, indeed, in various parts of his works, he speaks with the most philosophical contempt of wealth as compared with the acquisition of knowledge.² His industry and talents, as they met with professional success at Rome, so were they rewarded at Carthage, and at Æa, by marks of public respect; at Madaura, too, he tells us, he held the situation of *Duumvir*, which had been previously occupied by his father. His fortunes, however, were chiefly advanced by a marriage with a rich widow, named Pudentilla; which, though it appears to have been contracted with the consent, and even planned at the suggestion, of her son Pontianus, did nevertheless involve Apuleius in a vexatious litigation. Æmilianus, the brother of Pudentilla's first husband, accused our author of having gained possession of his wife's affections and fortunes by the arts of magic, and accordingly a trial of the question took place before Claudius Maximus, Proconsul of Africa. The speech of Apuleius on this occasion yet remains, and although it may excite a smile at the nature of the proofs which were brought to support the charge of magic, still we must remember that similar absurdities are found in connection with this imaginary crime at a much later period, and in an age which the progressive march of knowledge ought to have rendered wiser. The facts urged against Apuleius were his personal attractions, his habits of versification, and his having composed a poem on the sons of Scribonius Lætus, his possession of a mirror, his purchasing a rare fish and dissecting the same, and the circumstance of a youth having fallen to the ground in his presence. The defendant disposed of these several weighty accusations with considerable wit and humour, ascribing some of the facts to his good fortune, some to his poetical taste, and others to his well-known zeal in the pursuits of natural history. He then proceeded to meet the imputation of having been induced by mercenary motives to seek the hand of Pudentilla, alleging, first, that the proposal originally came from her son, and was long rejected as being an impediment to his intentions of foreign travel; and, secondly, by asserting that, at his own particular instigation, the property in question had been given at the time, and was ultimately bequeathed, to the family with whom he had connected himself, in a greater degree than they had any reason to expect. This part of the speech gives us the sentiments of an honest man expressed in a style which, if it is not remarkably elegant, does not justify the satirical remark of Melanchthon, that the Latinity of Apuleius was like the braying of his own ass. This allusion applies to the *Metamorphoseon*; in which the author commences by apologising

¹ Metam. lib. xi.

² Apologia.

for his defective style, and prepares his reader for a Grecian tale after the manner of the Milesian Fabulists. He then proceeds to relate what befel him at Hypata, in Thessaly, where he became the guest of a celebrated Magician; and, in an unfortunate attempt to imitate the transformations which he had witnessed, he mixed the magical ingredients unskilfully, and, instead of assuming the shape of a bird, he found himself suddenly changed into an ass. Under this shape, he passes through a variety of adventures, which are put together with little art, and, for the most part, have small pretensions to character, invention, wit, or humour. However, some of the circumstances (as Dunlop has observed¹) have been borrowed by modern novelists. Two of the stories introduced are to be found in Boccaccio. The adventure of the wine-skins in Don Quixote, and that of the Robber's cavern in Gil Blas, may be, with some probability, traced to the same source.

Lucius
Apuleius.

The Golden
Ass.

Apuleius professes that his *Metamorphoseon* is a work of amusement; tales for the gratification of a thirsty curiosity. "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas bibulas lepidò susurro permulceam." Accordingly, Severus and Macrobius assigned the work no higher province than to excite the surprise of the young, or beguile the tedious hours of age; and later critics² have considered it only as a satirical representation of the vices of his time. But Bishop Warburton, whose extent and variety of knowledge might have made him a safer guide if they had been employed less frequently in supporting paradox, has found in this composition a store of philosophical wisdom, and has pressed it with great ingenuity into the service of the *Divine Legation* (see Book ii., sec. 4). He characterises the author as "one of the gravest and most virtuous, as well as one of the most learned philosophers of his age," and endeavours to show that the object of the *Metamorphoseon* was to *recommend* pagan religion, and particularly initiation into the mysteries, as "the only cure for all vice whatsoever." Now the greater part of the incidents are copied from a tale of Lucian, entitled *ἡ ὄνος*, which Photius tells us was written to *ridicule* the pagan religion; and if this was its popular character, Apuleius surely would have found a better model on which he might form his intended vindication. Where the resemblance was so great, that one might almost be called a translation of the other, men would naturally suppose the end proposed could not be very different. It is true that Apuleius was a great admirer of the mysteries of heathen superstition, and has casually introduced some contemptuous allusions to Christianity; but if his thoughts had been set on so excellent a design as the discovery of a remedy for all vice whatsoever, his knowledge and abilities would have

¹ History of Fiction, vol. i.

² Bayle, Fleuri.

Lucius
Apuleius.

suggested a more effectual method. For a moral which was so concealed under the veil of allegory, that it remained undiscovered for several centuries, could not be expected to remedy the mischievous effects of those idle and indecent stories of which the *Metamorphoseon* mainly consists.

That part of the work which does Apuleius most credit, namely, the beautiful fable of Cupid and Psyche, is not taken from Lucian. Perhaps the materials were borrowed from the stores of Egyptian mythology,¹ but the mode in which they are here put together shows delicacy of taste and a poetical imagination.² This "Philosophical Allegory of the progress of Virtue towards perfection," as it may have been the prototype of some of the fairy tales which entertain our childhood, so is it well known to the lovers of the fine arts: for it has furnished to the engraver of antique gems, and to the ancient sculptors, some of their most beautiful subjects, while in later days it has employed the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Canova. This fable has also been imitated in an old French romance, called *Partenopex de Blois*, and is well known to the English reader by Mrs. Tighe's exquisite adaptation of it, and Mr. Rose's elegant versification of the tale of *Partenopex*.

Athenæus.

ATHENÆUS, a celebrated grammarian, was born at Naucratis, in Egypt, and flourished early in the third century. He was the author of a very learned work, entitled *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, *Eruditi viri cœnantes*; the plan of which, however improbable, was well adapted to communicate the stores of curious and miscellaneous information, which various and extensive reading had enabled Athenæus to collect. Larensius, a rich and literary Roman, is supposed to collect at his hospitable table learned men of various professions, poets, lawyers, grammarians, physicians, rhetoricians, and musicians, and their conversations are related to Timocrates by our author. The courses of the banquet suggest the subjects, in connexion with which are introduced passages from historians, poets, philosophers, orators, and philologists, on a variety of topics almost infinite: for example, on fish, vegetables, living things, musical instruments, cups, and fruits; on Italian, Greek, and Egyptian wines; on the qualities of various kinds of water; on water-drinkers; on the diet of Homer's heroes; also, on natural history; on curious inventions; on customs and habits of private life, especially among the Greeks. Interspersed with these subjects are instances of ingenious parody, and proverbs, which, together with many anecdotes and stories, are still current in the world. He who borrowed so largely from others, furnished in his turn materials for later writers; Macrobius imitated his plan in the composition of the *Saturnalia*, parts of which are evidently taken from the *Δειπνοσοφισταί*.³

¹ Bryant.

² Warburton.

³ *Confer.* lib. v. c. 21, with Ath. ii. 474.

But, in the estimation of the scholar, this vast compilation of Athenæus. Athenæus derives, perhaps, its chief value from the immense number of citations which he has introduced from various authors. Some of these passages, explanatory of rare and obscure words, are from works which have not come down to us; others are useful to later commentators, in correcting the errors and supplying the defects of ancient manuscripts: we owe, moreover, to Athenæus many of the fragments of Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Menander, and Philemon, which have been edited, besides parts of the *Poetarum Analecta*. Philology was certainly a favourite pursuit of Athenæus, and reference is frequently made to him by Eustathius, Suidas, Hesychius, and others. Hemsterhusius very justly styles him “subactus si quisquam in libris veterum evolvendis, et idem diligens singularium vocum captator.”¹

The manuscripts of the *Δειπνοσοφίσται* are few and defective: Casaubon, to whose stores of learning the readers of Athenæus are indebted for much valuable emendation and illustration, confesses in a letter to a friend the extreme difficulty of his undertaking, “Hoc dico tantùm, absolvisse me tandem, virtute Dei Optimi Maximi, molestissimum, difficillimum, et tædii plenissimum opus, animadversiones in Athenæum.” The first and second books are known to us only by an epitome. Casaubon knew not by whom, or at what time, this abridgment was made, but conjectures that it was done before the days of Eustathius: it is well executed, for not only are extracts made, but the system of the larger work is preserved; the references, however, ought to have been more fully and distinctly made than they are.

Those who are desirous of more information respecting Athenæus may consult Schweighäuser; this critic had access to two manuscripts which were not known in Casaubon's time, one of which, called the *Veneta-Parisiensis*, he considers the oldest we have: his edition of the *Δειπνοσοφίσται* with a preface, notes, and a Latin translation, is in repute among the learned. Respecting prior editions, see Bayle's *Dictionary*, Art. *Athenée*.

We have already made slight mention of MAXIMUS TYRIUS. Maximus Tyrius. The title Maximus is common to so many, that much confusion has arisen from the numerous claimants to it; but there is reason to think that the author whose Dissertations have come down to us is the same whose instructions are mentioned with respect in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. These Dissertations are in number forty-one; Heinsius thinks they should be divided into ten tetralogies and an introduction. Several of them seem to have been composed in Greece; in the 37th the His works.

¹ “An accurate examiner of old books, and a diligent collector of remarkable words.”

Maximus
Tyrius.

allusions are Greek,¹ and in most others Maximus Tyrius shows a more familiar acquaintance with Grecian than with Roman customs and history. The subjects are various, some turning on matters of practical philosophy, and some on those subtle questions which have at all times exercised the ingenuity, and baffled the inquiries, of thoughtful minds. The following are among the number : 1. Περὶ τοῦ τίς ὁ θεὸς κατὰ Πλάτωνα. 19 and 34. Τί τὸ τέλος φιλοσοφίας ; 25. Τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιούντος, πόθεν τὰ κακὰ ; 26 and 27. Τί τὸ δαιμονίον Σωκρατοῦς ; 38. Εἰ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα ἰδρυτέον ; 40. Τί ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη ;

His style.

The style of Maximus Tyrius is elegant and perspicuous, abounding with apt illustrations and metaphors. Casaubon calls him *mellitissimus Platoniorum*. Learned without prolixity, argumentative without intemperance, he wins assent rather than extorts it.² Plato and Homer seem to have been his favourite authors. It has been said that, in the 37th dissertation, he writes too arrogantly of himself and his philosophy ; but the reward which he claims so strongly was the practical virtue of his hearers, not their applause.

His opinions
on prayer.

On the subject of prayer, we find in Maximus Tyrius those arguments which might be expected from natural reason : they are expressed with elegance, and urged with ingenuity, not so much against a habit of prayer in general, as against its prospective efficacy, and particularly against making temporal advantages the object of it : his master, Plato, reasons in the same way in the *Second Alcibiades*. Socrates is there represented as meeting Alcibiades on his way to address the Gods for temporal blessings, and dissuades him from offering such petitions, by showing that he could not be certain whether the fulfilment of his wishes would be eventually advantageous or not. Maximus Tyrius argues thus against the use of prayers for external goods. These, he says, must come from necessity or chance, which are unassailable by prayer ; or from art, to which no man prays ; or from Providence. Now the latter will not derange its purposes on account of our supplications ; to repent and vary is unsuitable to the character of even a good man, much more is it unsuitable to God. If we deserve the desired object, it will come unasked ; if not, no entreaty will obtain it. Maximus Tyrius acknowledges that the whole life of Socrates was full of prayer, *μεστὸν εὐχῆς* : but he did not, as other men do, vex the Gods with petitions for wealth or power ; his object was not so much to ask favours, as to hold communion with Heaven ; and he obtained with the assent of the Gods (*ἐννεπινευόντων ἐκείνων*) intellectual excellence, a life of blameless tranquillity, and a death of cheerful hope. In the 26th dissertation, he dwells with much pious

¹ Davis, *Præfatio*.

² Paccius, *Præfatio*.

feeling on man's weakness, his need of divine help in danger and temptations, and he says, it was on these subjects that Socrates consulted his Dæmon. Maximus
Tyrius.

The first of two essays devoted to this inquiry, *τί τὸ δαιμονίον Σωπαροῦς*; is thus introduced. Since no one denies or ridicules the idea of the Gods being present at the various Oracles, and communicating future events by means of their priestesses, why might not Socrates have enjoyed the constant presence of a Deity? Should one ask who this Deity was, I must inquire whether he believe in the existence of dæmons? Does not Homer introduce a dæmon or genius, whom he calls Minerva, checking the rage of Achilles, prompting Telemachus, and encouraging Diomedé? Unless you are willing to deny the existence of these beings, to contradict Homer, giving up all oracles and dreams, certainly Socrates deserved a particular protector as much as any one. Surely some men have their protecting genii, who warn them by auguries, and assist them in the strife when virtue proves an unequal match for Fortune. These beings are ministering angels, above mortals and below God:—

Τρις γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρῃ
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.¹

Of these, some cure diseases, or assist the labours of art; others communicate information or suggest advice—attendants at home or abroad, by land or sea, varying in character with the dispositions of men: but the wicked have no protecting genius.

In the second dissertation the nature of this familiar dæmon is thus described. There is in nature a regular gradation, commencing with God, and terminating with plants; dæmons, men, and brutes being the intermediate links: by the union of different qualities in the same being, each rank in existence is connected with one above and one below it; dæmons, men or genii, being immortal, and yet passive, partake of the divine nature on the one hand, on the other of the human, and thus connect God with men. The soul preserves the body as long as it remains in it; on escaping, it becomes a dæmon, and lives in peace and pleasure: these beings compassionate their earthly friends, are permitted to assist them, protecting the good and punishing the wicked: each has its office, and is peculiarly conversant about such things as it loved on earth. Æsculapius still promotes the healing art, and Achilles sports in arms; the latter is still said to be seen with Thetis and Patroclus in an island in the Euxine sea: Hector still bounds over the plains of Troy: and endangered mariners often acknowledge the assistance of the Dioscuri.

Traces of this fanciful and pleasing theory are familiar to the

¹ "On earth there are three myriads of immortals, the guardians of mortal men."

Maximus
Tyrius.

mind of the scholar who is conversant with the writings of antiquity; and the Rosicrucians may have borrowed from these sources that beautiful machinery with which Pope has embellished the *Rape of the Lock*. The treatise of Maximus Tyrius is superior in style to that of Apuleius on the same subject.

Marcus
Fabius
Quinc-
tilianus.

MARCUS FABIUS QUINTILIANUS died before the accession of the Antonini to the Imperial power, and therefore cannot in strictness be included in a sketch of the literature of their age; nevertheless, since there has not appeared any intermediate place after the reign of Augustus in which this distinguished writer could be noticed, we may be allowed, without any great breach of chronological order, to introduce him here. The days of Quintilianus were passed in instructing his contemporaries in the principles of the art of rhetoric, and, latterly, in compiling for the benefit of posterity the result of his studies, his practice, and his observation. Such occupations offer little variety of incident, and we know few circumstances of his life except those which are occasionally mentioned by himself in connection with his professional pursuits. Notices of this kind which occur in his works have been carefully examined by the learned Dodwell, and annexed under the title of *Annales Quintilianiani* to Burman's edition of the *De Institutione Oratorid.* Ausonius calls our author *Hispanus* and *Calagurritanus*; but the silence of Martial on this point has given rise to an opinion that he was not a native of Spain; at all events, he came early to Rome. According to Dodwell's conjectures, Quintilianus was born A.D. 42, and at the age of fifteen was placed under the instruction of Domitius Afer, of whose abilities the highest character is given by the pen of his grateful pupil. "Vidi ego longè omnium quos mihi cognoscere contigit summum oratorem Domitium Afrum," &c.¹ This orator, however, dying in A.D. 59, Quintilianus was transferred to the care of Servilius Nonianus. In A.D. 61, he probably went into Spain with Galba. His employment not being of a military nature, he might there have begun to teach oratory, and to lay the foundation of that rhetorical celebrity which Galba afterwards rewarded by appointing him to the Professor's chair at Rome; this, moreover, would account for the names by which Ausonius has mentioned him. However, in 68 he returned to Rome, and from this period we are to date the commencement of the twenty years which he speaks of having spent in tuition.² From this employment, and from professional practice as a speaker, he retired at the age of forty-six; partly, perhaps, warned by the example of Domitius Afer, who continued to appear in public after the day of his reputation was passed, and partly because, under the reign of Domitianus, he might wish to escape those inquietudes and

¹ Inst. xii. 11.

² See Martial, ii. 90.

anxieties of an orator's life which are mentioned by Maternus in the dialogue *De Oratoribus*.¹ In A.D. 89, Quintilianus wrote his treatise, *De Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ*; and between the years 92 and 96, he commenced, concluded, and published his celebrated work, *De Institutione oratoriâ*. In the poem of the sixth book, we find him lamenting in the language of sincere affection the death of his wife, whom he married in A.D. 82, and of two sons, whose promising abilities and virtues are mentioned with parental fondness. In 94 he married the daughter of Rutilius, and by her he had a child, whose marriage portion was a present from Pliny² in A.D. 107. How long Quintilianus survived after this is doubtful. We know that he rose to distinction and wealth. Flavius Clemens had married a sister of Domitianus, and Quintilianus was appointed to superintend the education of their children: he might owe to this connection the consular ornaments which Ausonius calls, "*Honestamenta nominis potius quam insignia potestatis*."³ There is a learned note in Bayle's *Dictionary* tending to prove that the pupils of Quintilianus were grandchildren of Domitianus. Dodwell conjectures that he might have assisted in the education of Hadrianus, and have owed his promotion to that Emperor, who was desirous of patronising literature and the arts. Juvenal describes it as the gift of fortune deserved by merit:—"Fortunate, handsome, keen; fortunate and wise, noble and distinguished, he has planted his foot in the senatorial shoe":—

Quinc-
tilianus.
*De Causis
corruptæ
Eloquentiæ.
De Institu-
tione
oratoriâ.*

Unde igitur tot

Quintilianus habet saltus? exempla novorum

Fatorum transi: felix, et pulcher, et acer;

Felix, et sapiens, et nobilis et generosus,

Appositam nigræ lunam subtextit alutæ.—*Sat. vii. 188.*

The private character of Quintilianus seems to have commanded the respect and esteem of his contemporaries:⁴ in his works he appears a severe judge of licentious writings,⁵ and speaks of himself with modesty; yet his flattery of Domitianus is gross and inexcusable, and in his lamentations over his domestic sorrows we see that resignation to the will of Providence was not one of the lessons he practised.

As a writer, Quintilianus has great merit in systematic method, yet even here he falls short of Aristotle. Perhaps no scientific treatise offers so good a specimen of beautiful arrangement as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The second book, moreover, displays an intimate knowledge of human nature, a masterly analysis of the passions, a development of their sources and their objects; to which there is

His qualities.

¹ C. 13.

² Pliny, vi. 32.

³ ["Titular honours rather than signs of power."—*Editor.*]

⁴ Juv. vi. 75. Martial, ii. 90.

⁵ x. 1.

Quintilianus.

Comparison with Cicero.

nothing comparable in Quintilianus, in respect of depth and originality of thought.

If we compare Quintilianus with Cicero, we may observe that, as the object of the latter was to *create* among the Romans a literary taste, that of the former was to correct a taste which had taken a false direction. For this task he was well calculated: sound judgment was one of his chief qualifications. His admiration is never lavished on ordinary performances; and though inferior writers generally come in for a share of approbation proportionate to their respective merits, yet the attention of the student is always directed to the contemplation of the best models, so that the first lines of thought may be correctly drawn. When he applies to Domitianus this line of Virgil¹—

Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros,

we must esteem this as the flattery of the courtier, not the judgment of the critic. Cicero's rhetorical works are deficient in arrangement and method, yet had he left us nothing but these, they would have stamped him as an eloquent writer. Quintilianus, on the other hand, is more copious and more methodical; he knew and felt what eloquence was; he delivered rules which would assist the Roman student to attain it, and he rather teaches us to forge weapons than, like Cicero, to employ them. Quintilianus has, indeed, some beautiful passages, and he writes pathetically respecting his domestic sorrows in the introduction to the sixth book; yet the details of the work are often minute even to prolixity.

Ancient Oratory.

One who was unacquainted with the works of the ancient orators would learn from Quintilianus how widely they differed from the moderns, not only in vehemence of thought and expression, but in the vehemence of action that attends it.² The aid of the comedian was called in to regulate, not only the modulation of the voice, but the gestures of the body. The position of the orator's person, and the adjustment of his dress, depended on rules which seem to have been carried to a degree of minuteness almost ludicrous. "Est et ille verecundæ orationi aptissimus, quo quatuor primis leviter in summum coëuntibus digitis, non procul ab ore aut pectore fertur ad nos manus, ac deinde prona ac paululum prolata laxatur. Hoc modo cœpisse Demosthenem credo in illo pro Ctesiphonte timido summissoque principio: sic formatam Ciceronis manum quàm diceret: 'Si quid est in me ingenii, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum.'"³

¹ Æn. x. 1.

² Burke once exhibited a dagger in the House of Commons; but this rhetorical artifice was a failure.

³ xi. 3. The position most suitable to a modest speech is that in which, the four fingers slightly touching at the ends, the hand is drawn towards the face or breast of

We may observe, also, that the ancient orators, in their attempts to excite compassion, used means which would now appear ridiculous; employing, for instance, in a case of murder, a picture¹ representing the bloody deed, in order to move the judges by the display of so tragical a spectacle; or collecting the relations of the dead, introducing them in squalid attire, and making them at a signal throw themselves at the feet of the judges to implore justice with tears and lamentations.² Quintilianus, in connection with this subject, tells a jocose story of an advocate, who, on some such occasion having introduced into court a young witness, and proceeding to ask why he wept, received for answer, “*ex pædago se vellicari*,” that his pedagogue was pinching him.

Marcus
Fabius
Quinc-
tilianus.

The whole work is valuable, as it tells us what were the elements and the plan of a liberal education at Rome. When religion had no literature, and philosophy little power apart from eloquence, it was to be expected that public speaking would enter too much into the established system of education, as in our times, perhaps, it enters too little: besides, when imperial power checked or prevented the free expression of thought, oratory was obliged to take refuge in the courts of law and the schools of rhetoricians: and a treatise professing to train for them would meet less of suspicion and discouragement than if its avowed design were wider. This may be an excuse for Quintilianus where he attributes to the orator many things which do not belong to him *as such*. But where he lays it down as a maxim that none but a good man can be a good orator, neither the true theory of rhetoric nor the facts of history will bear out the argument: “*potior mihi ratio vivendi honestè quàm vel optimè dicendi videretur, sed, meâ quidem sententiâ, juncta ista atque indiscreta sunt: neque enim esse oratorem nisi bonum virum posse judico, et, fieri etiam si possit, nolo.*”³ That a professor of great reputation should magnify his own office, and a practised writer be enamoured of his own subject, is very natural; but how could this opinion, expressed in the first and second chapters of his work, and defended at considerable length in the twelfth book, stand the test of his own historical knowledge? It was Caius Julius Cæsar of whom Plutarch says, “undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome, and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the preeminence in arms.” The commendation of Quintilianus extends almost as far: “if Caius Cæsar had had leisure for the

the speaker, then descends a little in advance, and is expanded. Thus I suppose Demosthenes began his timid and modest exordium on behalf of Ctesiphon—thus the hand of Cicero was managed when he said: “If there be any ability in me, O judges—and how small it is I feel.”

¹ Quint. vi. 1. ² See Hume, Essay 13: Of Eloquence. ³ i. 2.

Marcus
Fabius
Quinctilianus.

forum, no other would have been named as a match for Cicero : such was his vigour, such his keenness and energy, that he seems to have spoken with the same spirit with which he fought.”¹ So great an orator was the man in whom, when he was yet a boy, the prophetic eye of Sylla saw a host of latent Marii : such was the suspected and denounced partner in the conspiracy of Catiline, and the political abettor of Clodius. (Plutarch in vit. C. Cæsaris.) The example of Mirabeau in modern times bears on the present subject : he united splendid eloquence to great depravity : as soon as he obtained a seat in the National Assembly, he won the leadership of his party by his talents, and kept it by his power of public speaking : in his character he was somewhat like Cæsar, not only in the influence which his eloquence obtained, but in the personal audacity and reckless ambition with which he made war on the existing constitution. Cæsar established an imperial despotism on the ruins of an out-worn republic : Mirabeau helped to plant a tyrannical blood-thirsty republic on the ruins of a vicious, proud, and pampered monarchy. If a political agitator succeeds in crowning his head with a diadem, his enterprise is called a revolution ; if the same enterprise crowns the city walls with his head, the attempt is rebellion, and he is a traitor. Not, however, that even Pagan morality in sober earnest would acknowledge this distinction : and we think the career of Cæsar and Mirabeau, and the example of some public men of the present century, have set widely asunder what Quinctilianus thought inseparable : “ *juncta ista atque indiscreta sunt ; ratio honestè vivendi et optime dicendi.*”

Our author was too wise and too well-informed to advocate a professional education in any narrow sense of that expression : he would not train a future lawyer in nursery litigation, feed the mind of the future sailor only on nautical books, and urge the young aspirant after military honours to turn his garden into a fortification. His work, operating on fit materials, would form a good citizen of large and liberal knowledge, having his reasoning powers disciplined by the mathematics, his imagination cultivated by poetry, his memory stored with historical information, and his taste exercised by philological and critical questions. It would be the pupil's fault or misfortune if he had not much of that accuracy, fullness, and readiness, which Lord Bacon expected from habits of composition, study, and speaking. Those who write receipts are privileged to take their materials for granted : accordingly Quinctilianus provides the future orator with parents having a considerable share of learning, a good voice and lungs, sound constitution, some personal advantages, and a nurse whose dialect is unexception-

¹ Quinct. x. l.

able. Next in order, as the instrument of education, is the *pædagogus*—a sort of nursery-governor who is to communicate some elementary knowledge, as well as to guard the moral character: specially he is to correct any inaccurate or vulgar expressions, and thus plant and preserve the future orator's purity of language. Greek is among the earliest pursuits, and Latin, as a systematic study, not only a conversational habit, is to follow speedily: much stress is laid on acquiring early the art of writing rapidly and clearly. Quinctilianus seems to look coldly on those who would mercifully spare children much discipline till they were seven. Apparently he would impress on parental minds the ancient proverb:—"Bis dat qui citò dat"—"a gift is of double value if it is made soon." He estimates highly the average of youthful ability, considering quickness of thought and aptitude for learning the rule rather than the exception. The experience which leads to this judgment is probably rare as well as enviable.

When the *Pædagogus* had performed his part, the pupil was transferred to the *Grammaticus*, and afterwards to the *Rhetor*: the limits of these departments of education were not very accurately defined; but we may understand the *Grammaticus* to be a classical tutor occupying in his own right a larger space in the cycle of literature than his name would imply, and often anxious to increase his range of usefulness by incursions into the territory of his superiors.¹ He carried forward the previous lessons of taste and criticism; he taught music, and the rhythm of harmonious eloquence, a habit of correct reading, and of repeating and explaining fictitious tales and parts of history. With the *Grammaticus* were read *Æsop's Fables*, *Homer* and *Virgil*, *Tragic* and *Lyric* poets, and *Menander*.

The comparative advantages of public and private education Quinctilianus decides in favour of the former;² the most successful statesmen and the most eminent authors being, he says, on his side: the moral difficulty he meets by pointing out a very obvious but frequently forgotten truth, that the case must be a choice of evils, and that a great part of those which are attributed to a public school education (*frequentiæ scholarum*) are the effects of the careless or corrupt system which preceded it at home. The picture he draws of the social habits of the Romans of his time is dark and discouraging. As to the discipline of mind and character he observes, that one "who is to live in the full light of the state must be accustomed early not to fear publicity, or shrink from exertion in the shade of retirement: the collision of different habits, dispositions, and talents is useful; so is that emulation which can win honour without nourishing pride, and bear failure

¹ ii. 1.² ii. 2.

Marcus
Fabius
Quinc-
tilianus.

without indulging either permanent discouragement or personal animosity towards a successful rival."

We have thus gathered from the first book of Quintilianus some of the principles and some of the instruments which he recommended for the discipline of the youthful Roman from the nursery to the school of the professor of rhetoric. They have proved their vitality and power—we might add their value too—by the hold which they still have on the English mind and character of the nineteenth century. An analysis of the whole work would exceed our reasonable limits: it has been said in our article on Rhetoric that the finding of suitable arguments to prove a given point, and the skilful arrangement of these, may be considered as the immediate and proper province of Rhetoric, and of that alone. Quintilianus took a wider view, if not correctly, yet fortunately for us: otherwise we should have lost the short critical sketch of Greek and Latin authors which is found in the tenth book.

It is not easy to imagine a richer or more tempting subject to one like Quintilianus, whose early life had been passed in extensive and various studies, and who found leisure in his later days to examine, correct, and record his opinions, than a comparison of Greek and Roman literature. In this discussion, as in the rest of his work, he shows more of good taste than comprehensive or commanding intellect. There is nothing like a full statement of the characteristic differences of the Greek and Roman writers, or a philosophical inquiry into the causes of this diversity: the praise awarded might have been more discriminating, and the subject treated at far greater length: some of the opinions expressed are undoubtedly liable to objection;¹ the commendation, for instance, bestowed on Apollonius, "æqualis quædam mediocritas,"² is so faint as to amount almost to a sentence of unmerited condemnation:—the partial feelings of a Roman only would place Sallust and Livy on the same level as historians with Thucydides and Herodotus.—Terence and Plautus³ are too hastily dismissed without any remarks on their peculiar merits, the true delineation of nature observable in the former, to which the latter added a richer vein of invention, and greater variety of character. But while we regret that this part of the *De Institutione Oratoriâ* was not expanded; while we confess that to have seen this ample subject more largely and more critically discussed would have compensated for the omission of many of the rules and technicalities of the schools of the rhetoricians; while we may differ from Quintilianus in some of his opinions, we must remember that his judgment in general has been ratified by posterity.

¹ See Copleston's *Prælectiones Academicæ*, Præl. 10.

² "Equable mediocrity."

³ x. i.

EDITIONS, &c., OF THE WORKS OF AUTHORS OF THE AGE OF THE ANTONINI.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

- Editio Princeps. Xylander. (Gr. et Lat.) Tigur. 1558.
 Casaubon. Lond. 1643.
 Gataker. (Gr. et Lat.) Camb. 1652. This is an excellent edition of the original, with ample notes and commentary, parallel passages, and *prolegomena*. It was printed at London in 1643.
 Stanhope. (Gr. et Lat.) Lond. 1707.
 Wolf. (Gr. et Lat.) Lips. 1729.
 Schulz. (Gr. et Lat.) Schlesw. 1802. This recension is imperfect, one volume only having been published.
 Translations :—English : Casaubon. Lond. 1634.—Graves. Bath, 1792 ; and Lond. 1811.—Collier. Lond. 1702.—An English translation published at Glasgow in 1749 is respectable.—French : Dacier. Par. 1691.—Joly. Par. 1803.—German : Schulz. Schlesw. 1799.—Italian : Anon. 1675.

LUCIANUS.

- In Schöll, iv. 248, there is a brief analysis of his several pieces, which is given in Anthon's *Lempriere*. See also Wetzlar, *De Ætate, Vitâ, Scriptisque Luciani*. Mach. 1832. Gessner, *De Ætat. de Auctore Dialogi, qui Philopatri inscribitur*. Lips. 1730.
 Editio Princeps. Folio. Flor. 1496.
 Aldus. Folio. Ven. 1503, 1522.
 Bourdelot. (Gr. et Lat.) Folio. Par. 1615.
 Hemsterhuis. (Gr. et Lat.) 3 vols. 4to. Amst. 1743. To this excellent edition of the original a fourth volume is added—viz., *The Lexicon Lucianum*, of C. R. Reitz. Ultraj. 1746. Not perfect.
 Schmid, 8 vols. Mitau. 1776—1780. This is merely a reprint of the former with the addition of notes. Another reprint (the Bipont ed.) is in ten volumes, without the *Lexicon*.
 Schmieder. 2 vols. Halle. 1810.
 Lehmann. (Gr. et Lat.) 9 vols. Lpz. 1822—1831.
 Fritzsche. Lpz. 1826.
 Dindorf. Par. 1840.
 Edit. Selec. Seybold. Gotha. 1785.—Wolf. Halle. 1791.—Gehich. Götting. 1797.
 Gail. Par. 1806. (*Dialogues of the Dead*)
 Lehmann. Lpz. 1813, 1826. (*Dialogues of the Dead*)
 Lehmann. Lpz. 1815. (*Dialogues of the Gods*)
 Poppo. Lpz. 1817. (*Dialogues of the Dead*)

Courier. Par. 1818. (Lucius, or the Ass.)

Grauff. Berne. 1836. (The Dream, or the Cock.)

Jacob. Halle. 1825. (Friendship.)

Jacob. Cologn. 1828. (Alexander, or the False Prophet.)

Translations :—English : Blount, Shere, Moyle, and others. Lond. 1711.

—Franklin, Dr., 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1780.—Carr. 5 vols. 8vo. Lond.

1773—1798.—Tooke. 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1820. Containing the

Commentaries of Wieland and others. Besides these there are trans-

lations by F. Hickes, about 1654 ; by Dr. Mayne, in 1664 ; and by

Spence, in 1684.—French : D'Ablancourt. 2 vols. 4to. Par. 1654.

—Belin de Ballu. 6 vols. Par. 1788. The latter is the better

translation of the two versions named.—German : Wieland. 6 vols.

Lpz. 1788.

Works illustrative of Lucian's writings include :—Jortin's Remarks. Tracts.

1790.—Porson. Tracts by Kidd. Lond. 1815.—Tiemann. Versuch

über Lucians, &c. Zerbst. 1804.—Krebsius. Vide Opuscula Aca-

demica. Lips. 1778.

PAUSANIAS.

Editio Princeps. Aldus. (Itinerary. Ed. M. Musurus.) Fol. Ven. 1516.

Xylander et Sylburgius (with Notes). Fol. Frankf. 1583. This edition contains a Latin Version by Romolo Amaseo.

Kühnius. (Gr. et Lat.) Fol. Lpz. 1696. An excellent edition.

Facius. (Gr. et Lat.) 4 vols. Lpz. 1794—1797.

Bekker. 2 vols. Berl. 1826.

Siebelis. (Gr. et Lat.) 5 vols. Lpz. 1822—1828.

Schubert et Walz. (Gr. et Lat. Text, critical.) 3 vols. Lips. 1839.

Translations :—English : Taylor. 3 vols. (with maps and views). Lond.

1793.—French : Clavier (and others). 6 vols. Par. 1814—1820.

—German : Goldhagen. 5 vols. Berl. 1798.—Wiedasch. 4 vols.

Mun. 1826—1829.

JULIUS POLLUX.

Editio Princeps. Aldus. Fol. Ven. 1502.

Junta. Fol. Flor. 1520.

Seber. Francf. 1608. This edition contains the Latin version of Walther.

Lederlin et Hemsterhuis. 2 vols. folio. Amst. 1706. This is a fine edition, *cum notis variorum*. See Fabricius's *Bibl. Græc*.

Translation :—Latin. Walther. Bas. 1541.

AULUS GELLIUS.

Editio Princeps. Sweynheym et Pannartz (printers). Ed. J. Andreas, Aleriensis. Fol. Rom. 1469. Reprinted in 1472, at same place.

Jenson. Fol. Ven. 1472.

Stephens. With notes, emendations, and two dissertations. Par. 1585.

Elzevir, L. Amst. 1651.

Elzevir, D. Amst. 1665.

Gronovius. Lugd. Bat. 1666, 1687, et 1706.

Conradi. 2 vols. Lpz. 1762. This edition, the Bipont, and that of Longolius, are reprints of Gronovius's.
 Lion. 2 vols. Gott. 1824. Esteemed the best.
 Translations:—English: Beloe. Illustrated with notes. 3 vols. Lond. Oct. 1795.—French: Verteuil. 3 vols. Par. 1789.—German: Wallenstern. Lemgo. 1785.

CLAUDIUS GALENUS.

Editt. Prince. Aldus. (Ed. Andre d'Asola.) 5 vols. fol. 1525.—Cratander, Printer. (Ed. Gemuseus.) 5 vols. fol. Bas. 1538. These two editions contain the Greek text alone. The latter edition is more correct than the former one.
 Chartier. (Gr. et Lat.) 13 vols. fol. Par. 1679. The first volume of Chartier's edition appeared in 1639. He died in 1654, when only nine volumes had appeared. His son-in-law published the remaining four, the last of which bears date 1679. This edition comprehends Hippocrates also.
 Kühn. (Gr. et Lat.) 20 vols. Par. 1816.
 Translations:—German: Nöldecke. Oldb. 1805. The first volume has only been published.—Latin: Frobenius. Bas. 1541 et 1562. The latter edition contains a Preface well written by Conradus Gesnerus.

LUCIUS APULEIUS.

There is a Delphin edition of Apuleius; one on a smaller scale, with notes on the *Metamorphoseon* by Beroaldus; and one without notes, but containing a prefatory dissertation and emendations of the text by Wower. Casaubon has published notes on the *Apologia*, and Josias Mercer on the Treatise *De Deo Socratis*.
 Editio Princeps. Sweynheym et Pannartz. (Ed J. Andrea.) Rom. 1469.
 Floridus. (Fleury.) 2 vols. Par. 1688.
 Oudendorp et Boscha. 3 vols. Leyd. 1786—1823.
 The Bipont edition in 2 vols. 1788.
 Hildebrand. Lips. 1842. Hildebrand commenced this edition, and completed the first volume.
 Translations:—English: Monde. Lond. 1724.—Taylor. Lond. 1795.—Anonymous. (Cupid and Psyche, in verse.) Lond. 1799.—Taylor. (The Golden Ass.) Lond. 1822.—French: Abbé Compain de St. Martin (retouchée par Bastien). Par. 1787.—Blanvillain. (Psyche.) Par. 1796.—German: Rode. (Ass.) 2 vols. Berl. 1690.—Linker. (Psyche, in verse.) Jen. 1805.

ATHENÆUS.

Editio Princeps. Aldus. (Musurus, assistant ed.) Fol. Ven. 1514.
 Bedrotus et Herlinus. Fol. Bas. 1535.
 Delacampius. (Lat. 1st vol.) Lug. 1583. The second volume was not printed till 1600, to which Casaubon's commentary was added.
 Casaubon. (Gr. et Lat., with a commentary.) 2 vols. fol. Gen. 1597—1600.

- Schweighäuser. (Gr. et Lat.) 14 vols. Argent. 1801—1807. The commentary to this edition is exceedingly valuable.
 Dindorf. 3 vols. Lips. 1827.
 Translations :—French : Marolles. Par. 1680.—Villebrune. 5 vols. Par. 1789.

MAXIMUS TYRIUS.

- Edd. Prince. Paccius, Petrus. (Lat. ed. Cosmus Paccius.) Fol. Rom. 1517, et Basil. 1519.
 Stephanus. (Gr. et Lat.) 2 vols. Par. 1557.
 Heinsius. (Gr. et Lat.) Leyd. 1607 et 1614.
 Davis. Camb. 1703. This edition, revised by Dr. Ward, and illustrated with notes by Markland, was reprinted in 4to, in London, 1740.

MARCUS FABIVS QUINCTILIANUS.

- The manuscript of Quinctilianus was found in the bottom of a tower of the monastery of St. Gal, by Poggius, as appears by one of his letters dated 1417, written from Constance.
 Edd. Prince. Burmann. (De Inst. Orat.) 2 vols. Lugd. Bat. 1720. The same author has also edited the *Declamationes Quinctiliani*; but since the critics have decided that neither these nor the treatise called *Dialogus de Oratoribus* are the work of Quinctilianus, it is needless to make particular mention of them here.—Capperomus. (De Inst. Or.) Fol. Par. 1725.—Rollin. (De Inst. Orat.) 2 vols. Par. 1734.—Gessner. Gott. 1738.
 Schulze. (De Causis corr. Eloq.) Lpz. 1788. Other editions have also appeared.
 Spalding. (De Inst. Orat.) 4 vols. Lpz. 1798—1816. Zumpt has published an additional volume, viz.—V., Notes and Index; and Bonnell has added a sixth—VI., Lexicon Quinctilianum.
 Lilnemann. 2 vols. Han. 1826.
 Translations :—English : Warr. (Declamations.) Lond. 1686.—Guthrie. (De Inst. Orat.) 2 vols. Lond. 1756.—Patsall. (Ditto.) Lond. 1774.—Melmoth. (On Eloquence.) Lond. 1754.—Murphy. (Ditto.) In his translation of Tacitus. 4 vols. Lond. 1793.—French : Abbé Gedoy. (De Inst. Orat.) Par. 1718. Also in 4 vols. 12mo, in 1803.—German : Hencke. (De Inst. Orat.) 3 vols. Helmst. 1775.—Nast. (De Causis, &c.) Halle. 1787.

POST-ANTONINIAN PROSE WRITERS.

BY THE

REV. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; CURATE OF WRINGTON, SOMERSET.

POST-ANTONINIAN PROSE WRITERS.

SPARTIANUS .	}	"Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores."	}	FLOURISHED ABOUT A.D. 300.
VULCATIUS .				
TREBELLIVS POLLIO				
VOPISCUS . .				
LAMPRIIVS .				
JVLIVS CAPITOLINVS	}	"Panegyrici Veteres."	}	A.D. 360.
MAMERTINVS MAJOR				
EUMENIVS .				
NAZARIVS .				
MAMERTINVS MINOR				
DREPANIVS .	}	}	A.D. 390.
AURELIVS VICTOR				A.D. 370.
EVTROPIVS				DIED ABOUT A.D. 370.
SYMMACHVS				FLOURISHED ABOUT A.D. 390.
AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS				A.D. 400.
OROSIVS	}	LIVED FROM A.D. 463 TO ABOUT	}	DIED A.D. 417.
CASSIODORVS				563.
BOËTHIVS				FLOURISHED ABOUT A.D. 510.



Ruins of Rome.

POST-ANTONINIAN PROSE WRITERS.

IN our last chapter on Latin Poetry we have adverted to the causes which accelerated the fall of the entire literature after its culmination in the reign of Augustus. These causes must have left enduring results, even had they ceased to operate; but not only did they continue active,—they increased in intensity. Christianity, indeed, in some degree checked their operation; but its effects were, as might be expected, less considerable on prose than on poetry. The language had become essentially corrupt, and the invasions of barbarians destroyed at once the means and opportunities of literary culture. Under these circumstances, it is only wonderful that there should be so many names of literary note to be recorded under the Lower Empire. But, though authors were numerous, style and matter had materially deteriorated.

The most extensive field of post-Antoninian literature, especially if we include lost writers as well as extant, is History. But the circumstances of the times, whether we regard language, fidelity, or

Fall of Latin
Prose.

History.

History.

interest, were singularly unfavourable to this province of literature. Fear, hypocrisy, disregard of truth, were the natural characteristics of the historian; the rather, because he generally chose his subject from his own times, or nearly so, and wrote what was actually or virtually biographical. Investigation was too dangerous to be attempted.

Lost
Biographies.

The most celebrated work of this kind and time is the collection now extant, under the title *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*. But before these biographers flourished, a cloud of writers, of whom we know little more than the names, are recorded; some of whom were the sources drawn on by the Augustan biographers. The Emperor Severus wrote the history of his own time, and under him lived the historian Ælius Maurus; Lollius Urbicus flourished under Macrinus and Heliogabalus; Aurelius Philippus was preceptor and biographer of Alexander Severus; the latter office was also that of Encolpius; these were succeeded by Gargilius Martialis and Marius Maximus; the latter wrote the life of Trajan and his successors, as far as Heliogabalus; Junius (or Ælius) Cordus wrote lives of some of the Cæsars; Fabius Marcellinus composed a biography of Trajan and others; Ælius Sabinus flourished under Maximian; Vulcatius Terentius wrote a biography of the Emperor Gordian; and Curius Fortunatianus, one of Maximus; Mœonius Astyanax, Palfurnius Sura, Cœlestinus, and Acholius wrote under Gallienus and his successors; Julius Aterianus, and Gallus Antipater, under the Thirty Tyrants; Aurelius Festivus under Aurelian; Suetonius Optatianus, and Gellius Fuscus, under Tacitus; Onesimus under Probus; Fabius Cerilianus, Aurelius Apollinaris, and Fulvius Asprianus, under Carus and his sons; Asclepiodotus, and Claudius Eusthenius, under Diocletian. The latter of these two wrote the lives of several emperors; the former, that of Diocletian only.

Historia
Augusta.

From some of these authors, whose names the method of our work, rather than any substantive advantage to be derived from recording them, induces us to set down, was, in great measure, produced the collection to which we have before adverted. It consists of a series of imperial biographies, by six several writers, ranging from Hadrian to Carus and his sons, both ways inclusive, and comprising a period exceeding 160 years. The absence of Nerva and Trajan from this collection is attributed to the imperfection of MSS., to which cause, also, may be referred the want of the Philips, the Decii, and a part of Valerian. The *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores* were collected in their present form and order very early; and, probably, at Constantinople. The book is, apparently, a selection from a great mass of similar materials; and, therefore, bids fair to be a good specimen of its class. At the same time, as we neither know the editor, nor his principle of selection, we cannot be sure that he has preserved the most authentic materials to his hand;

while, if such be really the case, no better evidence could be needed of the degradation of historical composition under the Lower Empire, whether we regard the Latinity, or the authorities with which these writers were avowedly contented. With all their faults, however, they are of great absolute value, affording information which we can obtain from no other sources.

Historia
Augusta.

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS, the first of these writers, flourished under Diocletian. He designed to write the lives of all the Cæsars and their families, from Julius downwards ;¹ those, however, attributed to his pen are Hadrian, Ælius Verus, Didius Julianus, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, and Geta. The two first of these are of undisputed genuineness, and their authority is regarded as superior to that of the rest. The lives of Didius Julianus and Septimius Severus are attributed by Dodwell to Lampridius ; and the rest to Julius Capitolinus ; to whom Musgrave also attributes the life of Geta—a composition which Casaubon and Heyne had already inferred, from dissimilarity of style, to be spurious. Some MSS., however, attribute to this author the lives ascribed to Lampridius ;² and, further, those of the Antonines, Verus, Macrinus, Pertinax, and Albinus, commonly attributed to Capitolinus ; and the life of Avidius Cassius, generally regarded as the work of the second writer of the Augustan history, VULCATIUS GALLICANUS, contemporary of Spartianus, and who was no less ambitious in his historical plans ; but who, if this piece be not his, has left us nothing.

Ælius
Spartianus.

Vulcatius
Galicanus.

The third of the Augustan historians, TREBELLIIUS POLLIO, flourished under Diocletian and Constantine the Great, or his father, Constantius, only. He wrote the lives of the emperors from Philip to Divus Claudius, and his son, Quinctillus ; but we possess those only of the Valerians, the Gallieni, the Thirty Tyrants, and Divus Claudius. The last two were revised on account of the accusations which were made against him by his contemporaries.

Trebellius
Pollio.

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS, fourth of the Augustan historians, flourished under Constantine the Great. He was a Syracusan, and his family had been on terms of intimacy with Diocletian. His life of Aurelian was written at the desire of Junius Tiberianus, præfect of Rome, who assisted him with official materials. Afterwards he wrote the lives of Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, Bonosus, Carus, Numerian, Carinus. He contemplated a life of Apollonius of Tyana,³ which, however, he does not appear to have executed. His work, in method, arrangement, and historical aim, is superior to those of his fellow biographers.

Flavius
Vopiscus.

ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS, though placed after Vopiscus in the collection, wrote before him, and was one of those writers whom he

Lampridius.

¹ ÆL. Verus, 1.

² Hence, by Salmasius and others, these authors are identified under the name of Ælius Lampridius Spartianus.

³ Aurelian, 24.

Lampridius. assumed as a model. By some, as we have seen, he is identified with Spartianus. His works are the lives of Commodus, Diadumenus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander Severus.

Capitolinus. JULIUS CAPITOLINUS flourished under Diocletian and Constantine the Great. He wrote the lives of the Antonines, Verus, Pertinax, Albinus, Macrinus, two Maximins, three Gordians, Maximus, and Balbinus. Some of these, as we have seen, have been attributed to Spartianus. His other works are lost.

Septimius. Contemporary with these writers, if his dedication be genuine, which is doubtful, was Q. SEPTIMIUS, whom we mention among the historians for convenience only. His theme is the Trojan war; and his work professes to be a translation from a MS. found in the sepulchre of Dictys, the companion of Idomeneus. The title is *De Bello Trojano*, or *Ephemeris Belli Trojani*. The work is in six books. This history, together with another of uncertain date, probably much later, the *Historia Excidii Trojæ*, professedly translated from the Greek of DARES, the Phrygian, was, like the so-called Pindarus Thebanus,¹ one of the sources whence the writers of the middle ages drew materials for their favourite subject, the wars of Troy.

Aurelius Victor. SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR, an African of humble parentage, who was raised by the Emperor Julian to the dignity of Governor of Pannonia Secunda, and by Theodosius the Great afterwards elevated to that of Prefect of Rome, is the reputed author of the following works:—I. *Origo Gentis Romanæ*, of which we possess a small portion only, containing an account of the foundation of the city. This work has been also attributed to ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, and by some regarded as a production of the 5th or 6th, and even as a forgery of the 15th century. II. *De Viris Illustribus Romæ*. A biographical series, from the time of the Kings, attributed sometimes to Cornelius Nepos, to Suetonius, and to the younger Pliny. III. *De Cæsaribus Historiæ abbreviatæ Pars altera*. A compendious history extending from the conclusion of Livy's work to the 10th consulship of Constantius and Julian. IV. *De Vitâ et Moribus Imperatorum Romanorum*. This work embraces the biography of the emperors from Augustus to Theodosius. It is not properly the production of Victor, though modelled on a work of his by a writer of the 5th century, named Victor Junior or Victorinus.

Eutropius. FLAVIUS EUTROPIUS wrote a history intituled *Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*, in ten books, from the building of Rome to the reign of Valens. Little is known of his life, and even his prænomen is not certain. He was, however, private secretary to Constantine the Great; he accompanied Julian into Persia, and was living in the reign of Valens. He died, probably, about the year 370.

¹ See p. 197.

His work was composed at the instance of the last emperor. It is derived from authoritative sources, or from materials to which we have no other access. His free, calm, and moderate estimate of contemporary men and events, especially in such a period, speaks well for his credibility; and his style, though not unblemished by the faults of his time, is free from affected embellishments, and flows clear and simple; so that even to the present day his work has always been in great request, as a text-book for schools; a circumstance which, at an early period, produced two Greek translations of it, by Capito Lycius and Pænius respectively. Eutropius.

Contemporary with Eutropius was SEXTUS RUFUS, or FESTUS RUFUS, or SEXTUS RUFUS FESTUS. Rufus. Of him we only know that he wrote, at the instance of Valens, a *Breviarium Rerum gestarum Populi Romani*: a title which, however, is varied in some MSS.: and also a topographical sketch of the principal buildings and monuments of Rome, intituled *De Regionibus Urbis Romæ*. The latter is commonly found in company with a work of like subject and title by Publius Victor, and an anonymous *Libellus Provinciarum Romanorum* of the age of Theodosius. The genuineness of the writings attributed to Rufus and Victor is, however, disputed.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, a Greek by extraction, and a native, Ammianus
Marcellinus. apparently, of the Eastern empire, wrote in the reigns of Valens, Valentinian, and Theodosius. In his youth he had devoted himself to scientific studies; afterwards he entered the army under Constantius, accompanied Julian on his Persian expedition, and took an active part in the wars which the subsequent emperors waged in Germany, Gaul, and the East. In later life he retired to Rome to devote himself to the study and composition of history. His work was intituled *Rerum Gestarum Libri XXXI.*; and comprised the history of the empire from Nerva to Valens, both inclusive. The first thirteen books, which brought events down to the year 352, are lost; but the more important portion, because that which contains the facts of which he was himself a witness, have been fortunately preserved. Still the loss of his early history is much to be regretted, as we have every reason to believe it would have been a far better continuation of Tacitus than that which is supplied by all the intermediate historians. The language of this writer is not only marked by the impurities of his time; it is manifestly foreign, and rendered less intelligible by rhetorical artifice, and affectation of the style of Tacitus: but the matter is singularly valuable; the historian is evidently a man of integrity, impartiality, intelligence, observation, and reflection: and, had he lived in a happier literary period, would have enjoyed the reputation to which his diligence and perspicacity entitle him. To many editions of this writer are appended *Excerpta vetera de Constantino Chlora, Constantino magno, et aliis Imperatoribus*: also, *Excerpta ex Libris*

Chronicorum de Odoacre et Theodorico, Regibus Italiæ. The authorship of these pieces is uncertain.

Orosius.

PAULUS OROSIUS, of Tarragona, was a Christian priest, and took active part in the polemics of his day. In the year 413 he visited S. Augustin, in Africa, and was by him sent forward to S. Jerom, in Palestine, but afterwards returned to Africa, and was eventually buried at Rome. By the advice of S. Augustin, who was anxious to confute the heathen objection that the calamities of the empire were owing to the prevalence of Christianity, and to the consequent displeasure of the neglected and dishonoured gods, he wrote his *Historiarum Libri VII. adversus Paganos*.¹ This work, which records the history of the world from the creation to A.D. 417, is supplied from all sources which came to the author's hand, especially from Holy Scripture, and Justin's abbreviation, and digested according to the chronology of Eusebius. The object is steadily kept in view; and this, together with the fidelity of the history, and the clearness, considering the period, of the style, obtained for Orosius great popularity and extension during the middle ages: our own great Alfred not having disdained to translate this author into Anglo-Saxon. About the same period SULPICIUS SEVERUS, a priest and recluse of Aquitain, wrote his *Sacred History*, or Narrative of Jewish and Christian Events, his *Life of S. Martin*, his *Dialogues*, and some *Letters*.

Sulpicius Severus.

Oratory.

While history was degenerating virtually and essentially into panegyric, oratory was becoming such literally and formally. We possess a collection of twelve of these panegyrics, dating about 200 years later than that of Pliny, commonly known by the general title of *Panegyrici Veteres*. The first two of these are by CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS, a Gallic orator. Of these two the first was pronounced at Treves on the 21st April, A.D. 298, and is occupied with the praises of Maximian and his colleague Diocletian; the second was pronounced in the year 291 or 292 on the birthday of the same emperor. The four next orations are the work of EUMENIUS, of Autun, a rhetorician of Greek descent. Of these the first is intituled *Pro instaurendis Scholis Augustodunensibus*, pronounced in the year 296, a sort of inaugural lecture on his assumption of his function of teacher at Autun, and the subject of education. The title of the second is *Panegyricus Constantino Cæsari receptâ Britannia dictus*, dating about 297; a congratulatory address on the part of the city to the emperor on his conquests in Britain. The third is a birthday congratulation to Constantine,

Claudius Mamertinus Major.

Eumenius.

¹ In some MSS. an extraordinary title of this work occurs:—*De Orchestrâ Mundi*, or *Ormestâ*, or *Hormestâ*. All kinds of corrections have been suggested. The first of these readings is most probably the true. The history represents the world as the *theatre* on which man's vice and folly, and the sole remedial power of Christianity, are exhibited.

spoken at Treves about A.D. 310. The last, which dates A.D. 311, Eumenius. is designated *Gratiarum Actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine*. It expresses the gratitude of the people of Autun for various favours received from Constantine, and was pronounced at Treves, whither Eumenius was especially delegated for the purpose. Eumenius is the least laudatory of these writers, and his speeches, though no models of eloquence, are not destitute of historical value. Two of the orations in this collection are of uncertain authorship: the *Panegyricus Maximiano et Constantino dictus*, on the marriage of Constantine with Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, which appears to have been pronounced at Treves about A.D. 307; and the *Panegyricus Constantino Augusto dictus*, spoken at Treves A.D. 313, after the defeat of Maxentius. The latter, from its description of the war, has some historical value. NAZARIUS, teacher of rhetoric at Bourdeaux, is the author of a Nazarius. panegyric addressed to Constantine at Rome in the year 321, more moderate in its laudations, and more expressive in its language, than most specimens of this collection. The tenth oration in the collection bears the name of MAMERTINUS; who is not, however, to be Mamertinus confounded with the first panegyrist of that name, as their works date Minor. seventy years apart. This oration was delivered in the year 362, and is intitled *Pro Consulatu Gratiarum Actio Juliano Augusto*. The eleventh is by LATINUS PACATUS DREPANIUS, of Bourdeaux Drepanius. or Agen, the poetical friend of AUSONIUS, and contains a congratulation to the emperor Theodosius on the overthrow of Maximus, spoken at Rome A.D. 391. It is composed after the best models, and is valuable intrinsically, and still more so historically. The twelfth of these panegyrics is in verse, by the poet FLAVIUS CRESCONIUS CORIPPUS, to whom we have adverted in the close of Corippus. our account of the classical Latin poetry.

Beside this collection, AUSONIUS has left us a panegyric on Ausonius. Gratian, in the shape of a speech of thanks on receiving the consulship, delivered about A.D. 380; and we have another from the pen of MAGNUS FELIX ENNODIUS, bishop of Pavia, on the Ennodius. exploits of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, spoken about A.D. 507. Of SYMMACHUS we shall speak under the letter-writers.

Rhetoricians, under the Lower Empire, were numerous. AQUILA Rhetoric. ROMANUS, who lived between the times of Hadrian and Constantine, wrote *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*,—a title Romanus. which was afterwards adopted by Julius Rufinianus, as it had been borrowed by Aquila from Rutilius Lupus, the Augustan rhetorician. Aquila's work appears to have been modelled on the Greek treatise of Numenius. Under Alexander Severus flourished Julius Frontinus, Bævius Macrinus, Julius Gratianus. In the year 360, C. Marius Victorinus, the preceptor of S. Jerom, came from Africa to Rome, where he embraced Christianity. We are indebted to Angelo Mai

Rhetoric. for the discovery of several writings of this author. He was a philosopher as well as a rhetorician, and defended his religion against the objections of the heathen philosophers. His rhetorical work is a commentary on Cicero's *De Inventione*; in two books, which Boëthius, in his commentary on the *Topica*, accuses of prolixity and tediousness; faults from which himself is not free. To the labours of Mai we are further indebted for the discovery of a MS. of C. Julius Victor, a Gallic rhetorician, intituled *Ars Rhetorica, Hermagoræ, Ciceronis, Quintilian, Marcomanni, Tatiani, Feliciter*; and for the *Speculatio de Rhetoricæ Cognatione et Locorum Rhetoricorum Distinctio*, of Boëthius. Other rhetorical writers will be found in the collections of Pithæus and Capperonner.

Letters. The later ages of Roman literature furnish us with some letter-writers, who modelled their correspondence on that of purer times, with a view, apparently, to publication. One of the most famous of

Symmachus. these was Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS, son of Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus. He was carefully educated by his father, who was senator and *præfectus urbi*. In A.D. 373 he was appointed pro-consul of Africa; he was *præfectus urbi* in 384, consul in 391. He died in the beginning of the Vth century. He was a man of great acquirements and severe patriotism, which led him to persecute the Christians, as enemies of the empire. He was distinguished as an orator; and Angelo Mai has discovered fragments of eight orations, which, nevertheless, are of more historical and political than literary value. His principal works, however, are letters, which have been collected into ten books. These are less to be considered as specimens of contemporary Latinity than as elaborate studies after classical originals, especially Pliny; but their chief value consists in the information they afford on legal and political matters, on the relations of Christianity to heathenism, and the internal dissensions of both parties. His Xth book contains his official correspondence with his imperial masters. The fifty-fourth letter of this book, recommending the re-erection of the altar of Victory, called forth the protest of S. Ambrose, and Prudentius's poem, *Contra Symmachum*.

S. Paulinus. MEROPHIUS PONTIUS ANICIUS PAULINUS, Bishop of Nola, already mentioned in our poetical department, left, at his death in 431, a collection of fifty-one letters. Part of the letters of his

Ausonius. friend Ausonius are in prose; and C. Sollius Apollinaris Modestus Sidonius, adverted to in the poetical division of our work, has left a collection of letters, in nine books. He was a distinguished person in literature and in the Church; born in the year 428, and consecrated Bishop of Clermont in 473, in which dignity he died about the year 484. His letters, manifesting more of the decline of the language than those of his predecessors, are valuable for the information which they afford us respecting contemporary events and society, especially among the higher orders in Gaul. He is

succeeded as a letter-writer by MAGNUS AURELIUS CASSIODORUS, or Cassiodorus. CASSIODORIUS, born at Scyllacium, in Bruttia, about A.D. 468, of an ancient Roman family. His father and grandfather were eminent as statesmen in war and peace; and his talents and varied education soon raised him to distinction in the court of Theodoric, whose private secretary, or prime minister, he became. Under the successors of that prince he continued to conduct the affairs of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, with consummate wisdom and skill. In the year 538, he retired from public life into a cloister, where he died at an advanced age, not far from 100. Here he composed various historical, grammatical, and theological works. His letters, however, were written while in the activity of business. The ten first of the twelve books are in the name of the reigning prince; the two last in his own. They form, of course, an important element of Ostrogothic history, and attest the continual decline, notwithstanding the erudition of their writer, of the literary Latin.

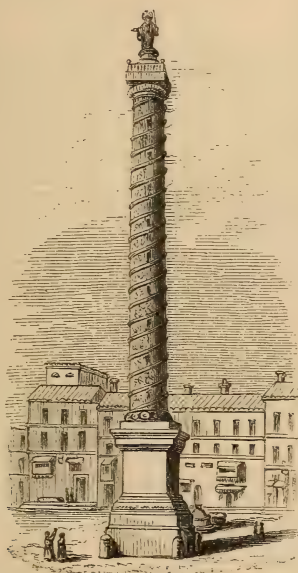
No study had more deteriorated under the Lower Empire than Philosophy. To this result two causes manifestly contributed—the decay of literature itself, at once cause and effect of an intellectual torpidity, incompatible with philosophical speculation; and the spread of Christianity, which, by substituting certainty for scepticism, and authority for conjecture, superseded, in the minds of the learned and reflective, the old philosophical theories. The Eastern Church continued to philosophise, while acknowledging the supremacy of the Gospel; but the Western Christians, less imaginative and metaphysical, regarded philosophy, for the most part, as a guide which had done its work, and handed over its function to faith. Arnobius, Lactantius, and S. Augustine, are numbered among the Latin philosophers; but their philosophy was altogether a very different thing from the speculations of the Alexandrian school. It was avowedly and distinctly Christian, and in manifest antagonism to everything heathen. The philosophical authority, however, of the last of these illustrious men has always been of high consideration in the Church, and, in the middle ages, was almost supreme; and opinions, which he was the first to promulgate, or, at least, to systematise, have had their influence, greater or less, in almost every Christian community.

One name, referred, perhaps properly, to the class of grammarians, may, however, yet deserve notice in this place—that of AURELIUS MACROBIUS AMBROSIIUS THEODOSIUS, a writer of the time of Theodosius the Younger, concerning whom nothing further is known with certainty. His commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, and his seven books of *Saturnalia*, are highly valuable. The first of these works may be regarded as an illustration of the philosophy of the New Platonists, besides containing much curious and important matter on ancient cosmography and philosophy. The

Philosophy. *Saturnalia* are more within the province of the grammarian, resembling the work of Aulus Gellius, and affording us valuable information with regard to lost writers, especially, as we have seen, to the extensive plagiarisms of Virgil. Macrobius, also, has left a treatise on the relations of the Greek verb to the Latin. But the only name, perhaps, worthy of distinct notice in this place, as a purely philosophical writer, is that of ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERUS BOETHIUS, or BOETIUS. He was born about A.D. 470, and descended from a distinguished family. Though he lost his father early, it appears that he was carefully educated, and deeply versed in Greek literature, especially the philosophical writers, of which number he translated into Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy, and others; besides writing commentaries on other philosophers. He was raised by Theodoric, in the year 510, to the dignity of consul; and the prosperity and tranquillity which Italy enjoyed under his government testified honourably to his prudence and diligence. During his absence from Rome, however, on one occasion, his enemies contrived, on various groundless and even absurd charges, to bring him under the displeasure of the Gothic king. On these accusations he was by the senate condemned to death; but the king mitigated the sentence to imprisonment at Pavia. Ultimately, however, he was executed. In his captivity he composed his renowned treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, which not only proved, as he intended it, a comfort to himself, but has been a refreshment to many lonely sufferers; and is, in particular, interesting to Englishmen, as the bosom book of their Alfred in his most trying vicissitudes, and the study of Elizabeth in her prison, and translated by both these sovereigns into the vernacular of their day. Although a large proportion is in verse (larger, indeed, than appears to have been the case in the Varronian satire), and we have, therefore, adverted to Boëthius among the poets, his treatise is in no sense a poem; the metrical parts having been, apparently, written with the view of relieving the monotony of his task, which, under the circumstances, must have acquired every alleviation.

Boëthius was the last, although by no means the least, of Roman literary writers; indeed, his times and opportunities considered, he is entitled to a very high position among them. We have works after his time, chiefly grammatical; but we refer our readers for the titles of these, as well as for those of the Lower Empire generally, to our list of editions; as, in a work of this nature, they could only be mentioned. The revival of classical studies in the time of Charlemagne no more belongs to this history than the more extensive similar phenomenon of the XVth century. The writers on jurisprudence are to be classed rather with their science than with general literature; and the Ecclesiastical Fathers belong rather to

theology than to composition, notwithstanding the high literary Boëthius. claims of some of their number; for there is not in prose writers, as in poets, a new living school of literary Latin in the Church. The language, in some degree, even to our day, is that of the clergy, of the tribunals, of learned corporations and individuals; but it is not in this view that it is regarded in these pages. With the exceptions noticed, and that of Church poetry, which had a life of its own, the Latin writers after Boëthius have no claim to special notice in a compendious history of Roman literature.



EDITIONS, &c., OF THE POST-ANTONINIAN PROSE WRITERS.

HISTORIÆ AUGUSTÆ SCRIPTORES.

- Edit. Princ. Mediol. 1475.
 Aldus. Venet. 1516.
 Erasmus. Basil. 1518.
 Gruter. Hanov. 1611.
 Casaubon. Paris. 1620.
 Schrevelius (cum nott. Varr.) Lugd. Bat. 1661.
 Cum nott. Casauboni, Salmasii, Gruteri, ex offic. Hackianâ. Lugd. Bat. 1671.
 Obrecht. Argent. 1677.
 Püttmann. Lips. 1774.
 Julii Capitolini Geta (cum nott. Varr.) Edente Musgrave. Iscæ. 1716.
 Subsidia:—
 Dodwell, Prælect. Proëmial. Oxon. 1692.
 Heyne, Censura VI. Scriptt. Hist. Aug. in Opusce. Acad. Gotting. 1803.
 Dirksen, Die "Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ," Andeutungen zur Texteskritik und Auslegung derselben. Leipz. 1842.

SEPTIMIUS.

- Ed. Princ. (With Dares.) Colon. 1470 or 1475.
 Mediol. 1477.
 Mercerus. Paris. 1618.
 Idem. Amstel. 1630.
 Anna, Tanaquilli Fabri filia. In usum Delph. Paris. 1680.
 Obrecht (cum nott. Varr.) Argentorat. 1691.
 Smids (cum interpr. Annæ Daceriæ). Amstel. 1702.
 Dederich. Bonn. 1832.

AURELIUS VICTOR.

COLLECTED WORKS.

- Schott. Antv. 1579.
 Sylburg. T. I.
 Gruter. T. II.
 Boxhorn. T. I.
 Cum nott. Varr. Lugd. Bat. 1670.
 Cum nott. Varr. et Annæ Tanaq. Fabri fil. In us. Delph. Paris. 1681.

Pitiscus. Traj. ad Rhen. 1696.
 Arntzen. Amst. et Traj. ad Rhen. 1733.
 Gruner. Coburg. 1757.
 Harless. Erlang. 1787.
 Schröter. Lips. 1829—1831.

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS.

{ Ed. Princ. Riesinger. Neapol. About 1470.
 { Ripoli. Florentiæ. 1478.
 Schott. Francof. 1609.
 Brohm (school edition). Berolin. 1832.

EPITOMÆ.

———. Argentorat. 1505.
 Aldus. Venet. 1516.
 Froben. Basil. 1518.

EUTROPIUS.

Ed. Princ. Rom. 1471.
 „ Mediolan. 1475. (With Suetonius and the Hist. Aug. Scriptt.)
 Egnatius (apud Aldum). Venet. (with Suetonius). 1516.
 Schontrovius. Basil. 1546, 1552.
 Vinetus. Pictav. 1553.
 Glareanus et Vinetus. Basil. 1581.
 Sylburg. (cum Hist. Aug. Scriptt.) Francof. 1590.
 Cellarius. Ciz. 1678. Jen. 1755.
 Anna, Tanaq. Fabri fil. In us. Delph. Paris. 1683.
 Hearne. Oxon. 1703.
 Havercamp. Lugd. Bat. 1792.
 Verheyk (cum nott. Varr.) Lugd. Bat. 1793.
 Tzschucke (cum nott. Varr.) Lips. 1796, 1804.
 Grosse. Halæ. 1813.
 Hermann (a critical edition). Lubeck. 1818.
 Ramshorn. Leipz. 1837.
 Subsidium :—
 Moller, Diss. de Eutropio. Altorf. 1685.

RUFUS.

Edit. Princ. Breviarii. Riesinger. Neap. 1470. Romæ. 1491.
 Cellarius. Ciz. 1673. Halæ. 1698.
 Havercamp & Verheyk (with Eutrop.) Lugd. Bat. 1792, 1793.
 Tzschucke. Lips. 1793. (School edition.)
 Münnich. Hanov. 1815.
 Mecenate. Romæ. 1829. (New collation of MSS.)

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

- Ed. Princ. Sabinus. Rom. 1474.
 Castellio. Bonon. 1517.
 Erasmus (in Scriptt. Hist. Aug.) apud Froben. Basil. 1518.
 Gelenius. Basil. 1533.
 Accursius. August. Vindel. 1532.
 R. Stephanus. Paris. 1534.
 Lindenbrog. Hamb. 1609.
 Gruter (in Scriptt. Hist. Aug.) Hanov. 1611.
 Boxhorn Zuerius. Lugd. Bat. 1632. (4th vol. of Hist. Aug. Scriptt. Latt. minn.)
 Henr. Valesius. Paris. 1636.
 Hadr. Valesius. Paris. 1681.
 Gronovius (cum nott. Varr.) Lugd. Bat. 1693.
 Ernesti. Lips. 1772.
 Wagner & Erfurdt. Lips. 1808.

OROSIUS.

- Ed. Princ. Jo. Schüssler. August. Vindel. 1471.
 (Another edition about 1475.)
 Bolsuinge. Colon. 1526.
 Fabricius. Colon. 1561, 1574, 1582, &c.
 Havercamp (cum nott. Varr.) Lugd. Bat. 1738, 1767.
 In Bibl. Patrum. Lugd. 1677. Tom. VI.
 In Gallandi Bibl. Patr. Venent. 1788. Tom. IX.
 Subsidia :—
 Moller, Diss. de Paulo Orosio. Altorf 1689.
 Beck, Diss. de Orosii fontibb. et auctorit. Goth. 1834.

PANEGYRICI VETERES.

- Ed. Princ. Puteolanus. 1482.
 Cuspiniani. Viennæ. 1499.
 Rhenanus. Basil. 1520.
 Livinejus. Antverp. 1599.
 Gruter. Francof. 1607.
 Delabaune. (Delphin.) Paris. 1676.
 Cellarius. Halæ. 1703.
 Patarol. Venet. 1708—1719.
 Jäger. Nuremberg. 1779.
 Arntzen. Traj. ad Rhen. 1790.

SYMMACHUS.

- Scholtus. Argentorat. 1510. Basil. 1549.
 Juretus. Paris. 1580, 1604.
 Lectius. Genevæ. 1587, 1598.
 Scioppius. Mogunt. 1608.
 Parei. Nemet. 1617.

S. PAULINUS.

Paris. 1516.
 Gravius. Colon. 1560.
 Lebrun de Marettes. Paris. 1685.
 Muratorius. Veron. 1736.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

Vinetus. Lugd. 1552.
 Wower et Colvius. Paris et Lugd. 1598.
 Savarus. Paris. 1599, 1609.
 Elmenhorst. Hanov. 1617.
 Sirmondus. Paris. 1614.
 Labbe. Paris. 1652.
 Bibl. Patr. Max. Lugd. 1677. Tom. VI.
 Gallandi Bibl. Patr. Venet. 1788. Tom. X.
 Grégoire et Collombet. Lugd. 1836.

CASSIODORUS.

Fornerius. Paris. 1584.
 Garetius. Rothomag. 1679. Venet. 1720.

MACROBIUS.

Ed. Princ. Jenson. Venet. 1472.
 De Boninis. Brix. 1483.
 Ang. Britannicus. Brix. 1501.
 Rivius. Venet. 1513.
 Angelius. Florent. 1515.
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De compendiosâ Doctrinâ per Litteras.
 Latest edition. Gerlach & Roth. Basil. 1842.

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De Barbarismo, Solœcismo, Schematibus, et Tropis.

Commentaries on Terence and Virgil are attributed to this Donatus, with several small works.

C. MARIUS VICTORINUS. CIRC. A. D. 360.

De Orthographiâ et Ratione Metrorum.

FLAVIUS MALLIUS THEODORUS. CONS. A. D. 399.

His work *De Metris* edited from a MS. at Wolfenbüttel by J. F. Hensinger.
From the same MS. Lindemann edited—

POMPEIUS.

Commentum Artis Donati, and—

SERVIUS MAURUS HONORATUS. CIRC. A. D. 400.

Ars Grammatica super Partes minores.

Beside Servius's commentary on Virgil, we possess from his pen—

In secundam Donati Editionem Interpretatio.

De Ratione ultimarum Syllabarum, liber ad Aquilinum.

Ars de Pedibus Versuum, seu centum Metris.

De Accentibus (doubtful).

Some other grammatical works are attributed to him, and, by some critics, to Marius Sergius. Some consider Servius and Sergius the same person.

FLAVIUS SOSIPATER CHARISIUS. A. D. 400.

Institutionum Grammaticæ Libri V.

The first and last books alone extant. Of the treatise *de metro Saturnio* see p. 44, seqq. of this volume.

DIOMEDES.

De Oratione, Partibus Orationis, et vario Rhetorum Genere, Libri III., ad Athanasium.

MARCIANUS MINEUS FELIX CAPELLA. CIRC. A. D. 470.

Satira. A work composed on the model of the Varronian Satire, on the seven liberal arts, and on poetry. It had great influence in the middle ages. The Edit. Princ. is Vicent. 1499, curâ Franc. Vidalis Bodiani. The completest edition is that of Kopp, Frankf., 1836.

P. CONSENTIUS. ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

De duabus Orationis Partibus, Nomine et Verbo.
Ars, seu de Barbarismis et Metaplasmis.

RUFINUS. ABOUT THE SAME.

Commentarius in Metra Terentiani.

PHOCAS.

Ars, de Nomine et Verbo.
De Aspiratione.

PRISCIANUS CÆSARIENSIS. A.D. 468—562.

Commentariorum Grammaticorum Libri XVIII., ad Julianum.
Partitiones Versuum XII. principalium.

De Accentibus.

De Declinatione Nominum.

De Versibus comicis.

De Præexercitamentis rhetoricæ.

De Figuris et Nominibus Numerorum, et de Nummis et Ponderibus, ad Symmachum liber.

Of the poetry of this illustrious grammarian, whose works were not only of the greatest influence in the middle ages, but will ever be of inestimable value, we have already spoken, p. 205.

The works have been edited by Krehl, Leipz., 1819. The "Opera minora" by Lindemann, Leyden, 1818.

ATILIUS FORTUNATIANUS.

Ars, et de Metris Horatianis.

FABIUS PLACIDIUS FULGENTIUS. A.D. 500.

Mythologicôn Libri III. ad Catum presbyterum.

Expositio Sermorum antiquorum, ad Chalcidius grammaticum.

De Expositione Virgilianæ Continentiæ.

ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS. CIRCA. 600.

Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX.

De Differentiis seu Proprietate Verborum.

Liber Glossarum.

The Origines of Isidore of Seville are of high value. They present us with the state of philosophy, logic, arithmetic, music, astronomy, medicine, jurisprudence, chronology, history, theology, philology, at the beginning of the seventh century. It was a work much valued in the middle ages, and ever will be serviceable, especially in matters of literary antiquity.

The editions are—

WORKS.

De la Bigne. Paris. 1580.

Percy and Grial. Madriti. 1599.

Du Breul. Paris. 1601. Colon. 1617.

Arevali. Rom. 1797.

ORIGINES ONLY.

August. Vindel. 1472.

Vulcanius. Basil. 1577. (With Marcianus Capella.)

The grammatical writers, with others who have not been thought worthy to be here particularized, may be found in the following works:—

Auctores Linguae Latinae, cum nott. D. Gothofredi. Genev. 1622.

Grammaticae Latinae Auctores Antiqui. Operâ et studio H. Putschii.

Hanov. 1605.

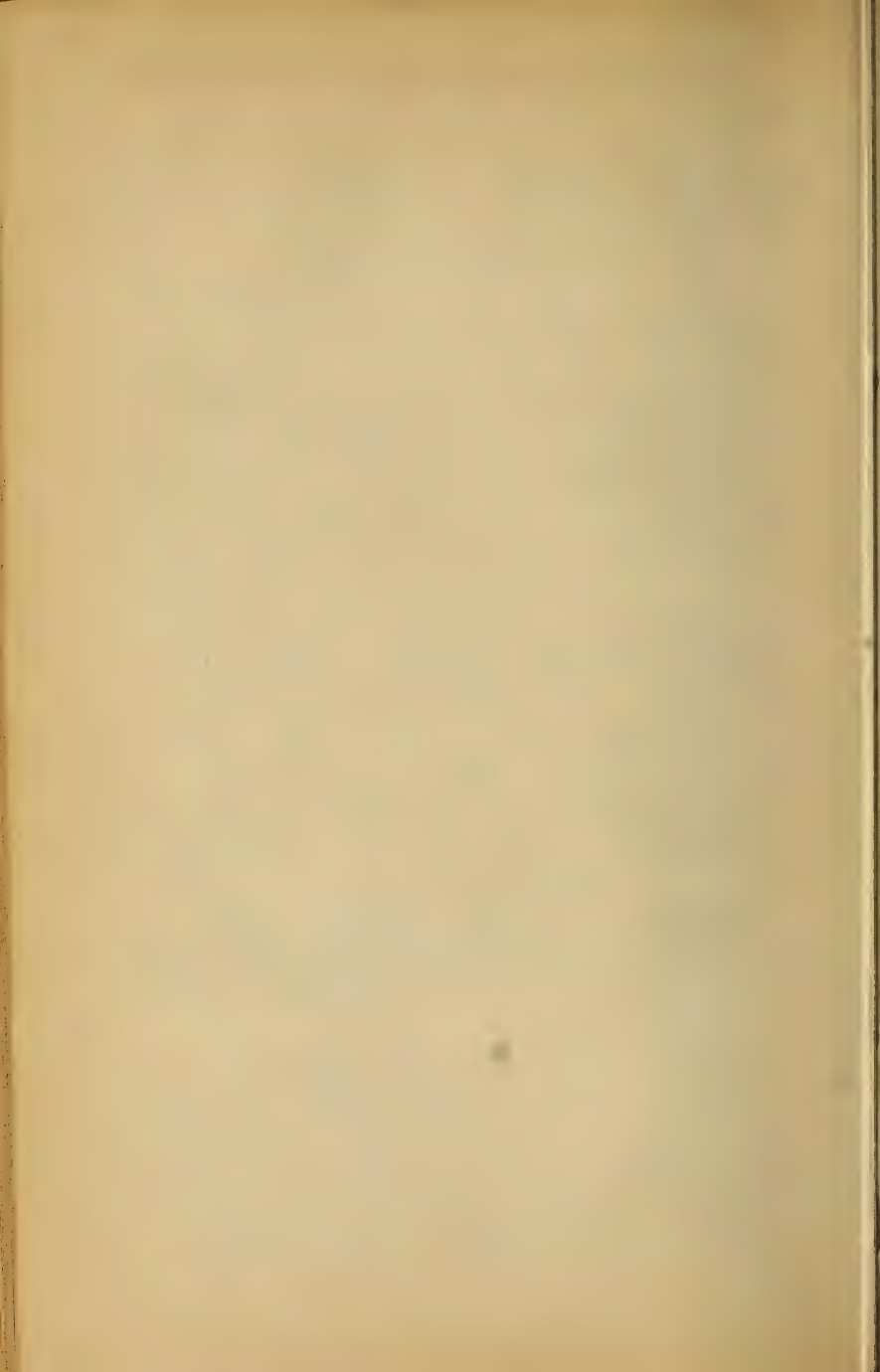
Corpus Grammaticorum Lat. rec. F. Lindemannus. Lips. 1831.

Grammatici Illustres XII. Parisiis. In offic. Ascens. 1516.

Veterum Grammaticorum Opera. Lugd. Bat. 1600.

Scriptores Latini Rei Metricae. Refinxit Th. Gaisford. Oxon. 1837.





ROMAN LITERARY CHRONOLOGY.

U. C.	A. C.	
1—244	753—510	Government of the Kings: Axamenta. Acta Fratrum Arvalium. Carmen Saliare. Leges regiæ. Libri lintei. Annales Pontificum.
245	509	Consuls. Treaty with Carthage.
303—304	451—450	Laws of the Twelve Tables.
365	389	Partial Loss of Historical Documents through the burning of Rome by the Gauls.
390	364	Etruscan Drama at Rome.
450—500	304—254	Prudentes: Appius Claudius Cæcus, Ti. Coruncanius, P. Sempronius Sophus.
494	260	Naval Victory of Duilius; Columna rostrata Duilii; Monumenta Scipionum.

FIRST PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

U. C.	A. C.	
513	241	End of the First Punic War.
514	240	Livius Andronicus introduces the Drama.
518	236	Cato born, according to Cicero; according to Livy, four years earlier.
519	235	Ennius born.
535	219	Nævius's first Dramatic Exhibitions.
536	218	Archagathius, C. Fabius Pictor. Pacuvius born.
542	212	Second Punic War.
550	204	Capture of Syracuse. Greek Works of Art brought to Rome.
559	195	Death of Nævius, according to Cicero.
568	186	Terence born.
570	184	Scum de Bacchanalibus.
580	174	Catonis orationes censoriæ. Death of Plautus, according to Cicero. Cæcilius Statius.
584	170	Expulsion of the Greek Philosophers.
585	169	Attius born.
586	168	Death of Ennius.
588	166	Death of Cæcilius.
589	165	Terence's <i>Andria</i> .
591	163	Terence's <i>Hecyra</i> .
593	161	Terence's <i>Heautontimorumenos</i> .
		Scum de Rhetoribus. Terence's <i>Eunuchus</i> and <i>Phormio</i> .

U. C.	A. C.	
594	160	Terence's <i>Adelphi</i> .
595	159	Death of Terence.
599	155	Scutum de theatro perpetuo.
		Embassy of the three Attic Philosophers.
603	151	L. Afranius.
		A. Postumius Albinus, the Historian, Consul.
605	149	Serv. Sulpicius Galba. Death of M. Porcius Cato.
		L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Historian.
606	148	Birth of Lucilius.
608	146	Cassius Hemina, C. Fannius, Historians.
612	142	Antonius the Orator born.
614	140	Crassus the Orator born.
620	134	Sempronius Asellio, Historian.
625	129	Death of Scipio Africanus the Younger.
631	123	Tribuneship of C. Sempronius Gracchus.
		Cælius Antipater, Historian.
		C. Lucilius, S. Turpilius.
638	116	Varro born.
639	115	M. Æmilius Scaurus.
640	114	Hortensius born.
645	109	Atticus born.
648	106	Cicero born.
651	103	Deaths of Turpilius and Lucilius.
654	100	Birth of Julius Cæsar.
659	95	Birth of Lucretius.
		"L. Pomponius Bononiensis, Atellanarum scriptor, clarus habetur."— <i>Hieron. in Euseb. Chron.</i>
663	91	The Italian Allies admitted to the Freedom of the City.
667	85	Birth of Catullus.
668	86	Birth of Sallust.
672	82	Terentius Varro and C. Licinius Calvus born.
676	76	Death of Atta.
684	70	Birth of Virgil.
689	65	Birth of Horace.
695	59	Birth of Livy.
699	55	Death of Lucretius, according to Donatus; according to Jerom, three years later.
703	51	Propertius probably born.
709	45	Laberius acts in his Mimes. His death took place two years after.

SECOND, OR AUGUSTAN PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

U. C.	A. C.	
710	44	Death of Julius Cæsar.
711	43	Death of Cicero, and birth of Ovid.
712	42	Battle of Philippi.
714	40	"Cornelius Nepos, scriptor historicus, clarus habetur."— <i>Hieron. in Euseb. Chron.</i>
720	34	Death of Sallust.
721	33	Bibliotheca Octaviana.

U. C.	A. C.	
722	32	Death of Atticus.
723	31	Battle of Actium.
726	28	Bibliotheca Palatina.
		Death of Varro.
735	19	Death of Virgil. Tibullus died soon after; and to this period belongs Ovid's acquaint- ance with Macer, Propertius, Ponticus, Bassus, Horace.
737	17	The Carmen Sæculare.
745	7	Birth of Seneca.
746	8	Fasti Capitolini et Prænestini. Death of Horace.
	P. C.	
757	4	Death of Pollio.
762	9	Banishment of Ovid.
767	14	Death of Augustus. Monumentum Ancyranum.

THIRD PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

U. C.	P. C.	
768—790	15—37	Tiberius Claudius Nero, Emperor.
771	18	Deaths of Ovid and Livy.
778	24	C. Plinius the Elder born.
786	33	Deaths of Cassius Severus and Asinius Gallus.
787	34	Birth of Persius.
790	37	Caligula, Emperor.
794	41	Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Emperor.
796	43	Martial born.
807	54	Nero Claudius Cæsar.
814	61	Birth of C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus.
815	62	Death of A. Persius Flaccus.
818	65	Deaths of Seneca and Lucan.
822	69	{ Ser. Sulpicius Galba, M. Otho, Vitellius. { Titus Flavius Vespasianus.
828	75	Dialogus de Oratoribus.
830	77	Dedication of Pliny's Natural History.
832	79	Death of the elder Pliny. Titus Cæsar Ves- pasianus, Emperor.
834	81	T. Flavius Domitianus, Emperor.
842	89	Quintilian teaching at Rome.
843	90	Expulsion of the Philosophers.

FOURTH PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

U. C.	P. C.	
849	96	Cæsar Nerva Trajanus, Emperor.
851	98	M. Ulpius Trajanus.
853	100	Plinii Panegyricus.
870—891	117—138	Ælius Hadrianus, Emperor.
871	118	Juvenal flourished.
885	132	Edictum perpetuum.

U.C.	P.C.	
891—914	138	Ælius Antoninus Pius (Divus Pius), Emperor.
914	161	M. Aurelius Antonius Philosophus (Divus Marcus), Emperor.
		M. Cornelius Fronto, L. Apuleius.
		M. Marullus.
		M. Minucius Felix, L. Septimius Florens.
		Tertullianus.

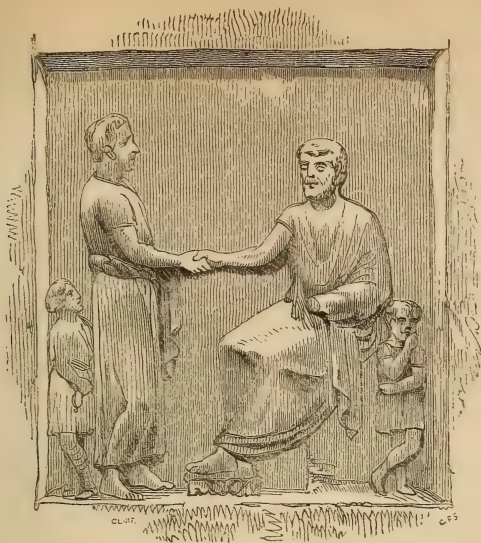
FIFTH PERIOD OF LITERATURE.

U.C.	P.C.	
933	180	L. Aurelius Commodus, Emperor.
945	192	Pertinax, Emperor.
946	193	Severus, Emperor.
953—983	200—230	Æmilius Papinianus, Domitius Ulpianus.
		Julius Paullus, Herennius Modestinus.
		Gargilius Martialis, Serenus Sammonicus.
		Constitutio Antonini.
964	211	Caracalla, Emperor.
970	217	Macrinus, Emperor.
971	218	Heliogabalus, Emperor.
975—988	222—235	Aurelius Alexander Severus, Emperor.
		Titianus.
988	235	Maximin, Emperor.
991	238	Gordian, Emperor. Censorinus.
		Marius Maximus, Curius Fortunatianus.
997	244	Philip, Emperor.
1000	247	Cæcilius Cyprianus.
1002	249	Decius, Emperor.
1004	251	Gallus, Emperor.
1006	254	Valerian and Gallienus, Emperors.
1013	260	Valerian captured by Sapor.
1021	268	Claudius, Emperor.
1023	270	Aurelian, Emperor.
1028	275	Tacitus, Emperor.
1029	276	Probus, Emperor.
1035	282	Caius, Emperor.
1037	284	Numerian, Emperor. Diocletian, Emperor.
		M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus, T. Julius.
		Calpurnius.
		Arnobius.
		Julius Capitolinus.
1058	305	Constantius and Galerius, Emperors.
1059	306	C. Flavius Valerius Constantinus, Emperor.
		Cl. Mamertinus Major, Eumenius.
		Nazarius, Julius Rufinianus, Fl. Vopiscus.
		Trebellius Pollio.
		L. Coelius, Lactantius Firmianus, C. Aquilinus.
		Vettius Juvencus, Publilius Optatianus.
1083	330	Codices Gregorianus et Hermogænianus.
1090	337	Constantine II., Constantius II., Constans, Emperors.
1093	340	Death of Constantine II.
		Julius Firmicus Maternus.
1101	348	Prudentius born.

U. C.	P. C.	
1103	350	Death of Constans.
1113	360	Flavius Julianus. Ælius Donatus Fabrius, Marius Victorinus, S. Aurelius Victor, Claudius Mamertinus Minor.
		Fl. Eutropius, S. Rufus.
1114	361	Julian, Emperor.
1116	363	Jovian, Emperor.
1117	364	Valentinian and Valens, Emperors.
1121	368	Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Emperors.
1123	370	Constitutio Valentiniani et Valentis de Studiis. Hieronymus Ambrosius, Rufus Festus Avienus.
		D. Magnus Ausonius, Ammianus Marcellinus. Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, Fl. Vegetius Renatus
		Theodorus Priscianus, Marcellus Empiricus. Falconia Proba.
1128	375	Death of Valentinian I. Valentinian II, Valens, Gratian, Emperors.
1131	378	Death of Valens.
1132	379	Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, Em- perors.
1136	383	Death of Gratian.
1145	392	Death of Valentinian.
1148	395	Arcadius and Honorius, Emperors. L. Aurelius Symmachus, Claudius Clau- dianus.
		Fl. Mallius Theodorus, S. Pompeius, Festus Servius.
		Maurus Honoratus, Æmilius Probus.
		Paulinus of Nola, Aurelius Augustinus.
		Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, Sulpicius Severus.
		Probably about this time the beginnings of the "Tabula Peutingerana" and "Notitia dignitatum."
1161	408	Death of Arcadius. Honorius and Theo- dosius II., Emperors.
1163	410	Aurelius Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius. Claudius Rutilius Numatianus.
		Paulus Orosius, Coelius Scantius, Dracontius.
1176	423	Death of Honorius.
1178	425	Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., Emperors.
1191	438	Theodosianus Codex.
1196	443	Merobaudes.
1203	450	Death of Theodosius II. Valentinian III. and Marcian, Emperors.
		Salnanus, C. Sollius Apollinaris.
		Modestus Sidonius, Claudianus Mamercus.
		Martianus Felix Capella. P. Cosontius. Rufinus.
		Julius Severianus.
1208	455	Death of Valentinian III.
1210	457	Leo, Emperor.
1228	475	Zeno, Emperor.

U. C.	P. C.	
1244	491	Anastasius, Emperor.
1253	500	Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius.
		Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus.
		Priscianus.
		Alcimus Avitus, Magnus Felix Ennodius.
		Arator. Fulgentius.
1271	518	Justin, Emperor.
1280	527	Justinian, Emperor.
1281	528	Justinianus Codex.
1286	533	Digesta Triboniani.
1318	565	Justin II., Emperor.
1319	566	Fl. Cresconius Corippus.
1359	600	Isidorus Hispalensis





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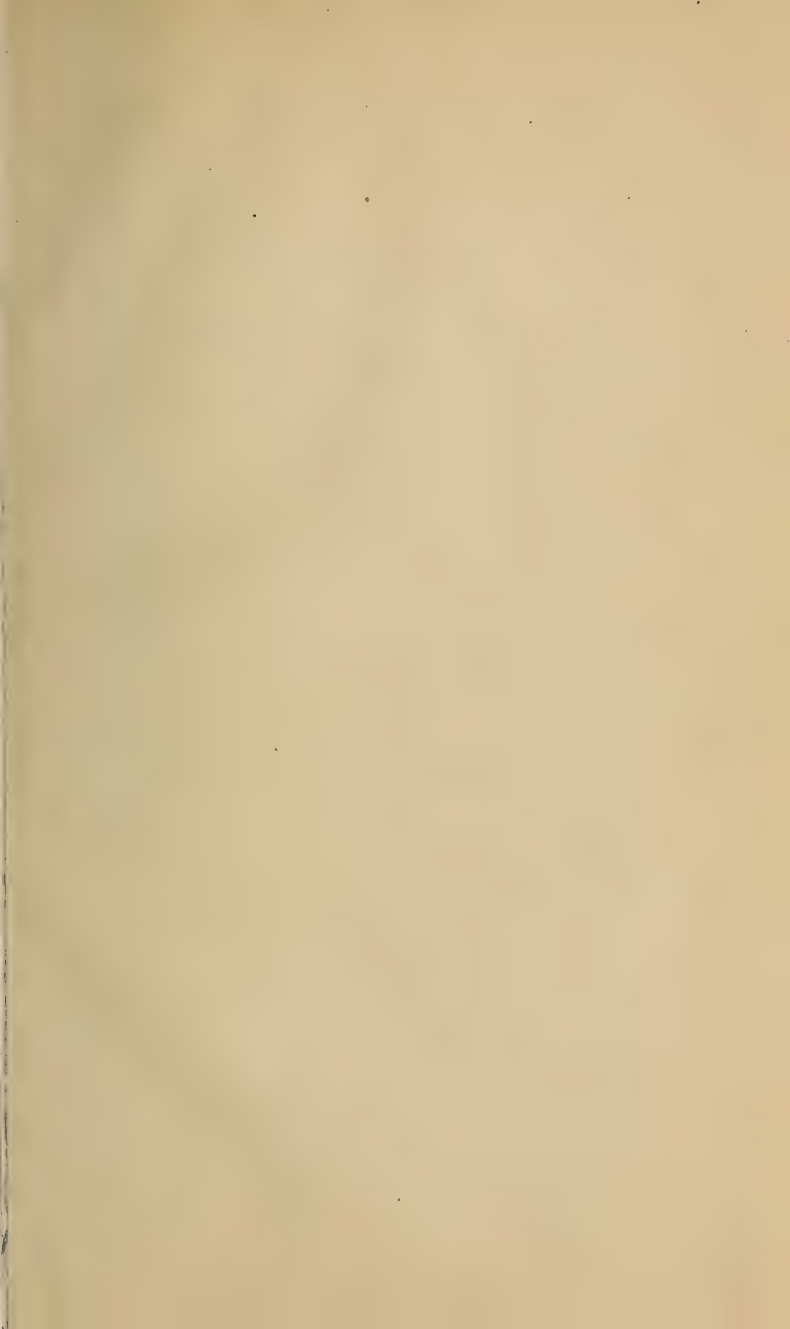
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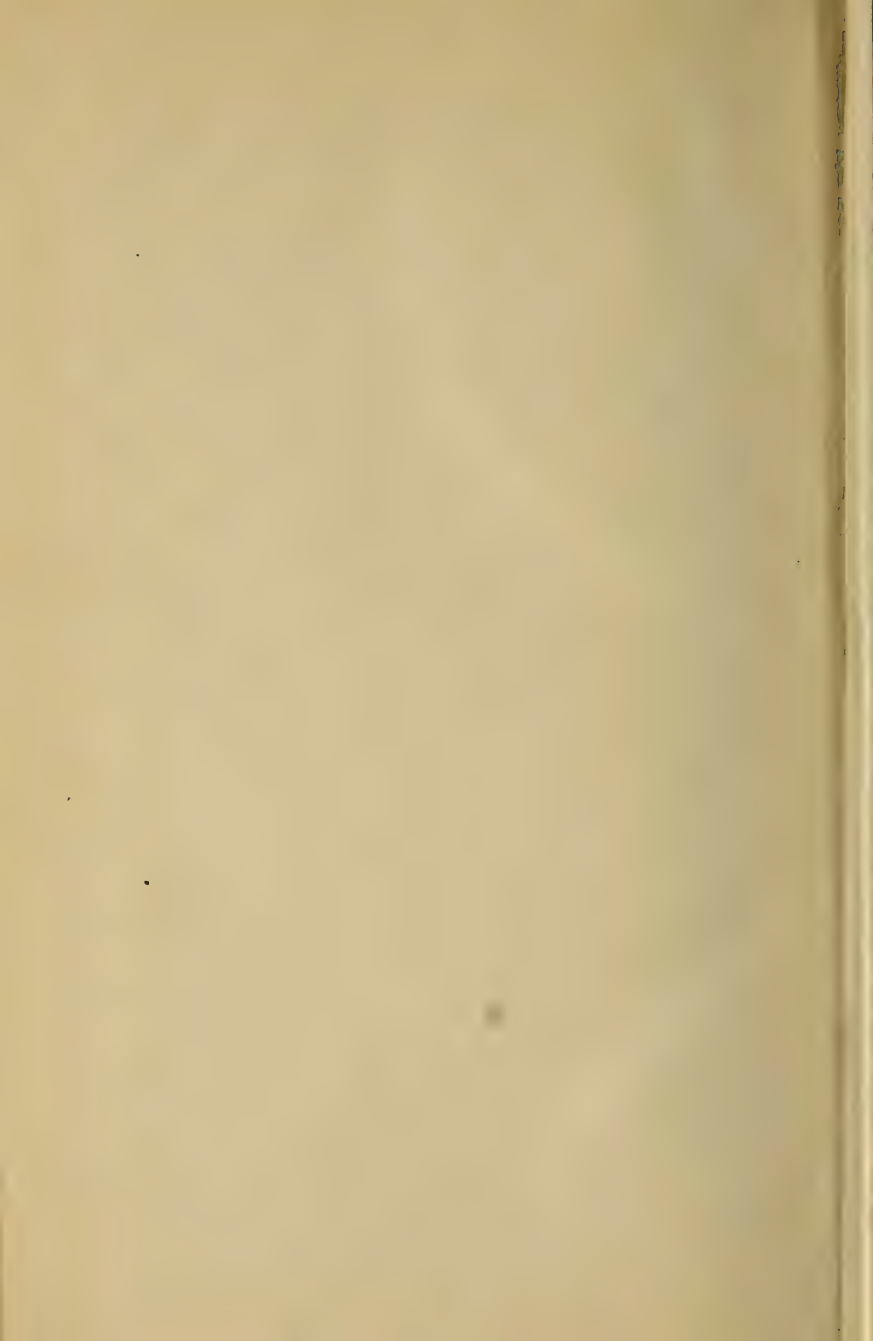
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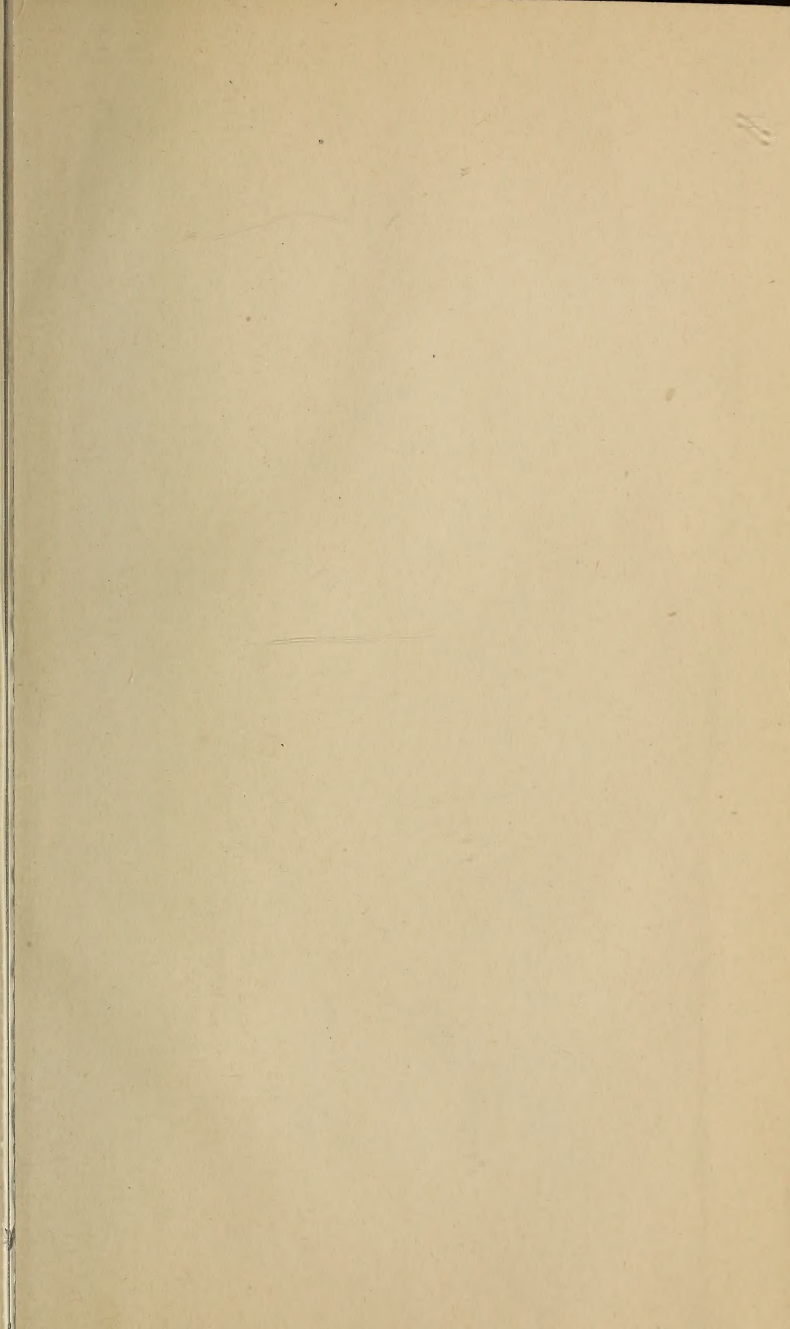
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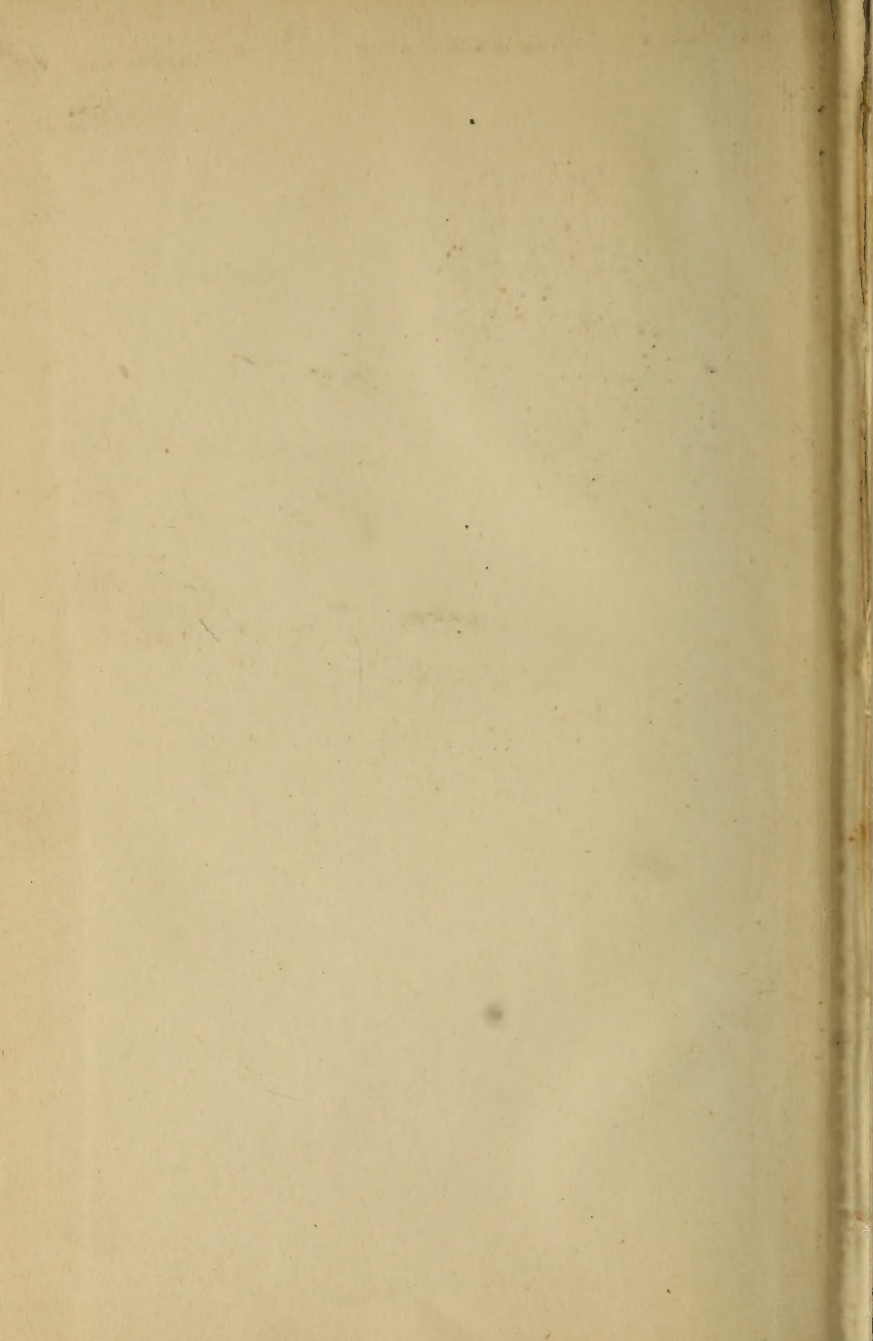
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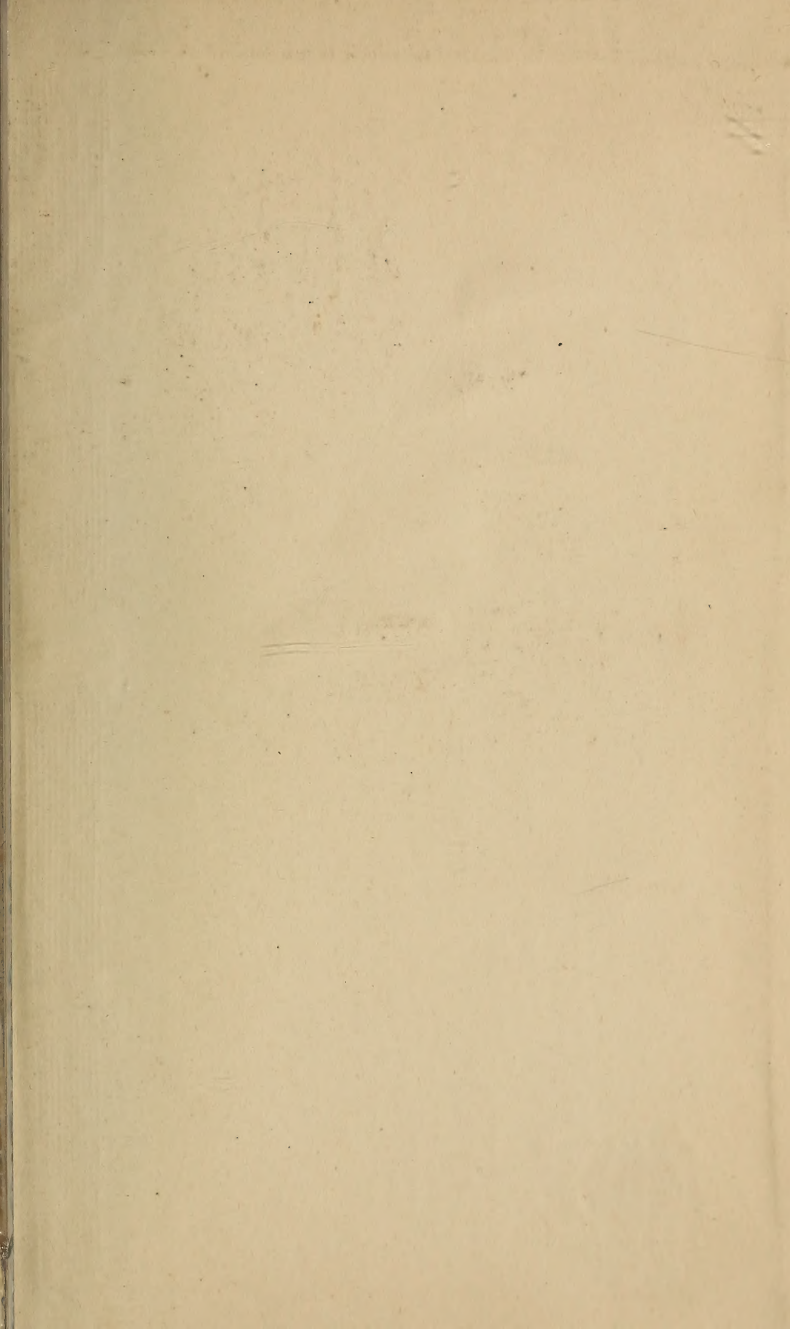




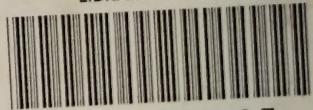








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